

Faultes escaped.

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P. 20. for consulting, *r. consulted.* P. 22. for *Drusus Nero*, *r. D. Caesar.* P. 24. for *Abbis*,
r. Albis. P. 25. *Principia* seemeth to be that row of lodgings where the Tribuni and pre-
fecti are quartered. *Sau.* in the view of &c. *verb. forum.* P. 38. for him, *r. them.* P. 55. for
especiall, *r. especially.* P. 63. for stanger, *r. stranger.* P. 69. for their, *the.* P. 70. for rudest
r. rediest. P. 84. for he, *r. they.* P. 120. for minds, *r. mind.* P. 140. for commendations,
r. commanderies. P. 142. for *Poppaus*, *r. Poppas.* Pag. *ead.* *reade* fourte thousand, *and in*
the margent, 31. lib. 15. *shell.* P. 161. for were, *r. was.* P. 172. for *vncleannes*, *r. vnneuenes.*
P. 223. of Euphrates. P. 239. for followed, *r. following.* P. 245. for hindering, *r. hindered,*

Printed at London by Arn. Hatfield,
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THE
ENDE OF NERO
AND BEGINNING
OF GALBA.

FOUR BOOKES OF THE HISTO-
RIES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

THE LIFE OF AGRICOLA.

The second Edition.

M. D. XCVIII.

TO HER MOST SACRED MAIESTIE.



Present here to your *Maiesties* view my imperfections in their owne colours, and the excellencies of another man with much losse of their lustre, as being transported from their naturall light of the Latin by an unskilful hand into a strange language, perchance not so fit to set out a peece drawne with so curious a pensill. The cause of vndertaking a worke of this kinde was a good will in this scribling age not to do nothing, and a disproportion in the powers of my mind, nothing of mine owne inuention being able to passe the censure of mine owne iudgement, much lesse, I presumed, the iudgement of others. The cause that I published it vnder your *Maiesties* name and protection (beside the testification of my bounden duetie) was the great account your Highnesse most worthily holdeth this Historie in; hoping thereby, that as some for the excellencie of the wine, haue liked also the lees, so it might peraduenture please you, to accept into some degree of fauour this worke as it is, though by change from vessell to vessell hauing taken winde and lost his pleasing taste to the palate, yet retaining somewhat of his former strength, and much of his substance. But the principall cause was to incite your *Maiestie* by this as by a foile to communicate to the world, if not those admirable compositions of your owne, yet at the least those most rare and excellent translations of Histories (if I may call them translations, which haue so infinitely exceeded the originals) making euident demonstration to all

who haue seene them, that as the great actions of Princes are the subiect of stories, so stories composed or amended by Princes, are not onely the best patterne and rule of great actions, but also the most naturall Registers thereof, the writers being persons of like degree and of proportionable conceits with the doers. And so wishing your Maiestie either so much leasure your selfe, or a Tacitus to describe your most glorious raigne, I commit this worke (whereof I claime nothing to my selfe but the faults) to your most gracious patronage, and the curtesie of the reader, from whom, at least from his handes that shall finish out the rest, I hope to finde both pardon for my faultes, and some pittie for my paines.

The Almighty blesse your most excellent Maiestie with a long, happie, and prosperous raigne, and the onely true meanes thereof, many watchfull eies to foresee, many valiant handes to fight, and many godly harts to pray for the peace of your state.

Your sacred Maiesties

most humble subiect and seruant

HENRY SAVILE.

A. B. To the Reader.



HERE is no treasure so much enriches the minde of man as learning; there is no learning so proper for the direction of the life of man as Historie; there is no historie (I speake onelie of prophane) so well woorth the reading as Tacitus. For learning nature acknowledgeth a reason, by leauing industrie to finish hir vnperfect worke: for without learning the conceite is like a fruitfull soyle without tilling, the memorie like a storehouse without wares, the will like a shippe without a rudder. For Historie, since vve are easlier taught by example then by precept, what studie can profit vs so much, as that vvhich giues patternes either to follooue or to flie, of the best and woorst men of all estates, cuntries, and times that euer were? For Tacitus I may say vvithout partialitie, that he hath vvritten the most matter vvith best conceite in fewest vvords of any Historiographer ancient or moderne. But he is harde. *Difficilia quæ pulchra*: the seconde reading ouer vvill please thee more then the first, and the third then the second. And if thy stōmacke be so tender as thou canst not digest Tacitus in his ovvne stile, thou art beholding to Sauiue, vvho giues thee the same foode, but vvith a pleasant and easie taste. In these fowver bookes of the storie thou shalt see all the miseries of a torne and declining state: the Empire vsurped; the Princes murthered; the people vvauering; the souldiers tumultuous; nothing vnlawfull to him that hath power, and nothing so vn-safe as to be securely innocent. In Galba thou maiest

¶ 3 learne,

1
learne, that a good Prince gouerned by euill ministers
is as dangerous as if he vvere euill himselfe. By Otho,
that the fortune of a rash man is *Torrenti similis*, which
rises at an instant, and falles in a moment. By Vitellius,
that he that hath no vertue can neuer be happie: for by
his own basenes he vvill loose all, which either fortune,
or other mens labours haue cast vpon him. By Vespasian,
that in ciuill tumults an aduised patience, and opportunity
vvell taken are the onely weapons of aduantage. In them
all, and in the state of Rome vnder them thou maiest see
the calamities that follovv ciuill warres, vvhere lawes lie
a sleepe, and all things are iudged by the svvorde. If thou
mislike their vvarres be thankfull for thine owne peace;
if thou dost abhor their tyrannies, loue and reuerence
thine ovvne wise, iust, and excellent Prince. If thou dost
detest their Anarchie, acknowledge our owne happie
gouernment, and thanke God for hir, vnder vvhom
England enioyes as many benefits, as euer Rome did
suffer miseries vnder the greatest Tyrant.

I
THE ENDE OF NERO AND
BEGINNING OF GALBA.

Galerius Trachalus, and Silius Italicus being Consuls: Caius Julius Vindex, Lieutenant of Gallia Lugdunensis, perceiuing that private conspiracies against the person of Nero had beene often intended and euer discovered, determined to giue the first onset in armes and openly go to the fielde. Vindex was by his father of a Senators house, by birth French and extract from the line of their ancient kings, of bodie puissant, quicke of conceit of a readie dispatch, skilfull in armes and bolde to attempt. his prouince peaceable, and therefore utterlie disurnished of forces: no Legion, no garrison vnder his gouernment. Notwithstanding as in a bodie corrupt, and full of ill humors, the first paine that appeareth, be it neuer so slender, drawes on the rest, discloseth old aches and straines, actuateth what els is unsounde in the bodie: so in a state vniuersally disliked, the first disorder dissolueth the whole. yea and oft so it hapneth in both, the disease that grev first, and gaue cause to the other, being recured, the rest notwithstanding worke out the finall destruction. Now Vindex, before he declared himselfe, well weighing the weaknesse of his estate, and withall his owne person incapable of the Empire, as being but a stranger, without followers, without friends or allies among the nobilitie, deliberated to cast it on some other man of more reputation, who also by nearnesse and strength might second his attempt. Corbulo was lately murdered by Nero; Vespasian far off varring in Ierury: Suetonius Paulinus at home without armie, the most famous men of that age for militar matters. Of high Germany Virginius Rufus was Lieutenant, with three Legions, next neighbour to Vindex, onely of a meane gentlemans house. In lowe Germany Fonteius Capito with fouer Legions, and Clodius Mager in Africke with a competent army, neither of them likely to repaire that which Nero had ruined. There remained then in armes Seruius Sulpitius Galba, a man of great wealth and ancient nobilitie, who had been eight yeeres Lieutenant in neerer Spaine, to the reasonable contentment of the countrey, with an host of one Legion, and the Aides belonging thereto. Vpon him Vindex finally resoluing, dispatcheth into Spaine, and other countries adioining, secret letters, declaying his purpose to the Lieutenants. Galba, in whom age had abated the heate of ambition, experience and dangerous times engendred a varie and fearefull proceeding, thought as then vpon nothing lesse then diademes and kingdomes, hauing giuen himselfe ouer for certaine yeers past, to an idle and obscure kinde of life, sequestred as it were, and retired from affaires for feare of Nero; vnder whom to do ill was not alwaies safe, alwaies unsafe to do well, and of doing nothing no man constrained to yeeld an account. Whereupon the letters arriuing, he stode much amazed, diuided in minde what course he should follow, to trust them? peraduenture it was but a traine, to disclose them and send them to Nero? that were indeed to put in his head an eternall ielosie, and himselfe into a needlesse perill: and perhaps also there might be good meaning. Whereupon in so doubtfull a case, the extremes seeming dangerous, he tooke the meane way, suppressing the letters, and not entring into the cause any further, reseruing to gouerne himselfe in the rest, as euents and occurrents should lead and direct him. The other Lieutenants sent all their letters to Nero, betraying Vindex, betraying the cause, whereof themselves anone were partakers.

Now Vindex certaine daies after the Calends of March, though not fullie assured, yet hoping well of Galbaes intent, and presuming good lucke to so good a meaning, assembled them of his prouince, such chiefe as were chiefe in their countrey for credit, and chiefly

"Gallia.

"Hispania
Tarraco-
nensis.

chiefly had beene touched in goods or in honour. To whom recounting in order the tyrannies of Nero, namely his paring of "France to the quicke, to the utter destruction of so many men, the vniuersall decay of so goodlie a cuntrey, he exhorteth them all to take armes, to succour themselves, to succour the Romans, and to free the whole worlde from so heauie a yoke. Or if, which the gods forbid in so good a case, yet let vs (quoth he) sell him our liues in the fielde with honour, seeing we cannot possesse them with safetie. For another Prince (our broken state, and age voide of vertue, not bearing a free common wealth) we haue here at hand a man of great birth, great wealth, and great forces, one that hath made honourable prooue of himselfe, at home, and abroad, in all respects worthy the place, Galba Lieutenant of "Arragon. If you like of the man, there remaineth then onelie we muster the cuntrey to the most that we may, without whose wordes all talke of warre is but vaine, and this pernicious. His demands being all accorded by common consent, he leuieth a power, manie men, and fewe soldiers, taken up on the sodaine, not disciplined, not trained to the order of seruice; he publisheth edicts diffaming the person and gouernment of Nero. Then causing Galba to be proclaimed, he writes him a letter, now or els neuer, to declare himselfe in fauour of mankind against that monster of nature, to furnish the bodie of an hundred thousand Frenchmen in armes, and more if neede were of a head. The Sequani, Aedui, Aruerni, Remi and the flower in a manner of France, were all of the partie, conferring men, horse, armour, money, and what els was requisite for seruice in fielde. Rufinus, Flavius, Asiaticus with others were appointed captaines, and Vienna seate of the warre; whose next neighbours, and ancient enemies, the Lugdunenses banded themselves against them, and the cause, or the cause for their sakes. Many conflicts betwene them and skirmishes during the warre, so thicke, and so hotly pursued, that one might perceiue much priuate choler passe vnder the shadow of publicke pretences. The Lingones likewise and Treueri, and some other cities forsaking their fellowes, lincked themselves with the Legions confining. Three Legions, as before it is said, with their Aides, Verginius had in his charge; who seeing all France on a fire, and that now of force he must either rebell with the rest, or warre with the rebels (for so they were stiled till they preuailed) in priuate beholden, for publick respects misliking of Nero, no admirer of Galba, with Vindex proceeding highly displeased, the example being vnseene, that a prouince should be a Princemaker, thus vnresolved, resolving this onely, that he would not be resolved by others, determined to stand on his garde, and gathered his men about him in haste, valiant soldiers and expert in seruice, and likely to swaie where they went.

Of the other side the Lieutenant of Aquitania, against the troubles of France, requested the assistance of Galba his neighbour, who then at newe Carthage kept a law daie: but anone he perceiued how that he had taken a wrong adresse. For Galba receiuing the letters of Vindex, and being aduertised that warrant was out for his death to the Procuratours, had debated the matter afresh with his friends. Some vnwilling to plaie their state at a cast, wisht him to staie and attende to what head the humours in Rome new stirred would gather: as for the Procuratours they might be preuented, and warned is halfe armed. To Titus Vinus, then Lieutenant of the Legion, and anone chiefe in fauour with Galba, that course seemed vn safe. Armed indeede (quoth hee) for a while against a Procuratour or two, nay, put case we could hang up these fewe in our places, shall we liue, do you thinke, for lacke of a hangman? giue vs armes against Nero, and then we are armed. But perhaps sith nothing is past on our part, he may be perswaded to call in his sentence again. Euen good Princes are ielous of soueraigne points, & that string being touched, haue a quicke eare. They haue bought it full deere which ignorantly haue sat in their chaire of estate, that haue worne their diademe to keepe it from wetting, or
upon

upon like occasion. Germanicus, as some here may remember, because one or two in the armie had onelie a purpose to salute him Prince, was neuer wellbrooked, till by his owne death he had paid the price of other mens rashnesse. Corbulo, euen that Corbulo, which had quieted Germanie, subdued Armenia, broken the Parthian spirits, brought Arsaces line on his knees before Nero, after he had so highly deserved at his handes, it cost him his life, that some men in secret thought him a man fit to succede. We are, as they saie, openly proclaimed, we haue an armie in fielde. Shall he then repent it, that neuer repented but when he did well? Let him looke that list for succours from Rome, where libertie is lost, fit men to free others. Galba and Vindex their swordes and their armies must purchase our freedom. This opinion preuailing, as possible to prooue, but of force to be followed, a day was appointed by Galba, therein to dispatch the freeing of slaues. The cuntrey came in at the daie suspecting the matter, apt to receiue any new impression. And Galba hauing placed of purpose, before his tribunall, a manie of images of great personages executed or banisht in Neros time, and fetched from exile a young noble man, out of the next islands, to stande by his seate, his armie about him spake in this wise. My fellow soldiers and friends, we are at this present assembled to enfranchise our bondmen, to bestow upon others that great benefit of libertie and freedom, which we our selues, whom both nature and fortune hath freed, this long time haue smallie enioied. The life I haue led hitherto will sufficiently discharge me from any aspiring conceite, and mine owne conscience beareth me witnes, that I speake not upon any malice, or priuate respects. It grieues me to say: but it helps not to hide that which euery man seeth. hath euer bondman under a cruell master passed a yeere of harder seruice, then we haue done fourteene under Nero? what kinde of exaction hath he not prooued to supplie with extortion that which with shame he hath spent? what kinde of crueltie hath he not practised? if we shoulde conceale or seeke to suppress it, these dumbe stones would declare them. Behold poisoned his father and brother, abused and slaine his owne mother, murdered his wife, his master, and what els soeuer valiant or vertuous in Senate, in citie, in prouince, without anie difference of sex, or of age. I neede not to speake of the sorrowfull sighes and bitter teares of so manie young gentlemen bereft of their fathers, so manie wiues robbed of their husbands, so manie great men deprived of their cuntrey, which crie vengeance upon such a Prince. a Prince? naie, an incendiarie, a singer, a fidler, a stagepläier, a cartdriner a crier, no prince, naie no man that hath a man to his husband, and a man to his wife, but a monster of mankinde; against whom what Vindex in France hath already intended I am sure you do know, and I, for my part, am most sorie to heare. The whole course of my former life hath beene other wise remooued from ambition in court, from aiming too high: and this little that remaines of my daies I could hartilie wish were spent in more ease. But sith, I know not by what my misfortune, some haue imposed upon me a part, which I neuer ment to sustaine, and least of all at this age, I will not refuse, if you also approoue it, to sacrifice this olde carcase of mine for the wealth of my cuntrey, not as Emperour, or Augustus, which sacred names I adore a far off, not daring to approach them, but as-- The speech was not finished, when the soldiers, and people with one common voice interrupting, saluted him Emperour. Galba commending their zeale to the good of the Empire, and accepting the substance refused the name, tearing himselfe Lieutenant of the Senate and people of Rome. Next care was to muster more men, to make good the reuolt. the cuntrey was prest, and souldiers came in of all hands. new Legions and Aides were enrolled, and to helpe at a neede, a ship of Alexandria, laden with armor, without master, without mariner, without passenger, arriued at the port: which accident, besides that the wreck came in in good season, increast to the cause reputation, as though against Nero the gods had furnished weapons from heauen. Then he ordained a counsell in forme of a Senate elected out of the

chiefest

chiefest and grauest men of his traine, and a garde of yong gentlemen to watch and warde at his lodging, he publisheth edicts, and sendes them abroad to euery prouince, exhorting them all to take armes, and concurre in common against the common enimie. Many reuolted from Nero and came to the side: M. Saluius Otho with the first, then Lieutenant of

“Lusitania,

“Portingall, bringing his iewels and plate, which Galba made into money.

In high Germanie the soldiers considering the weaknesse of Nero; that France had already rebelled; that Spaine made a Prince; that the rest of the countries were likely to follow, if not all for the same, yet all against Nero; viewing their owne forces, and strength now united, which before lay dispersed in troupes and in bandes, strangers to Galba, and greatly disdainning that one simple Legion should impose them a Prince, finally concluded to make it their benefite, and bestow the Empire themselves. A fit man they needed not seeke farre off: Verginius Rufus the Lieutenant, though of a gentlemans house, and no higher, in strength of bodie, matters of action, and all other things excelled Galba. in birth what if Galba were better? Catulus the top of his kinne fled dishonorably awaie in the Cimbrian warre, where Marius, baselier borne then Verginius, vvorthisly stucke to it, and saued the state. Hereupon they go, and breake downe tumultuously the images of Nero, salute Verginius Prince, inscribing his name in the banners. Verginius seeing the matter growe to a tumult, and being unable to resist their violence, shewed to yeelde in some degree against Nero, but not for him selfe, much lesse any other named abroad. For his part he saied he had no neede of the place, which all men beside so greatly desired: nor was not to suffer, but such as by order of Senate should be appointed. that they were the men, to whom that election belonged, whose right he would surely maintaine against whomsoever. The soldiers being in part thus appeased, he commandes the inscription to be defaced, and with his whole armie entreteth France, pretending to warre against Vindex. The citie of Bezanson, which first refused to receiue him, he straightway beseegeth. Vindex to succour the towne and lenie the siege, or bid him battaile, if it might be no better, with twentie thousand men commeth against him. Lying encamped not farre asunder, there passed letters betweene them: whereupon they secretly met and conferred together, none els being present on either side. Their conclusion was friendly, doubtlesse to ioine against Nero: some thought to set downe Galba also; and it was not unlikely. Thus departing as friendes, ech to his campe, Vindex secure as in a quarrell already composed, and nothing attending lesse then the shooke, meaning to enter the towne, and repose his armie, with all his men made towards the gates. The souldiers of Germanie lying at the wals, and perceiving the armie approach, marching, as it seemed, directly vpon them, not priue to their Generals purpose, or not willing to loose so faire an occasion, ranne out without bidding, and falling vpon them at vnawares and in disarraie, not able on a sodaine to remedie the error, as men newly trained, and vnexpert in warre, slew them all in a maner, and spoiled the cariage. Vindex seeing the unluckie successe of this unlooked for battaile, huiung lost in a maner the flower of all France, and suspecting fraude of Verginius side, as though he ment to entrap him, and sende him to Nero, ranne himselfe vpon his owne sword. many comming after bestowed their blowes vpon the dead carcase, seeking a colour for praise or rewarde if Nero preuailed. After this slaughter the soldiers pressed Verginius againe to accept of the Empire, and embassages came almost from euery quarter requiring the same, with assured promise of all possible assistance, if not, readie to returne to Neros obedience: but Verginius bewailing the heauie mishap of his unfortunate friende, reiecteth the speech, and marcheth forward in France. This ende had Iulius Vindex, a man in the course of this action more vertuous then fortunate; who hauing no armie provided, no legion, no souldier in charge, vvhiles others more able lookt on, first entred the lists, challenging a Prince vpholden with thirtie legions, rooted in the Empire by fower descents of

ancestors,

ancestors, and fourteene yeeres continuance of raigne, not upon priuate despaire to set in combustion the state, not to reuenge disgrace or dishonour, not to establish his owne soueraintie, things which haue moued most men to attempt; but to redeeme his cuntry from tyrannie and bondage, which onely respect he regarded so much, that in respect he regarded nothing his owne life or securitie. For when it was shewed him that Nero by publicke edict had prized his head at "ten thousand thousand sesterces; Well, quoth he againe, and he that killes Nero, and brings me his head, shall haue mine in exchange. And though in this action fortune gaue vertue the checke, and by a strange accident, which mans wisdom could not foresee, ouerturned the enterprize, yet must we confesse, that Vindex first stirred the stone, which rowling along tumbled Nero out of his seate.

*That is, about
four score thou-
sand pound.*

Of Vindex reuolt the first newes came to Nero at Naples, about the twentieth of March: whereof he made shewe so lightlie to set, that he would not vouchsafe once to intermit his accustomed pastimes and pleasures, but rather seemed to reioice, and embrace the occasion, as falling out fitly to conuert to his cofers by the law of armes the spoile of so large and so wealthie a cuntry: at supper also receiuing more letters of fresher aduise, & certainer danger, he wished them onely illchance, which thus by rebelling had troubled his drinking, and so for eight daies he neither wrote letter, nor gaue out order for anie dispatch. At length through Vindex edicts, so thicke and so biting being awaked, he warned the Senate by letter to auenge his cause, and the common wealthes, excusing his absence by reason of sicknes. In Vindex edicts, supporting the rest patiently, one thing aboue all troubled him most, that his skill was impeached in playing: wherein he thought surelie there was not his peere; eftsoones demanding of them about him, whether, without flatterie, they knew any in that profession more skilfull then him. by this then so manifest an untruth, in an arte that he had so painfully laboured, so perfectly learned, he willed them to esteeme of the rest. The Senate, receiuing the letters, flattering and fearing, adiudged Vindex a traitour, the selfesame men which soone after bestowed the like upon Nero. But urged by newes upon newes, at last in a fright he repaired to Rome: where not calling Senate nor people together, but some principall men to the Palace at an vnseasonable houre of the night, as to consult of urgent affaires, he shewed them certaine conceits, and newe strange deuises of musicke by water instruments, discoursing of the maner and difficultie of eche, and that he had found out a waie to make them sounde both sweeter and lowder, and shortly ment to produce them in stage if Vindex would giue him leysure to do it. But hearing that Galba & Spaine had rebelled, he tare his clothes, beate his head, and would in no wise receiue any comfort, till such time as the Senate by decree had declared Galba enimie to the state. Then resuming courage, and somewhat reuiued with some rumours out of Germanie, he returned to his riot and carelesse licentious life, and putting Galbaes seruants in prison seized his goods and set them to sale. The like did Galba with Neroes in Spaine, and found a great deale more readie chapmen.

Anone as the tumult began, it is supposed credible, that Nero had purposed to haue made away all the gouernours of armies and prouinces as being conspired against him; to murder all exiled persons, lest they should ioine themselves with the rebels; all French he could finde in the Cittie as being friendes to the cause; to poyson the Senate in banquet; to set a fire the Cittie, turning in wilde beastes among them which endeouored to stop the course of the flame. But setting apart the deuise, not as disliking, being so suteable to his proceeding, but as despairing to bring it about, he determined a voyage in person sending before in the meane season Petronius Turpilianus, and Rubrius Gallus with certaine others against them. To furnish the iourney his chiefe prouision consisted in carriage for playing furniture in concubines skorne and polled as men, armed with hatchet and target according to the Amazonian fashion. For mustering of men there were but few able enrolled and

most

most of them bondmen. Money was hardly and with much ado a little extorted. For whereas in time of ciuill sedition most neede is of money, and a wise Prince will least grieue the subiect with new imposition, as seeming to stand in some sort at his curtesie, and hauing to imploy his bodie beside, Nero, in peace no storer for warre, was forced then to offende, when he should in reason haue sought to haue won, and yet raised lesse with more opposition then euer, reputation now waining, a contrarie faction being on foote. As for pollicies, and plots of warre, he tolde his familiar friends, he had one most assured. As soone as he entred the prouince, he would venture himselfe unarmed amongst them, and with silence and teares moue them to compassion, and so they returning to former obedience without more ado, he would the next day merily sing, in that merie companie, sonnets of victorie, which he willed to be composed out of hand against the time came.

As Nero was thus busily occupied in making prouision for the warre against Galba and Vindex, letters were brought in at dinner of Verginius defection, and the rest of the armies. Whereupon in a desperate rage, he tare the letters, ouerturned the table, dashed two cups on the ground, which he deerey esteemed, and casting away all care of himselfe, notwithstanding the perill pressed no nearer, he called for poison, which he put up in a golden box, that his death at the least might be according to his estate, and so walked forth into the Seruilian gardens. From thence he sent of his trustie seruants to Ostia to make ready the ships, purposing to haue fled with his friends into Aegypt, and there to haue taken himselfe to his musicke to get him a liuing: sottishly supposing in Aegypt an imaginarie surtie to himselfe by his musicke, when he could not liue safely Emperour at Rome. To that purpose sounding the mindes of the Tribunes and Centurions of the Garde, and finding them some to drawe backe, some flatly refuse to goe with him, one among others directly to tell him, that sure his best way were to make an ende of himselfe, he was distracted into diuerse opinions, casting about what course he should follow. flee to the Parthian, whom of late he had pleased? to Galba, who peradventure might pittie his estate? or were it els better in lamentable sort and mourning weede to goe out abroad, and in the Place of common assembly, most humbly for that which was past demand pardon: or if he could not obtaine it, that at least they would grant him the gouernment of Aegypt. This liked him best, and thercof he framed a speech, which after wards was founde in his papers: but fearing the people would pull him in pieces before he came to the Place, he deferred the matter till the next morning.

Nymphidius Sabinus and Sophonius Tigellinus were captaines of the Garde, preferred by Nero from nothing to that honourable place, and now the first to forsake him. But Tigellinus, as a person infamous and generally hated, preuailed not much: Sabinus had the credit with the souldier. who affirming that Nero was already fled into Aegypt, and promising donatiue in Galbaes name* of thirty thousand sesterces a man, and * five thousand to the souldier abroad, much more then would or could be performed, easily van them to leaue him, who had as they thought already left them, and so to pronounce Galba Emperour, not upon any especiall liking they had to the man aboue others, but whilst some doubted, some other denied, Galba pretending directly the suite, and no counter-suiter appearing, they were content to accept him for Prince. Their fellowes which varded that night foreseeing the issue, and coueting in this creation of the new Prince a part with the rest, left Nero asleepe alone in the garden. Who being awaked about midnight, understanding his garde was departed, leapt out of his bed, and sent about for his friendes: from whom receiuing no answer, he with a few went to their lodgings himselfe. The great Monarch of the world, adored ere while as a god, attended upon and garded by thousands of friends, of souldiers, of seruants, now as a page knocking at doores findeth all shut against his unfortunate state. Thus in aduersitie destitute of

aide,

* 234l. 5. s.

6. pence.

* 39. lib. 1. s.

3. pence.

BEGINNING OF GALBA.

7

aide, of counsell or comfort of friends, he returneth home, where finding his chamber rifled, the chamberlaines fled, his box of poison remooued away, he sought for Spicillus the "sen-
 cer or some of his sort, by whose hands he might be dispatched: and finding none, wanting alike both friends and foes, he ran desperately out, as though he would haue thrown him-
 selfe he along into the Tiber. but his hart failing he repressed his pace, and therupon requi-
 ring some secret place to recall his wits, and resume courage againe, Phaon his freedman
 offered his house foure miles off in the cuntrey, which Nero accepted; and so accompanied
 with foure men onelie, Phaon, Epaphroditus, Sporus and Neophytus sleeth awaie, badlie
 apparailled, and woorse mounted, couering his head, and hiding his face with a handker-
 cheffe. As he was in his waie out of the Cittie, approching the campe of the Garde, he heard
 the souldiers shewing and wishing good lucke vnto Galba, and ill to himselfe. In riding
 along his horse starting aside his face was discovered, and he knowne & saluted by one of the
 Garde which met him by chance. Whereupon forsaking horse and high waie, through bu-
 shes and briers he crept in at the last into a thicket of reedes on the backside of Phaons
 ferme-house, who perswading Nero in the meane while to sit in a pit out of the which sande
 had beene digged, he refused the fauour, denying to go aliue vnder ground, and so cast him-
 selfe downe close in the reedes till they had beaten a hole in the wall, through which Nero
 vpon all foure crept into the backside, casting himselfe vpon a simple pallet in a backe
 roome.

"Gladiator.

Whilest Nero thus lurked, the Senate assembled in counsaile declare him enimie of the
 state and punishable more maiorum, sending out to seeke him and bring him aliue. Con-
 cerning the choise of a new, although in their secret opinions Verginius deserued to resume
 the benefit which he had put into their hands, yet being not willing to enter into further
 troubles, and raise vp a new ciuill warre, without which Galba, who had already forepri-
 zed the place could not be set downe, following the soldiers example they openly agreed all
 vpon Galba. By this time they about Nero were instant vpon him to rid himselfe quick-
 lie out of the contumelies and indignities, which anone he should be forced to endure. To
 whom yeelding himselfe he commandes to make readie for the funerall, weeping and
 vvailling at euerie word, vwhat great pitie it was, that so good a minstrell should be so cast
 away. In the meane season, certaine letters which were brought to Phaon from Rome he
 snatched away, and finding therein the Senates decree demanded what more maiortim
 ment, for that peece of law he had neuer perused: understanding it was, that his necke
 should be locked in a forke, and himselfe whipped naked to death, hauing in horrow so
 shamefull an ende, he tooke vptwo rapiers which he had brought with him, and trying
 their points how sharpe they were, put them vp againe, desiring some of them to beginne &
 shew him the waie to be manfull; but desiring a vertuous example out of so vicious a schoole,
 a court so corrupt, hee desired in vaine. And now the horsemen sent by the Senate appro-
 ched, which Nero perceiuing, by feare encouraged ranne himselfe thorow, Epaphroditus his
 Secretarie at his request helping to dispatch him the sooner, for which seruice he was after-
 ward put to death by Domitian: who thought it not meete to suffer anie to liue, which had in
 anie sort lent his hand to the death of a Prince. Thus Nero, a Prince in life contemptible,
 and hatefull in gouernment, hauing thereby disarmed himselfe both of the loue and feare of
 his subiects, ended his daies the eighth of Iune in the one and thirtieth yeare of his age, and
 fourteenth of his Empire, at the first hauing ruled the state with reasonable liking, inso-
 much that Traian was wonted to saie, that euen good Princes were short of Neros five
 yeares: but after breaking forth into all infamous behauiour, and detestable oppressions and
 cruelties, and beeing withall a Prince weake in action, not of vertne sufficient to uphold
 his vices by might, he was at the length thus ouerthrowen.

Nero beeing slaine, the people and Gentlemen, but principallie the nobilitie, the prin-

cipall obiect of tyrannie, sacrificed to the gods and feasted for ioy: some also ware Bonnets, as being newlie enfranchised. The Senate assembled againe decreeth thanks to Nymphidius in most exquisite maner, extolling his high wisdom and tender care ouer the State: confirmeth to Galba all princelie prerogatives and imperiall titles; making there-of a publicke instrument, which the Consuls sent him in post: and moreover concludeth upon a solemne embassage of honorable personages with instructions, beside congratulations and complements, humble to desire with speede his presence at Rome. Then was it proposed, that information might proceede against the accusers. The matter concerned some mightie men, which had liued in times past by the losse of their neighbours, and touched somewhat a secrete of state ouerthrowing and abolishing the instruments of the Empire. Notwithstanding their doings were so much detested, and the memorie of their malice so fresh, that the order passed by voices in Senate, making them all with the rest of the ministers of Neroes tyrannie, punishable more maiorum: but was executed onelie against some base persons, which had gained but little, and done little harme: the principal malefactors brake thorow well enough and escaped the danger.

While matters thus passed in France and at Rome, in Spaine Galbaes souldiers in part were in termes to forsake him, and hardly reclaimed. About the same time also a freedman of Nero had bestowed upon Galba a present of bondmen prepared for a practise: who according to their instructions watching opportunities, as Galba by a narrow passage entred the bath, using their tongues, when time was, for hands, and exhorting one another not to let slip the occasion, were sodainly apprehended, & being examined what occasion they ment, and put to the racke confessed the treason. Anon after these hazards so hardly escaped, the newes came to Galba of Vindex death, and that upon so great a victorie most men were willing Verginius should take the Empire upon him, or els would returne to Nero againe. Galba extremelie afraid writes to Verginius, beseeching him most instantly to ioine in defence of the libertie and Empire of Rome: himselfe notwithstanding as destitute and forlorne, and wearie of the world that went so against him, leauing Vinus Lieutenant in the armie, retireth to Clunia, repenting of that hee had done, and wishing againe his priuat estate, as though in this case there were anie meane betweene hiest and nothing. Thus being distressed and anguist in minde without any care of himselfe or the cause, in very good season comes Icelus his freedman from Rome in seuen daies thither, reporting that Nero being yet aliue, but not to be found, the soldier, the Senate and people had pronounced Galba Prince, that straight thereupon Nero was saied to bee slaine, but himselfe not beleeuing it went to the place, saw him lie dead, and so came his way. Two daies after Vinus came from the campe, declaring to him the particular points of the Senates decree. Galba receiuing the newes with great ioy, as greatly aboue expectation, priuiledgeth Icelus to weare gold rings, aduanceth Vinus to chiefe place in credite about him: and laying aside the name of Lieutenant, assumeth the title of Caesar, preferreth Cornelius Laco to be captaine of his gard, and iudging his presence necessary to settle the state, giueth out order for his viage to Rome with his armie by lande.

Now at Rome Nymphidius making his count that Neroes fall was his only deede, that no recompence is sufficient for bestowing the diademe but the diademe, that Galba was old and scarce could last out in a litter to Rome, not by degrees, but with a maine course drew all to himselfe. The Gard in respect of their donatiue, were at his deuotion, to be employed as he should direct them. The Lords of the Senate courted him daily, and seemed to depend wholly upon him. Whereupon vsurping authority vndue to his place, he commands by and by Tigellinus his companion to put off his sworde and surcease from his office. The Consuls upon a displeasure, that they had sent the publicke patents not by his souldiers, nor signed with his scale, the curriers commission, he had once determined to haue depriued.

And

And laying the plot for himselfe he biddeth to banket the principall men of the City: he setteth under hand to put in the soldiers heads to present supplication to Galba, to establish Nymphidius captaine for life without any fellow. To pleasure the people and get the good will of the commons, he permits them to vex and torment whom they could catch of Neroes crew. Spicillus the fencer they tied under the images of Nero, trailed him along thorow the streetes, and dispatcht him in the Place of publicke assembly. Aponius an accuser they ouerthrew, & drew cartes laden with stones ouer his bodie, beside manie other outraged and slaine, and some, as it happeneth where the reine is let loose to the furious multitude, innocently: in so much that in Senate a graue and honorable counsellor openly protested, that in short time there would be great cause to wish Nero againe, as being more tolerable one tyranne then many, & better to liue where nothing then there where all things were lawfull. Thus Nymphidius, sonne to Nymphidia a libertine an old seruant in court and Martianus a fencer, secretly aspired to the Empire, working in Rome by certaine gracious women and Senators, & sending to Spaine Gellianus one of his friends to espie the proceedings and actions of Galba.

Macer in Africke, the state being troubled, mustered men, & pretended for himselfe: but being for auarice & cruelty hated extremely, and finding no followers, could neither maintaine it with strength nor leaue it with safetie. Calpurnia Crispinilla Neroes schoole-mistresse in matter of pleasure and lust, when Nero was dead, misdoubting mischances, sailed into Africke, by hir aduise Macer beset the sea coasts, and forbade any corne should be transported, meaning to famish the cittie of Rome. Fonteius Capito, Lieutenant of loue Germanie, some thought had a meaning also for himselfe. Certaine it is that sitting in iudgement, the partie aggriued appealing to Caesar, he skipped out of the seate where he satte, into a chaire of estate set vp on high, and then bad him tell on his tale before Caesar. But Fabius Valens, Lieutenant there of a Legion, greatly befriending Galbaes part, swore to him first he with his companie, and the rest of the armie followed the example. Verginius, the onelie concurrent of Galba in speech of the people, hauing ouerthrowen Vindex and mastered France, notwithstanding his souldiers, after the death of Nero was knowen, pressed him againe in such vehement sort, that one of the Tribunes drawing his sworde willed him to accept of it or the Empire, persisted constantlie in his first resolution: and receiuing anone aduise of the Senates decree, himselfe most unwillinglie, his souldiers hardlie, & with much adoe were perswaded, sith loue Germanie had sworne to sweare allegiance to Galba. The rest of the Prouinces without anie difficultie accepted him all.

Now Galba disposing as Prince the affaires of the Empire, fineth the citties of Spaine, which were not so forwarde to further the cause, and some he dismantel-
leth: certaine Procuratours and officers he putteth to death, their wiues and their children, a crueltie practised no not by Nero, much lesse expected in Galbaes beginnings. He directeth out warrant to Trebonius Garrucianus Procuratour of Africa to put Macer to death, dismisse the Legion lately mustered, and quiet the cuntry: and appointes in Verginius place Hordeonius Flaccus Lieutenant in Germanie. Then with coat-armour on backe a sickelie olde man, himselfe and his men in warlike order march ouer the mountaines. The citties of France that tooke part against Vindex he punisheth with losse of reueneue and cuntry: the rest were reliued, their tributes a quarter abated, themselues made cittizens of Rome by meanes of their money, and Vinus; who carrying an ill minde, and seruing in great place a weake master, made open sale of his Princes free graces and fauours. At Narbon the embassadours sent from the Senate met him in dutifull manner, whom Galba receiued curteously with
A 2 friendly

friendly and familiar speeches, and feasted in sober sort all with his owne, though otherwise he had plentie there of Neroes waiters and seruice sent by Nymphidius. But axone Vinius, which wholly possessed and gouerned the old man, counsailed him to put off popularity, as not be seeming his place, to accept of Neroes prouision, & to become roial in expense and seruice. Verginius hauing deliuered the armie to his successour met Galba on the way, receiued of him not as in displeasure, and yet with small honour. so dangerous a point it is yea to haue but onely refused the Empire.

At Gellianus returne Nymphidius hearing that Laco was captaine already, that Vinius had all the autoritie and credit, that his messenger was suspected and watched of al, not suffred to talke with the Prince in priuate, not once to approch to his person, was wonderfully moued in mind. Whereupon assembling the chiefe of the Garde, he shewed them, that Galba was for his owne part a good harmelesse olde man, but misse-led by two persons much of Tigellinus making, Vinius and Laco: and therefore it were not amisse to send one or two in the name of the whole to make him remonstrance, that remoouing awaie those two from about him he should be more welcome, & better accepted. This speech seeming strange and absurde to prescribe to a Prince of those yeeres, as it were to an infant, his counsaile & seruants he taketh a contrarie course, and writeth to Galba in terrifying maner, That the matters at Rome were doubtfull and dangerous, that Macer in Afrike had stayed the ships, the Legions of Germanie stirred a new, the like was reported from Iewrie & Syria. But perceiuing that Galba gaue to his tales small care and lesse credit, and hauing the soldiers at wel affected, he determined to preuent & giue the attempt, notwithstanding that Clodius Celsus a sober wise man and one of his friends plainly protested, that in his opinion scarce any three persons in Rome would accept him for Emperour: but the rest scoffed it out, namely one Mithridates of Pontus, Perhaps, quoth hee, Galba seemes some bodie now to the Romans whilest he is absent: but when they shall see that balde head, & riuiled face, he will seeme the verie reproch and disgrace of the daies in which he was Prince. And so they concluded at midnight following to bring Nymphidius into the campe and proclaime him Emperour. But when the euening was come Antonius Honoratus principall Tribune assembling the souldiers vnder his charge, demanded what euill spirit had bereaued the of vnderstanding, moouing them so sodainly & without cause to change their allegiance. If Nero deserued it, what mother, what wife, had Galba then killed? or for what misdemeanour would they forsake Seruius Galba to preferre a curtizans sonne? with whose bloud they should ere it were long if they would bee directed by him, both reuenge Neroes death, whom he first betrayed, and shew themselves loyall to Galba against whom he intendeth: willing them lastlie to reckon in reason what successe might ten thousand attend against the consent of the Empire armed for Galba. His souldiers thus being perswaded perswaded the rest all in a maner to remaine in Galbaes obedience. Whereupon a shoute being made in the campe, Nymphidius supposing the souldiers had called him, or hasting to confirme the vauering, and preuent the tumult, went thither himselfe with torches and linckes, hauing learned without booke an oration composed by Cingonius Varro, to pronounce there among them. But finding the gates of the campe made fast, and souldiers in armes on the walles, he feared the matter, and drawing neare demanded what they ment, and by whose vvarrant they had put themselves so in armes. and when it was answered by all agreeable, that they knew not, nor would not accept other Prince beside Galba, Nymphidius finding the perill, ioynd with them and wished also long life & prosperitie to Galba. Augustus commanding his followers to do al the like. And so by the soldiers, which garded the gates, being admitted with a ferue of his traine, he was at his entrie welcomed in with a dart hurled at him, which one Septinius bare of with a buckler. But seeing so many at the receit with naked swordes prepared
against

against him, he fled, and being pursued was slaine at the length in a souldiers cabin. The daie following his bodie was layed out to view in an open place rayled about.

Galba being yet in his waie and hearing of Nymphidius death commanded the rest of his fauourers and complices to be executed: among which Mithridates of Pontus pated for his mirth, and Cingonius Varro who penned the oration. As Galba drew neere to the Cittie at the Miluian bridge the Mariners met him, whom, being by Nero taken from seruice by sea, and inrolled into a Legion, Galba had commanded to returne to their former estate. But they being manie in number, and loth to goe backe to the Galleyes againe, beset the hie waie on both sides, demanding their Eagle and enseignes tumultuously, and so without order, that the Prince could neither be heard nor see of the people making his entrie: neither could he appease them by putting them ouer to another time of greater leisure and better audience, but taking offerring as a kinde of denying: seditiously they murmured and followed with outcries. And some of them also drewe out their swords, as though they would obtaine it by force, which by faire meanes they could not. Whereupon Galba commanding the korsemen to ride in amongst them slew of them being unarmed seuen thousand, and of the residue allotted euerie tenth man to suffer, putting the rest close up in prison, which neuerthelesse he after enlarged to his disadvantage.

Now Galba, being with generall applause and great good liking of the Empire placed in state, behaued himselfe vnder expectation. And though in most points hee shewed himselfe a vertuous Prince, yet were not his well doings so well accepted, as those disallowed which were otherwise. All persons vniustlie exiled by Nero, as well of the nobilitie as meaner sort, with their children he mercifully restored againe to their cuntrey and honour, though not to their wealth. Contrarily Petronius Turpilianus, an ancient man and once Consull, without forme of processe or order of law, he commanded to die, being charged with no other crime, but onelie that he had beene faithfull to Nero and would not betraie him as the rest did. Then was represented a plausible and gratefull spectacle, Elius, Polycletus, Locusta, Patrobius, Petinus and others in fetters drawen thorow the Cittie and publickly executed, as ministers of Nero in mischiefes, whereas Tigellinus the Master, not without notable incongruitie, was by Galba protected. And notwithstanding the people in Theatres and all common assemblies ceast not importunately to demande his death, as an accomplishment of due and exemplarie iustice pleasing to God and to man, yet golde with Vinus and Vinus with Galba weighed so much that not onely he receiued vnderferued protection but also for his sake the people were rebuked by publicke edict. Whereupon Tigellinus solemnizing the feast of his deliuerance Vinus rose from supper with Galba and went thither with Crispina his daughter to banquet, upon whom Tigellinus bestowed a curtesie of * a thousand thousand sesterces in readie money, and beside all the iewels and Carcanets of his principall minion which sate there at table, by estimation * sixe hundred thousand sesterces. Beside Tigellinus one Halotus of all Neros instruments the most pernicious, was likewise by Galba protected, and preferred also to an honourable office. Now for nearenes Galba was noted extremelie, a vice though incident to age, yet doubtlesse in a Prince much disliked, & in a new Prince dangerous. To a certaine musician which had vwoonderfullie pleased he gaue with his owne hands out of his owne purse * twentie sesterces: and to his steward at the making up of his bookes a reward from his table. But that which was most materiall of all, and prepared the way to his fall, was his hardnesse towards the souldiers: to whom large donatiue being promised in Galbas name, and requiring if not so much, yet so much at least as they were vwoont to receiue, he wholly refused the suite, adding withall, That souldiers he tooke up in the muster bought not in the market. A saying no doubt fit for a great Prince in a more vertuous age, but not so in those

* That is, about
eight thousand
pound English.

* Almost five
thousand pound.

* Three shil-
lings English.

seasons for him, who suffered himselfe to be sold euerie howre, and abused to all purposes; to be gouerned by three pedagogues Vinus and Laco his fauourites, and Icelus his man. To priuate men it is sufficient if themselves do no wrong: a Prince must provide that none do it about him; or else he may looke when the first occasion is offred against him to be charged with al the whole reckening together. To him that suffereth the iniurie it matters not much vvhom made the motion vvhon he feeleth the hand that is heauie vpon him. Thus Galba though innocent of much harme vvhich passed vnder his name, yet because he permitted them to commit it, vvhom he ought to haue bridleed, or vvas ignorant of that vvhich he ought to haue knowen, lost reputation, and opened the vvaie to his oune destruction.

F I N I S.

I. *The Proeme of Tacitus, wherein he professeth simple dealing without partialitie.*

The yeare of
the City. 822.

a Tac. Ann. I.
Veteris resp. pro-
spera vel adu-
lta, clariſſe ſcrip-
tis memorata
ſunt: tempori-
buſq; Auguſti
dicendis non de-
ſuere decora in-
genia, donec
glaiſcente adu-
lone deterrentur.

b Tac. 1. Ann.
Non aliud dis-
cordanti patrie
remedium fuisse,
quam ut ab uno
regeretur.

c Tiberij, Canq;
 & Claudi; ac
 Neronis res, flo-
 rentibus ipsis, ob
 metum false,
 postquam occide-
 rant, recentibus
 odijs composita
 sunt. Tac. 1.
 Ann.

a Censorinus, c. 21
b Bruce.
c lib. 8. cap. 7.
d lib. 40. & lib. 52
& lib. 60.

e Tac. 6. Ann.

ciendis faminarum animis, &c. Neither was it Tiberius maner to bestowe offices so long before hande. Tacit. 2. Annalium.

* Many excellent men] principally ment, as I take it, of Liuie, although his storie reach somewhat further, of whose eloquence, those works are witness that remaine: and of his libertie, Tacitus 4. Annal. in the oration of Crematius Cordus. *Titus Linius eloquentia ac fidei præclarus in primis Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus inuit, ut Pompeianum eum Augustus appellaret, neque id amicitie eorum effectus, Scipionem, Afranium, hunc ipsum Cassium nusquam latrones & parricidas, quæ nunc vocabula imponuntur, sepe ut insignes viros nominat.*

* Because hauing no part in the state they were ignorant: *Inscitia reipub. ut alienæ] Aliena ignorantur*, either because we cannot, or because we care not to knowe them. The first seemeth here to haue place; for whereas before the people and Senate of Rome tooke knowledge of all that was done wherefoeuer, now the most important affaires of estate passed thorow fewer fingers, in more secret sort. *Dio. lib. 53. τοῦ δὲ πλείονος κρυφὰ, καὶ δὲ ἀπορρήτων γίνεσθαι ἤρξατο, οὗτοι δὲ τὸ μὲν σαρδὲς ὁδεὶς οὐδὲ παύτως, ἐξω τῶν παραπύργων αὐτὰ. That is, The most part of affaires began in secret sort to be dispatched, whereof the certaine truth no man lightly knew, except the doers themselves.*

* Prince Nerua of sacred memorie: *Principatum Diui Nerue & imperium Traiani]* To certaine Emperours the Senate, for their good gouernment, or importuned by their successors, awarded *Templum & caelestes religiones*, and the title of Diuus. And not onely to the Princes themselves, but sometimes to their wiues, mothers, and children also; as we reade in the stories. *Appianus 2. Εμφυλ. καὶ οὖν ἐξ ἐκείνης ᾤρωτε* (speaking of Diuus Iulius) *ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ἐνδύστε τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν δὲ ἀρχοντα, ἢν μὴ τὴν ἑπερηνικὸς ἢ δὲ μετὰ τὸν ὄν, ἀποδιδόντα ἀξίως πικρὸν ἰσοδύον. Σποδιδόντα, saith Appian. That is, From Iulius Caesar downward all the Princes except they were tyrants, or extremely vicious, were by the Romans deified after their deashes. Nam Deum honor Principi non ante habetur, quam agere inter homines desierit. Tacitus. And therefore in this place he nameth Traian, who then liued, simply without addition: the other that was dead, *Diuum Neruam*. The ceremonies of this *ἡ σποδωσις* or canonizing, as being in part conformable to the vse of some cuntries in our time, I will here briefly set downe out of Herodian, and others, at least the principall points. After the Princes death, the body being buried honourably, and in sumptuous sort, according to the maner of other men, they framed an image of waxe resembling in all respects the party deceased, but palish and wan as a sicke man: and so being laied at the entry of the Palace in an iuory bed couered with cloth of golde, the Senate and ladies assisting in mourning attire, the physicians daily resorted vnto him to touch his pulse, and consider in colledge of his disease, doctorally at their departure resoluing, that he grew in worse and worse termes, and hardly would scape it. At the end of seven daies they opined, and found by their learning, the crisis belike being bad, that the patient was departed: whereupon some of the Senate appointed for that purpose, and principall gentlemen, taking vp the bed vpon their shoulders caried it thorow Via sacra into the Forum; where a company of young gentlemen of greatest birth standing on the one side, and maids of the other, sung hymnes and sonnets, the one to the other, in commendation of the dead Prince, entuned in a solemne and mournfull note, with all kind of other musicke and melodie, as indeede the whole ceremonie was a mixt action of mourning and mirth, as appeareth also by Seneca, *στολοκοκυσάσας*, at the consecration of Claudius. *Es erat omnium firmosissimum (funus Claudij) & impensa cura plenum, ut scires Deum effari, tibicinum, cornicinum, omniq; generis aeneatorum tanta turba, tantus conuentus, ut etiam Claudius audire posset.* Afterward they caried the herse out of the City into Campus Martius, where a square tower was builded of timber, large at the bottome, and of competent height to receaue wood and fagots sufficiently, outwardly bedeckt and hung with cloth of golde, imagerie worke, and curious pictures. Vpon that tower stode a second turret in figure and furniture like to the first, but somewhat lesse, with windowes and doores standing open, wherein the herse was placed, and all kinde of spiceries and odours, which the whole world could yeeld, heaped therein: and so a third and fourth turret, and so forth, growing lesse and lesse toward the top: the whole building representing the forme of a lantern or watchtower, which giueth light in the night. Thus all being placed in order, the gentlemen first ride about it, marching in a certaine measure: then follow others in open coches with robes of honour, and vpon their faces vizards of the good Princes, and other honourable personages of ancient times. All these ceremonies thus being performed, the Prince which succeedeth taketh a torch, and first putteth to the fire himselfe, & after him all the rest of the companie: and by and by as the fire was kindled, out of the top of the highest turret an eagle was let flie, to cary vp his soule into heauen: and so he was afterward reputed, and by the Romans adored, among the rest of the gods. mary, which I had omitted almost, before consecration it was vsuall, that some gentleman at least should bestowe an othe to proue their deitie. Suetonius Augusto: *Nec defuit vir Prætorius, qui se effigiem cremati (Augusti) euntem in caelum vidisse iurasset.* The like was testified of Drusilla Caius sister by one Linius Geminus a Senatour. *Dio. lib. 59. λέγει τῆς γυναικὸς βαλδύτης ἐς τὸ ἔρανον αὐτὴν ἀναβαίνουσαν, καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς συγχαρομένην ἐκκεῖναι ὡμοσεν, ἐξόλειαν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς παισίν, εἰ ψεύδοιτο, ἐπαρσαμένους, τῇ τε τῶν ἀδελφῶν δὲ ὀμνηρτυρίᾳ, καὶ τῇ ἑαυτῆς ἐκείνης, ἐφ' ᾧ πάντε καὶ εἰκοσι μυριάδας ἐλάβε. That is, one Linius Geminus a Senatour sware that he saw Drusilla ascending vp into heauen, and conuersing with the gods, wishing to himselfe and his children vnder destruction if he spake an vntruth, calling to witnesse both sundry other gods, and especially the goddesse her selfe of whom he spake. for which othe he receiued a million of sesterces, which makes 781 2 lib. 10. shillings sterling. whose tale, for all it was well paid for, men beleueed neuer the better. Seneca, *στολοκοκυσάσας: Postquam in senatu iurauit se Drusillam vidisse caelum ascendentem, & illi pro tam bono nuntio nemo credidit, quod viderit, verbis conceptis affirmauit, se non indicaturum, etiam si in medio foro hominem vidisset occisum.* This lesson they may seeme to haue learned of Proculus Iulius, who tooke an othe not much otherwise for Romulus deitie, whom the Senate murdered and made a god: from whence this race of the Roman gods may seeme to haue taken beginning. Tully also had a meaning that way for his daughter Tulliola, as appeareth by his Epistles *ad Atticum*, but worldly troubles put out of his head those heauenly cogitations. From C. Caesar, Augustus, Claudius, Vespasian, Titus, in a maner without interruption, the**

f As of the 12. first emperours sine onely, Iulius, Augustus, Claudius, Vespasian, & Titus, were canonized: the other seuen as beeing *ἡ σποδωσις* were not vouchsafed the honour.

g lib. 15. Ann. h This making of gods by men *Lucan. lib. 7. derideth, — Cladius tamen huius habemus vndeclam quamvis terris dare numina fas est: Bellapares superi faciens ciuita diuos: Fulminibus manes, radijsque ornabit & astru. Inque Deum complurabis Roma per umbras.*

i lib. 4. k In our time after the death of the late Charles in France, his image was laied in a rich bed, in triumphat attire, with the crowne vpon his head, & the collar of the order about his necke, and forty daies at ordinarie houres dinner & supper was serued in with all accustomed ceremonies, as sewing, water, grace, carning, say taking, &c. all the Cardinals, prelates, lords, gentlemen and officers attending in farre greater solemnity, then if he had been aliue.

l Xiphilinus noteth some other particularities not specified in this narration. m During that time saith Xiphilinus, there stood also a page with a fan of Peacocks feathers to keepe away the flies from his face, as if he were but asleepe.

n Herodian lib. 4.

ο μαμαγμάτοι π πύδος ἰορτὴ καὶ θεοσεβεία. *Dio. lib. 56. in epistaphio Augusti: ἔκιν ἐστὶ ποθεῖν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔπειτα, ἀλλὰ τὴν ψυχὴν, ὅς καὶ θεὸς, δεῖ ἀζάμεν. ο Pharus. — p Dio. lib. 56. in funere Augusti: καὶ τότε δάδας ἐκατόντα τοὺς λαβόντες, οὐκ ἔσαν αὐτῇ (τῇ ψυχῇ) καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀνιλάσκετο, καὶ οὗτος δὲ τις ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀρεθὲς, ἀνέπιατο, ὅς καὶ δὴ ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτὴ ἐς τὴν ὕψην ἀνιέρετο.*

custome

custome dured so long, that many also of the Christian Emperours enshrined in this sort their fathers and predecessors. And this was the honour done to the good Princes after their death: as for the bad, they lacked not likewise the Senates rewardes *ut nomen factis eximeretur, ut statue deicerentur, ut corpus unico traberetur in Tiberium, &c.*

II. A generall view of the whole historie following.

AWORKE I take here in hand containing sundry changes, bloudie battailes, violent mutinies, ^a peace full of cruelty and perill: ^b foure Emperours flaine with sword, ^c three ciuill warres, forraine many mo, ^d and oft both at once: good successe in the East, bad in the West: ^e Illyricum troubled; the countries of Gallia wauering: ^f Brittanny all conquered, not all retained: inuasions of the Sarmatian and Sueuian nation: the ^g Dacian giuing and taking notable ouerthrowes: the Parthians also almost in armes, ^h abused by a counterfayt Nero. Now for Italy, it was afflicted with many miseries, some neuer heard of, some not of many yeares before. townes ⁱ burnt or ouerwhelmed: the ^j most fruitfull tract of Campania, and the city of Rome wasted by fire: the most ancient temples consumed to ashes: euen the Capitol it selfe set on fire by the citizens owne hands: the holy ceremonies prophaned: great adulteries: ^k the ilands replenished with banished men: ^l the cliffes stained with blood: and yet greater rage of cruelty in the citty. ^m to haue bene welthy or nobly borne, was a capitall crime; ⁿ offices of honour likewise either to beare them, or forbear them; and vertue the readie broad way to most assured destruction. Neither were the wicked practises of the informers more odious, then was the recompence they obtained. some gained ^o as spoiles, Pontifical dignities and Consuls roomes: some other ^p Procuratorships and ^q inward credit, making hauocke of all without any difference. ^r The bondmen, vpon hatred or feare, were allured to betray their owne masters, the freedman his patrone: and where enemies were wanting, one friend ruined another. And yet for all this, was not the age so vterly void of all good, but that it yeelded some good examples. diuerse wiues were content to take such part as their banished husbands did: diuerse mothers, as their children: some kinsfolks hardy: some sonnes in law faithfull: some bondmen no racke could remoue from being true to their masters: the death of some honorable men, and their last torments manfully borne, and to be matched with those of ancient times. Beside so manifold changes in humane affaires, many prodigious sights were seene in heauen and earth; many forewarnings by thunders; many presages of things to come, some portending good lucke, some bad; some ambiguous and doubtfull, some plaine and euident: such heauie and horrible calamities in the Roman estate, yeelding proofes neuer more pregnant, ^s that the gods are carefull rather to reuenge our wrongs, then prouide for our safety. But before I enter into my purposed matter, I thinke good to rehearse first, what the state of the citty was, how the souldiers were affected, in what termes the prouinces stode, and what there was any where in the whole Empire found or complaining: so shall we see ^t the reasons and causes of things, not onely the bare euent, which are most commonly gouerned by fortune.

^a And oft both at once: *Ac plerumque permixta*] Both at once, or perchance both in one, as in *Antonius Primus* army at the taking of Cremona, *cui ciues, socij externi interessent*. Tacitus 3. Hist. and in the same booke: *Principes Sarmatarum laz ygam in commilitium asciti. trahuntur in partes Sido. atque Italicus reges Sueuorum*. so that this warre, and such like, though in respect of their captaines ciuill, by reason of externall helpe, might be called *permixta*.

^e Illyricum troubled] As in *Othoes* time by the *Rhoxolani*. Tacitus in this first booke. in *Vitellius*, by the *Daci*: Tac. 3. Hist. in *Vespasians* by the *Sarmatae*; *Iosephus* *ad. ab. 7. c. 12.* and generally the nations vpon that border inuaded the Romans vnder *Domitian*. Tacitus in the life of *Agricola*.

^f Brittanny

^a Chiefly referred to *Domitian* time.

^b *Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Domitian*.

^c The first betwene *Otho* and *Vitellius*. The second betwene *Vitellius* and *Vespasian*.

The third of *L. Antonius* against *Domitian*.

^d *Nobilis* *mutus* *cladibus* *Daci*. The words seeme to import ciuil diffusions: or *mutus* for *alterna*.

^e *Hausta se flamma*: or generally *deuoratio*, in what sort soeuer.

^f *ταυτα ην το παρ αυτου θυμωον εν κινεση απρη ην ημετε, η γινωκε*: saith *Xiphilinus* of *Nero*, whom *Domitian* did match in all kinde of tyrannie.

¹ Britanny all conquered &c. *Britannia perdomita: & statim missa cohorte in Sarmatarum ac Suenorum gentes*] Some learned men correct this place, which no doubt is corrupted, thus. *perdomita Britannia ac statim amissa: cohorte Sarmatarum ac Suenorum gentes*. *perdomita Britannia* is ment by Iulius Agricola in Domitians time. Tacitus in *vita Agricole*: *Quia tum demum perdomita est Britannia*: now must it be lost againe in the same Domitians time (for this historie passeth no further) which can not be prooued by any storie, no not by any slender coniecture. Tacitus writing the life of Agricola in Traians time, *Ea infecta sunt*, saith he, *reip. tempora, que silevi Agricola non sinerent*: *sos exercitus in Massia Daciaque, & Germania, Pannoniaque, temeritate aut per ignauiam ducum amissi*: *sos militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati & capsi*. *nec iam de limite imperij & ripa, sed de hibernis legionum & possessione dubitatum*. the losse of Britanny if there had bene any such, had much better becommed this place, then any other calamity that he could haue tolde vs. But ^a Agricola left the cuntrey in good quiet, and so no doubt it continued all Domitians time. As for any matter happening vnder Adrian (which yet was no losse of the cuntrey, but some disorder) being out of the compasse of this historie, and as it is likely, of his life that wrote it, I will easily beleue it was not intended to be briefed in this place. More according to the storie, and with lesse change in the letter we may thus amend it. *Britannia perdomita & statim missa* (i. *missa facta, & remissa*) *cohorte Sarmatarum ac Suenorum gentes*, to signifie that all Britanny was conquered, but not all retained. App. *τῆς Βρετανίδος νῆσος*, saith he, *τὸ κρηπὶς ἐχέσιν ὑπερῆμισιν (οἱ Ρωμαῖοι) ἐν τῇ ἀλλῇ δέουσι. & ὃ εὐπορεῖς αὐτοῖς ὄντι ἔδ' ἵν' ἐχῇαι*. That is, Of the Ilande of Britanny the Romans possesse the best part, about halfe of the whole Ile, not caring much for the rest. For euen of that which they haue they reape no great profit.

^a Tradiderat in-
terdu Agricola
successori suo pro-
uinciam quietam
suisque.
^b Or partim
missa.

⁴ Abused by a counterfaite Nero] This hapned in Titus time. *Zonaras tom. 2. ὅτι τέτα καὶ ὁ ψευδονέρων ἐφάνη, ὃς ἀδελφὸς ἦν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δὲ τερένπιος μαζέματος, περὶ τοῦ καὶ τῶ νέρωνι καὶ τῶ ἑδός, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ. καὶ ὃ καὶ ἐκίθαρόν τε, ἐκτε τῆς ἀσίας πινυας περὶ ποιοῦσά το. καὶ ὅτι τὸν εὐφράτην περὶ ἡρώων πολλὰ πλείους ἀνῆρθεσά το. καὶ τέλος πρὸς ἀρταβα-
νον τὸν τῶν παρθων κατέφυγεν ἀρχηγόν, ὃς καὶ δι' ὀργῆς τὸν τίτον ποιεῖναι, ἐδέξατο τῆτον καὶ καταγαγεῖν εἰς ῥωμὴν παρεσκεύετο*. That is, In Titus time there arose a counterfaite Nero, called indeede Terentius Maximus, by birth of Asia, and much resembling Nero both in countenance and voice, skilled also on instrument. This fellow got in Asia some followers, and going forward to Euphrates many moe. At length he fled to Artabanus king of the Parthians, who bearing ill will to Titus gaue him entertainment, and made prouision to reduce him to Rome. Suetonius Nerone seemeth to make it in Domitians time. *Quum post viginti annos, (after Neros death) saith he, adolescens ne exisset conditionis incertae, qui se Neronem esse iactaret, tam fauorabile nomen eius apud Parthos fuit, ut vehementer adiutus, & vix redditus sit*. Tacitus 2. Hist. and the abridgement of Dio make mention of another which in Othoes time was flaine in *Cyphno insula* by Calpurnius Asprenas.

⁵ The most fruitfull tract of Campania, and the citie of Rome wasted by fire] Suet. Tito. c. 8. *Quedam sub eo formosa ac tristia acciderunt, ut conflagratio Vesuij montis in Campania, & incendium Roma per triduum, totidemque no flet*. Xiphilinus the abridger of Dio describeth this burning of Vesuius at large with all the circumstances & miracles, among the rest, that the ashes thereof were dispersed into Africke, Syria and Egypt: *εἰσάθη δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ ῥωμὴν, καὶ τὴν τὴν αἶρα τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐπλήρωσε, καὶ τὴν ἥλιον ἐπέσκιζε*. That is, And as Rome filled all the aire aboue the citie and darkened the sunne. Plinius Secundus in an epistle to Tacitus setteth it out vpon occasion of his vnckles death who was stifled there with ashes and smoke. In the later Emperours time the same mountaine burned againe in such vehement sort that they at Constantinople were choked all vp with the ashes that issued from it, if we may safely beleue their owne stories. Now for the wasting of Rome by fire, Xiphilinus deliuereth it at large. *πῦρ δὲ δι' ἑτερον τῶ ἔξῃς ἐτεῖ πολλὰ πᾶν τῆς ῥωμῆς ἐπενέματο. καὶ ὃ τὸ πρεσβύτερον, καὶ τὸ ἱεῖον, καὶ τὸ σελήνη, καὶ τὸ ποσειδώνειον, τὸ τε βαλάνειον τὸ τῆς ἀγρίππης, καὶ τὸ πάνθειον, τὸ τε διελβιπώλειον, καὶ τὸ τῆς βαλβῆς θέατρον, καὶ τὴν τῆς παμπλῆς σκηνὴν, καὶ τὰ ὀκτακτὰ δικάματα μετὰ τῶν βαλάνων, τὸν τε κέων τῆς διὸς τῆς καππιπώλειας μετὰ τῶν συνωλέων αὐτῶ κατέκαυσεν*. That is, The yeere following that of Vesuius, another fire wasted verie manie parts of Rome. For it consumed the temple of Serapis, that of Isis, the places called Septa, the temple of Neptune, Agrippas bathes, the Pantheon, the Divisitorium, the Octavian building: with the bookes, moreover the temple of Iupiter Capitolinus and his fellow gods.

⁶ The Ilands &c. *Plenus exilijs mare*] *Mare pro insulis*. So Tacitus, 4. Ann. calleth Seriphus, *saxum Seriphium*, by way of contempt: for such commonly were the Ilands, into which the *relegati* were sent. The vsuall Ilands of deportation were Pandateria, Planasia, Cercina, Seriphus, Gyarus, Cythera, Amorgus, Donusa, Trimerus, Baleares, Sardinia, Naxos, and perhaps others.

⁷ The clifles &c. *Infecti cadibus scopuli*] The *relegati in insulam* were commonly vpon a second message led aside to some creeke or promontorie, and so quietly made away, or peraduenture *scopuli* is taken here *pro insulis* as *mare* was before.

⁸ Or forbear them] Xiphilinus *Domitianus* maketh mention of Herennius Senecio, whom Domitian put to death, ^a because after the Questorship he had not demanded in all his life any hyer office. Tacitus in *vita Agricole*. *Salarium tamen proconsulari solitum offerri, & quibusdam a seipso concessum Agricola non dedit* (Domitianus) *sine offensu non petiit, sine &c.*

⁹ As spoiles] In Tiberius time, when Libo Drusus was accused of treason, *bona damnati inter accusatores dividebantur*, & *præture extra ordinem dante iis qui senatorij ordinis erant*. Tacitus 2. Annal. Againe 3. Annal. *Hunc* (Titium Sabinum) *Latinius Lasiaris, Porcius Cato, Petisius Rufus, M. Opius prætura functi aggrediuntur cupidine consularis*; speaking not of the time here intended, but of the same maner of proceeding; rather of other men, then other maners.

¹⁰ Procuratorships.] *Procurator*, saith Cicero *pro Cæcina*, *dictus is, qui omnium rerum eius, qui in Italia non sit, absint reip. causa, quasi quidam penè dominus est, h. e. alieni iuris vicarius*. Appian. translateth it *ὁ τὴν ὁπονημίαν ἐπι-
τοπῶν*. From this generall notion, the word was afterward particularly applied to certaine offices, which were appointed in euerie prouince (beside the Presidents, or Lieutenants) as it were, Treasurers or Receiuers to gather vp the reuenues of the Empire. Dio. l. 53. *ἐπιστάτης ὀνομάζουεν τῶς τῆς καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐκλέ-
γους, καὶ περὶ ταχύνειν σφίσι ἀναλίσκοντας*. That is, Procuratores we call them which receiue, and according to their commissions pay out the common reuenues. Tac. in *vita Agricole* bringeth in the Britans complayning: *singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi, & quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona sauiet*. ^a An office of gaine, rather

^a τὴν ἀδελφίαν ἀ-
ρῶν ἐπὶ πολλὰς βί-
ας τὴν ταχύνειν
ἐπὶ τῆς ἀδελφί-
ας. but Tacitus
himselfe in
the preface of
Agricola allead-
geth another
reason bicause
he published a
booke in praise
of Helvidius
Priscus.

^a Tac 16. Ann.
Mella petitione
honoris abstine-
vas per ambitio-
nem præpostera-
ut eques Romanus
consularibus po-
tentia aquaretur.
simul acquirende
pecunie, per pro-
curatores admi-
nistranda. princi-
pu negotiis, breui-
us iter credebatur.

III. *The state of the Citty and prouinces at the beginning of the yeare, when Galba and Vinus entred their office.*

THE death of Nero, as it was at the first very ioyfully receiued, so wrought it anone very diuerſe effectes in the mindes of the Senate at home, the people and ¹ Citty-souldier, and of all the Legions, and captaines abroad, perceiuing that ² ſecret of ſtate diſcloſed, that a Prince might be made elſewhere then at Rome. The Lords of the Senate were glad, finding their liberty ſtraightway put in praſtiſe, ³ making indeed very bould with their Prince, as being new in ſtate, and away: next were the principall Gentlemen as in degree, ſo in reioycing; of the people the ſounder ſort, and ſuch as were lincked with great houſes, the followers and freed-men of condemned and exiled perſons were rayſed to hope: the baſe people noſe-led vp in the ^{*} Race and Theaters, together with the worſt ſort of bondmen, and thoſe which hauing eaten their owne liued only now vpon Neroes diſhonours, hung downe the head, and liſtened for nouelties. The City-ſoldiers poſſeſſed with the oth of allegiance ſo many deſcents ^a to the houſe of the Cæſars, and to forſake Nero being wrought rather by arte and cunning perſwaſion of others, then of their owne motion, when they ſaw the donatiue, which was promiſed them in Galbaes name, not to be perſourmed, nor the like poſſibility and meanes of great deſert, and great gaine in peace, as in warre; ſeeing alſo their thanks preuented by the Legions, who firſt proclaimed the new Prince: vpon theſe and the like reſpects being prone to innouation, they were pricked forward by meanes of Nymphidius Sabinus their captaine, who by treaſon aſpired himſelfe to the Empire. And though Nymphidius was in the verie attempt ſuppreſſed, and the head cut off thereby of the treaſon; yet there remained many of the ſouldiers guilty of the faſte, and hating him whom they had wronged. Moreouer ſpeeches were giuen out, noting the age and auarice of Galba. His ſeuerity, which was wont to be highly commended by ^b the common voice of the ſouldier, was now diſpleaſant to them, who were generally weary of the ancient diſcipline, and ſo trained vp by Nero fourteene yeares, that now they loued their Emperours no leſſe for their vices, then once they reuerenced them for their vertues. And Galba had let fall a ſpeech honorable indeede for the common wealth, but for himſelfe dangerous, That ſouldiers he tooke vp in the muſter, bought not in the market; for the reſt of his doings were not according. His two fauourites, Titus Vinius, and Cornelius Laco, the one of all mortall men moſt vnhoneſt, the other moſt vnable, with the hatefullnes of their lewde actions furcharged, and with the contempt of their inſufficiencie, vtterly ouerthrew the ſeely old man. His journey to Rome ^c was ſlowe and bloudy. for by his commandement Cingonius Varro Conſull elect, and Petronius Turpilianus who ^e had beene Conſull, were both put to death: Cingonius, as an aſſociate of Nymphidius, the other as one of Neroes ^d captaines; who, ^e howſoeuer they deſerued it, dying as they did, not called, not hearde, dyed as guiltleſſe. His entrie into the citie, when as ſo many thouſandes of vnarmed ſouldiers were put to the ſworde, ſeemed an vnluckie beginning, and was had in horreur, euen of thoſe which executed the ſlaughter. The citie was full of extraordinary ſouldiers: Galba ^f brought in the Spaniſh Legion, and there remained another, which Nero had gathered out of the Nauie, beſide many companies out of the Legions of Germanie, Britannie, and Illyricum, which Nero had ſelected, and ſent before to the ^g ſtraits of the Caſpian mountaines, for the warre intended with the Albanes, and afterward called againe to employ

ε' Εδοξε μὴ το-
 μιμῶς (ὁ Γάβας)
 εἰ καὶ διέφινος
 μὴ δὲ διμυτικῶς
 ἀντικίνασθαι πρὸς
 χρίστος ἀνδρες
 ἐκ αὐτῶν.
 Plut. in Galba,
 as it were tran-
 slating this place.

employ against Vindex: matter enough for innouation; though not greatly in fauour of any one, yet ready prepared for him that would venture. By chance the newes came together that Clodius Macer, and Fonteius Capito were flaine. Macer without question had begun to worke troubles in Africke, and was by Trebonius Garucianus the Procurator dispatched, by commandement from Galba: Capito in Germanie attempting the like, Cornelius Aquinus and Fabius Valens⁷ Lieutenants of legions, slew without warrant. Some men were of opinion that Capito (though otherwise for extortion and vicious liuing very infamous) was neuertheless not guilty of treason: but that the Lieutenants hauing moued him to vndertake the matter against Galba, and seeing they could not induce him, tooke a new course,^f preferring accusation against him, and consequently killing him for the crime whereof themselves were the hatchers: and so Galba either vpon a fickle disposition, or as being loth to search any deeper, did giue allowance to that which was done howsoeuer, sith it could not be vndone: but surely both the executions were greatly misliked, as in a prince once in obloquie, do he well do he ill, all is ill taken. Now his freedmen being ouer mighty, made open sale of all matters: his bondmen greedy vpon present aduantage, and hasty, as being vnder a master that was old, and not like long to continue: in summe the faults in the new court being but the same and of the like nature, yet were not excused alike. the very age of Galba was matter of scorne and contempt to them that were vsed to Neros fresh youth, comparing the Princes, as the maner is of the common sort, in beauty, and comelines of presence. And this was at Rome, as in such a variety, the state of mens minds. Now for the⁸ prouinces abroad,⁹ of Spaine Cluius Rufus was President, a person very eloquent, and for seruice in peace able, in war vnexpert. Those of Gallia, beside the memory of Vindex, were another way assured to Galba, being of late by him made citizens of Rome, and releas'd of part of their tribute for the time to come; only the cities which lay nearest the armies of Germany, hauing not the like honour done, yea and some beside hauing part of their territory taken away, were aggrieved as well with their fellowes benefits, as with their owne wrongs. The souldiers of Germany (a perillous matter in so mighty armies) swelled with pride vpon their late victory, and againe, as hauing supported in some degree the contrary side, were perplexed with feare. they were slow in reuolting from Nero: neither did Verginius declare himselfe at the first for Galba: whether he desired the Empire himselfe, or no, was a question: without question his souldiers made him a profer. The death of Fonteius Capito euen they⁸ stomacked, that could not iustly complaine: only there wanted an head, Verginius being sent for away vnder colour of friendship: whom when they saw not to be sent backe, and moreouer his doings^h called in question, they tooke it all as their owne case. The armie of vpper Germany made light reckening of Hordeonius Flaccus their Lieutenant, a man aged, and gowtie, without resolution, without authoritie, vnable to rule a quieter company; now being in fury, and finding him weake to gouerne the bridle, they sturred and troubled the more. The legions of lower Germanie were awhile without a Lieutenant generall, till at length Vitellius came, sent by Galba, the sonne of Vitellius which had bene Censor, and thrise Consul:ⁱ that seemed sufficient. The army in Britannie was quiet; and in truth among all the legions, in all those ciuill troubles, none behaued themselves^k more innocently: whether it was, that they were farre off, and seuered by sea, or that by continuall exploits against the enemy, the malice of their humour was spent otherwise. Illyricum also sturred not, although the legions which Nero had called thence, while they lingred in Italie, had sent to Verginius to offer

^f *Crimen ac dolus*: in another place, *crimen ac mox insidiam*. so that *dolum commissum esse* seemeth heere to be equiualent to *insidiam*.

^g Those he meaneth, as I thinke, that had giuen out he was a traitour, or otherwise consented to his death.

^h *Asq; etiam rem esse*: not iudicially, that I can find: *arma impubli oris uide* sayeth Plutar.

ⁱ *Id satis uidebatur*: that is, to Galba to send him Lieutenant, or to the souldiers to haue a liking to make him their Emperour, being so well borne.

^k And yet they joined themselves with Vitellius. *adiuncto Britannico exercitu Vitellius &c.*

so much the secretes imported, that in substance it mattered not much where he were made, that afterward could maintain it with armes, and with the good liking of the subiects of the Empire. This secretes of state Galba disclosed, and making his profit thereof against Nero, gaue occasion to other to practise the like against him. The souldiers of Germanie in the choise of Virellius, as Plutarch reporteth, *οὕτως δὴ τὸν εὐτελέσιον ἐλόμενος δειξάμενος ἀνθρώποις πᾶσιν ὡς ἰδίῳ καὶ λυσσιπῶν ἀμείνους ἐσμέν ἀντικρῆτορα δεικνύμενοι*. That is, *Goe too now, by choosing Virellius let vs shew to the world that we are able to make an Emperour better then those of Spaine and Portugall*. Virellius likewise passed out the sameway he came in. Nam possi ab exercitu principem fieri, sibi ipsi Virellius documento est, saith Mutianus in Tacitus lib. 2. Hist. And generally after this secretes was by Galba once disclosed, moe Emperours were made abroad, then at Rome. Beside these *imperi*, or *dominationis arcana*, Tacitus maketh mention of *arcana domus Augustae*: that is, secretes of court, or of Palace. and 3. Ann. of *secreta imperatorum*.

³ Making indeede very bolde with their Prince as being new in state] Tacitus 2. Hist. *Recens Galba principatu censuerant patres et accusatorum causa noscerentur*. and 4. Hist. in the oration of Curtius Montanus. *Eianguntur P. C. nec iam ille senatus sumus, qui occiso Nerone delatores, et ministros more maiorum puniendos flagitabat*. Optimus est post malum principem dies primus. Now accusatores, promoters, or enformers, are reckened inter instrumenta imperij, with as good reason as one Locusta in Claudius and Neros time, *nuper venefici dampnata et diu inter instrumenta regni habita*, saith Tacitus 12. Annal. For accusers certaine it is that many good Princes, or not very bad, haue beene content to maintaine them. Mutianus the mouth of Vespasian *censuit prolixè pro accusatoribus*: Tacitus 4. Histor. Helvidius Priscus suing Epius Marcellus vpon the decree *Dubia voluntate Galbae* became sodainly non-suite. *ibidem*.

⁴ His journey to Rome was slowe] At what day Galba began his journey from Spaine to Rome, and when he entred the city, the stories being lost, it is hard precisely to determine. Notwithstanding to giue some light to this place, and withall to yeeld a reason of the times set downe by me elsewhere, I thinke good to note the reasons which moued me thereto. First *Galerio Trachato, Silio Italico Cosi. Neapoli de motu Galliarum cognouit (Nero) die ipso, quo matrem occiderat*. Sueton. ^c Neron. Now Agrippina was slaine *ipsis Quinquaginta diebus*: Tacit. 14. Annal. & Sueton. ^d Neron; & *Quinquaginta* begin the nineteenth day of March: Ouid. Fast. 3. so allowing some competent time from Vienna, or Lions to Naples it will appeare that Vindex rebellion began about the tenth or twelfth of March. Againe Xiphilinus saith that Galba reigned nine moneths and thirteene daies, which is to be vnderstood from the time he tooke the Empire vpon him in Spaine, as Xiphilinus himselfe noteth in the last words of Vespasians time. so that Galba, dying the fifteenth of ^e Ianuary, began his raigne about the first or second of Aprill. Nero began the 13. of October: Tacitus 12. Ann. *χὴ ἦρξεν ἐπὶ τοῖς καὶ δέκα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ μηνῶν ἡμέρας δέοντας, ἐτελεύτησε δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἰσλιον μῆνα*. That is, *And he reigned thirteene yeeres and eight moneths, wanting two daies, and died in the moneth of Iulie*, saith Zonaras tomo 2. which two sayings cannot both be true. for if Nero deceased in Iulie, then raigned he more then thirteene yeere and eight moneths: but if his raigne was no longer, which Xiphilinus also assureth vs of, then died he not in Iulie. Againe the same Xiphilinus writeth; *καὶ τότε συβελίει ἐν αὐτῇ τε καὶ δύο καὶ εἰκοσὶν ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ νεράου μέχρι τῆς τοῦ οὐεσπασιανῆ ἀρχῆς διελθῆναι*. That is, *That by iust computation from Neros death till the beginning of Vespasians raigne, there was one whole yeere and two and twentie daies*. but the first day of Vespasians Empire was the first day of Iulie: Tac. 2. Hist. so that Neros death was vpon the 8. of Iune. and so it should seeme by Tacitus in this very booke, *septem à Neronis sine menses sunt*. Aurelius Victor saith, *Menses septem diesque totidem (imperauit Galba)* which vnderstood from Neros death agreeth iustly with the former account. About the very same tinte with Nero died Vindex in France. The word came first of his death to Galba in Spaine, and certaine daies after of Neros in post. Plutar. Galba. And certaine it is that Nero neuer had any newes of Vindex ouerthrow. for it could not haue beene otherwise but that being heard must needs haue wrought some notable alteration at Rome. Philostratus lib. 5. *de vita Apollonii*, *ἀκούει φασιν ὅς Νέρων μὲν περὶ τούτοις, τεθνήκοι δὲ Βένδης*, That is, *It was reported (at Messana where Apollonius shen was) that Nero was fled, and Vindex dead*. as though at Messana in Sicily the newes of Neros destruction had first beene reported. Of Neros death Icelus brought Galba the newes in seauen daies from Rome. Plutarch. *ἦκεν ἀπὸ ρώμης ἱκέλος ἀνὴρ ἀπελθὼν δεξὸς, ἐβδωμῆος*. So allowing sometime for prouision, it may seeme that Galba set forward about the beginning of Iulie, and entred the citie, as it may be reasonable supposed, about September following; his journey saith Tacitus was slowe, the way long, and his men heauie laden.

⁵ Galba brought in the Spanisli Legion] That is, as I thinke, Septima Galiana, gathered (as it may seeme by Tacitus 3. Hist. Dio lib. 55. and Suetonius) by Galba in Spaine, which notwithstanding seemeth to haue beene sent away into Illyricum before his death vnder Antonius Primus Lieutenant, and therefore without cause remembered heere. in the tumult of Otho I finde no mention of any *Hispana legio*, neither in Tacitus in this booke, nor any writer beside, vnlesse percase they alone were a sleepe, when all the world beside was in armes.

⁶ To the straits of the Caspian mountaines] Suetonius ^c Neron. *Parabat (Nero) et ad Caspias portas expeditionem, conscripta ex Italicis senum pedum tyronibus noua legione, quam Magni Alexandri phalangem appellabat*. Xiphilinus addeth further that he had purposed a viage into Aethiopia.

⁷ Lieutenants of legions: *Legati legionū*] *Legatus* in this very booke hath three significations. 1. *Legatus* for an Embassadour. *Censuerant patres mittendos ad Germanicum exercitum legatos*. 2. *Legatus*, or *Legatus consularis*, or *consularis* for a Lieutenant, deputie, president, or gouernour of a whole prouince, or army: *Othonem in prouinciam Lusitaniam specie legationis seposuit*. Horiconius Flaccus *consularis legatus* aderat. *inferioris Germaniae legiones diuini sine consulari fuisse*. 3. *Legatus legionis*, or *legatus Praetorius*, or *legatus* simply, but by circumstance to be discerned, for the Lieutenant of a Legion, whereof were in euerie army as many as Legions. *Calpurnius legatus vicesime legionis*. in *viā Agricola* speaking of the same Legion and man; *Quippe legatus consularibus nimis ac formidolosa erat*. *Nec legatus Praetorius ad cohibendum potens*. *Nullo legatorum, tribunorumque pro Galba nitente*. *Fidis legatorum certaminibus*, spoken equiuocally, and to the vantage of the worde, for the one of them was *legatus consularis*, and the other *legatus legionis*.

⁸ Prouinces abroad: *E prouincijs*] *Scilicet Caesaris*, onely ment, as I take it, here. for Augustus after the warre at Actium, enforced soorfooth by the Senate to vndertake the Monarchy, diuided the prouinces into two sorts. The

^b In the end of Nero and beginning of Galba.
^c cap. 40.
^d cap. 34.

^e Tac. 1. Hist.

^f Galba cap. 10.

^g cap. 39.

quiet and peaceable cuntries he rendred into the Senat & peoples hand; the prouinces that limited & bordered the Empire, with the rest where any rebellion, or warre might be feared, he retained to himselfe, and his successors, in shew to sustaine himselfe all danger alone, and leaue to the Senate the sweete at their ease, but in truth to keepe himselfe alwaies armed, and them without armes. To the Senate and people, as ^h Strabo, and ⁱ Dio write, belonged these prouinces following, which ^k Tacitus, if I be not deceiued, calleth *Publicas prouincias*. *Due consulares*, Africke with Numidia, and Asia, so called because these two prouinces were properly assigned to those who had bene Consuls, whereas for the rest it sufficed to haue borne inferiour office: and *decempretorie*. Bætica, Narbonensis, Sardinia with Corsica, Sicilia, Epirus, Macedonia, Achaia with Thessalia &c. Creta with Cyrene, Cyprus, Pontus and Bithynia. To himselfe he retained Hispania Tarraconensis, Lusitania, Gallia Lugdunensis, Belgica, Aquitania, Syria, &c. Cilicia, Egypt, Dalmatia, Mœsia, Pannonia, and the tract of Rhene vpon the French side called by the name of ^l *superior* and *inferior Germania*, as it is also at this day called Germanie, but by Cæsars description comprehended in Gallia, and a verie part of Belgica, who knew no other *Germania*, but that which the later writers call for difference sake *germaniam maiorem*, Great Germanie beyond the Rhene: whereas Tacitus in this first booke naming often Germanie, meaneth alwaies the other two prouinces, so called because the Germans continually passing the Rhene inhabited the cuntry, and so by little and little changed the name. Cæsar lib. 2. com. Dio. lib. 53. Tac. lib. 1. Ann. and in his booke *de moribus Germanorum*. *Treueri & Nervii circa affeclationem Germanicæ originis vltro ambiosi sunt, sanquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis, à similitudine & inertia Gallorum separantur. ipsam Rheni ripam hand dubiè Germanorum populi colunt Vangiones, Treuoci, Nemetes, &c.* Of these two Germanies, *superior*, saith Dio, was *ἡ μετὰ τὴν τὴ ποταμῷ (ῥῆνῳ) πηγῆς*, That is, From the head of the Rhene, and stretched to Mentz, or Cobolentz rather: *inferior*, downward *μέχρι τῆς ἁρκτανῆς βρετανικῆς*, That is, To the British Ocean. Beside these prouinces whatsoever was afterward conquered, or became subiect to the Romane Empire, as England in Claudius time, Pontus Polemoniacus, and Alpes Cottie in Neroes time, Dacia in Traians, &c. ^m increased the Emperours portion. Now the gouernors that were sent into the Senates cuntries, both Pretorian and Consular, were called *Proconsules*, whether they had euer bene Consuls or no. Those which the Emperours sent into theirs were called *Legati*, or *Legati Consulares*, or *Proprætores*, except peraduenture they sent somtimes their Procurators, as in small prouinces before we haue noted. Dio lib. 53. *καὶ τὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς βασιλεὺς ἐκατέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν πλὴν Ἀῖγυπτίων ἀρχὴν κατέδειξεν (ὁ Αὐγύστης) ἐπειτα δὲ τὸς μὲν καὶ ἐπιποῖτες, καὶ κληρωτὸς εἶναι, πλὴν ἔτι τῶν πολυπαιδῶν, ἢ τοῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς τῆς δημοσίας συλλογῆς πειμπεσθαι, μὴ τε ξίφος παραχωρημένους, μὴ τε στρατιωτικὴν ἐσθλήν χραιμάτους, καὶ ἀνθυπάτους καλεῖσθαι μὴ ὅτι τὸς ὑπατευκότας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸς ἀλλοὺς τῶν ἐστρατηγικῶν, ἢ δοκούντων γε ἐστρατηγικῶν μόνον ὄντας. ῥα δὲ δέχεται τε σφᾶς ἐκατέρως, ὅσοις περ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ νόμῳ, χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὀπίσθημα καὶ παραχρῆμα αἶμα τὸ ἐξω τῶ πομηνεῖς γενέσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐστῆναι, καὶ διαπαντός, μέχρι ἀν ἀνακομισθῶσιν, ἔχειν ἐκλευσι. τὸς δὲ ἑτέρας ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρεῖσθαι, καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς αὐτὴ ἀντιστρατηγὸς τε ὀνομαζέσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ὄντας, ἡγεῖται. i. Of both the publique and Princes prouinces, Aegypt only excepted, the gouernors were taken out of the Senators: for the publique prouinces annually, and chosen by lot (except they were conferred on any upon some speciall priuiledge, as of marriage or multitude of children) and sent out as it were from the bodie of the Senate, not wearing sword, nor paludamentum, and indifferently called *Proconsuls* whether they euer had bene Consuls or not: hauing also as many sergeants attending as vsually they had in the citie, and as soone as they were out of the *Pomerium* assuming the ensignes of their office which they alwaies retained untill their returne. Now for the gouernours of the princes prouinces, he reserved them for his owne choise, & appointed that they should be termed *Legati* and *Proprætores*, though they had peraduenture borne the office of Consulship before. *Et panis post, τῇ τε ἐν ἐπιχλήσει τῇ τῶν ἀντιστρατηγῶν τὸς ἀρετὸς χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἢ ἐνιαυτὸς χρεῖνον, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐαυτοὶ δέξοι, ἀρχὴν ἐποίησε, τὴν τε στρατιωτικὴν ἐσθλήν φρεσύντας, καὶ ξίφος, οἷον καὶ στρατιώτας διαγνώσκει ἔχοντες, ἔχοντας. That is, The name of Proprætores he gaue to those of his owne choise, and continued their office more or lesse during pleasure; appointing likewise that they should weare the Paludamentum and sword, as hauing authoritie of life and death ouer the souldiers. Tacitus in this booke speaking of Gallia Narbonensis a publicke prouince; Vinius, saith he, *proconsulatu Galliam Narbonensem seuere rexit*, who neuer had bene Consul before: Annalium 1. I finde Granius Marcellus called Prætor of Bithynia, which was at the first diuision a publicke prouince, and so continued as appeareth out of Plinies tenth booke of epistles. And in the same place of Tacitus mention is made of a Questor, an office not vsed in the Princes cuntries; and in Claudius time *damnatus lege repetundarum Caius Rufus accusantibus Bithyniis*; which action I thinke, lay not against the Princes *legati*, as executing their charge rather by way of commission, then by vertue of office. But of *Proprætor* the case is cleere. 12. Ann. in *Brisannia P. Oflorim proprætorum*, and of the same man, *Cæsar cognita morte legati, &c.* Vitellius in this booke is called *legatus consularis inferioris Germaniæ*: and 4. Ann. L. *Apronius inferioris Germaniæ proprætor*. Suetonius ° Nerone. *Duce Inlio Vindice, quætuor eam prouinciam proprætoribus obinebat, id est, Galliam Lugdunensem* belonging to the Prince. In Africke Caius beside the *Proconsul*, the office and name due to the place, superinduced a *legatus* as from himselfe to take charge of the souldiers there. Tacit. Hist. 4. *Legio in Africa auxilia, tuendis imperij finibus, sub diuo Augusto Tiberioq. principibus, proconsuli parebant. Mox C. Cæsar inuidius animi, ac P. M. Sullanum obinensem Africam metuens, ablatam proconsuli legionem, misit in eam rem legato tradidit, equatus inter duos beneficiorum numerus, & mixta utriusque mandatis discordia quaesita, anctaque. Præmo certamine legatorum ius adoleuit, diuturnitate officij, vel quia minoribus maior emulandi cura. Proconsulum splendidissimi quisque securitati magis quam potentie consulebant. Dio. lib. 59. ἐπειδὴ τε λυκίῳ πείσαν ὁ τὴν πρὸς αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν γυναικὶ πείσαν ὁ ἴσος ἀρχὴς τῆς ἀρεκτῆς ἐποχῆν, ἐρῶνδῃ μὴ νεώτερον πὶ τὸ μετὰ λαυχίας, ἀλλὰ τὸ τε καὶ ὅτι δύναμιν πολλὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν καὶ ξηρικὴν ἔχειν ἐμελλε, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐθνῶν νεμεσι, ἐπὶ τὸ τε στρατιωτικόν, καὶ τὸς νομαδὰς τὸς αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐξ ἐλευθέρου καὶ δούλου τὸ το γίγνεσθαι. That is, After that Lucius Pisonne of Cn. Piso and Plancina was made *Proconsul* of Africke, Caius the Emperour fearing that vpon hauintesse of stomache he might be induced to worke inuouation, especially hauing vnder his charge greas forces both legionary and auxiliary, he diuided the gouernment into two parts, and gaue another the charge both of the souldiers and of the Numidians bordering thereabouts, which custome is retained euen so this day. Onely of Egypt the gouernor was neither called *Legatus*, nor *Proprætor*, but *Præfectus Aegypti*, or *Præfectus Augustalæ*. Other names as *Præses*, *Rektor* &c. I take to be common to both sorts. Againe in prouincys publick were *Questores* beside Procurators; in the Princes, Procurators onely.***

Dio

^h lib. 17.
ⁱ lib. 53.
^k 12. Ann.

^l In Marcellinus lib. 15. *Germania prima* (wherein were *Magonia-cu*, *Vangiones*, *Nemetes*, & *Ar-gentoratius*) and *Germania secunda*, *Agrippina* & *Tungri munita*.

^m τὰς αὐτὰς καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ.

ⁿ ep. 64. 65.

^o cap. 40.

^p Or according to Dio, *Lucium Pisonem*.

Dio lib. 53. πρῶτονται ὅς εἰς μὲν τὰ τῆ δῆμος τῆς τε βουλῆς λεγόμενα ἔθνη οἱ ταμιεῖοντες, ὡς αὖ ὁ κληρὸς ἀποδείξει. That is, Into the provinces which appertain to the Senate and people there are sent *Questors* chosen by lot, and τὸς ἐπιτρόπους εἰς πάντα ὁμοίως ἔθνη τὰ τε αὐτῶν δὴ καὶ τὰ τῆ δῆμος πέμπει ὁ κῆμσις. That is, The *Emperors* send *Procurators* to all provinces alike, both his owne and those which belong to the people.

9 Of Spayne &c. *Hispania præerat Cluius Rufus*] *I*deff. *Hispania Tarraconensis*, for that onely of the three provinces, into which Spaine is diuided, was furnished with souldiers, and of such especially in this place Tacitus intendeth, not extending his speech to the naked and peaceable, which afterward he calleth *inermes*. Cluius Rufus was a famous orator, and wrote a story of that time alleadged by Tacitus 13. and 14. Ann. who, notwithstanding his preferment was by Galba, & sware with the first to Otho, and in the beginning of Vitellius time returned to Rome, *non adempta Hispania quam rex it absens*. Tacit. 2. Hist. In the ninth booke and nineteenth epistle Plinie maketh mention of a speech that passed betweene Verginius, and Cluius: his words be these; *isa secum aliquando Cluium locutum: Scis Vergini quæ historiæ fides debeatur; proinde si quid in historijs meis legis aliter ac velles, rogo ignoscas. Ad hoc sic illum, Clui ne tu ignoras, idem me fecisse quod feci, ut esse liberum vobis scribere, quæ libuisset?*

16. Egypt and the garriſons there the gentlemen of Rome] τὴν αἰγυπτὸν, φαίeth Dio. lib. 51. καὶ τὴν περὶ αἰθίον
 νίκην ὡς τελεῇ ἐποίησιν (ὁ Αὐγούστος) καὶ πῶς γὰρ τῷ κορινθίῳ ἐπέτελλε. ὡς τε γὰρ τὸ πολυανδρὸν καὶ πῶς
 πόλεων, καὶ τῆς χώρας, καὶ ὡς τὸ βασίλειον, τὸ τε κέρον τῶν πόσεων αὐτῶν, τὴν τε σιτοποιεῖαν, καὶ τὰ χρῆ-
 ματα, ὅθεν βασιλὴς ἔχ' ὅπως ἐγχειρᾷ αὐτὴν ἐτόλμησεν, ἀλλ' ὅθεν ἐπεπισημῆν αὐτῇ ἐξουσίαν ἐδωκεν, αὐτῇ
 πρὶ αὐτὸς ὀνομασίᾳ συγχαρήσῃ. That is, After the victory at Actium Augustus made Egypt tributary, and committed
 the government thereof to Cornelius Gallus. For considering the great store of people both in the townes and the cuntry, moreo-
 ver their lenity and inconstancy, that it was the Roman storehouse of corne, and very rich of money, not onely he durst not trust
 it into the hands of the Senatours, but also expressely forbad any of them to sojourne there, except by permission namely from him.
 Tacitus 2. Ann. writeth that not onely Senatours, but also equites Romani illustres (that is, as I thinke, those whom
 16. Ann. he termeth equites Romanos dignitate senatoria) were forbidden to goe thither, but vpon permission; Ne
 fame vrgeret Italiam quisquis eam provinciam, claustraq; terræ ac maris quamuis leui præsidio aduersus ingentes exercitus in-
 sedisset. Arrianus lib. 3. is of opinion, that the Romans in ordering Egypt followed the example of Alexander the
 great, who, φαίeth he, καταμεῖναι λέγεται ἐς πολλὰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς αἰγυπτῆς, τὴν τε φύσιν τῆς χώρας θαυμάσαι
 καὶ τὴν ὀχυρότητα, ὅτι ἄσφαδές αὐτῷ ἐφάνετο ἐνὶ ἀπυρρῆλαι ἀρχῇ τῆς αἰγυπτῆς πάσης. καὶ ῥωμαῖοι μετ' ἐ-
 ὅσον παρ' ἀλεξάνδρου μαθόντες, ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν αἰγυπτὸν καὶ μηδὲνα τὸν ἐπὶ τὸ βασίλειον ἐπὶ τὸ ἐκπεμπεῖν
 ὑπάρχον αἰγυπτῆς, ἀλλὰ τῶν εἰς τὰς ἱππέας σφίσι ζωτηλέωντων. That is, It reported to haue diuided the gouernment
 of Aegypt amongst many, hauing in admiration the naturall site and strength of the cuntry: wherefore he thought it not safe
 to commit the entire regiment thereof to any one man. and the Romans in my opinion learned this point of Alexander strictly to
 garde Aegypt, and for the same cause to make none of the Senatours gouernour there, but onely of the ordo Equestris.

IIII. *The adoption of Piso.*

SOME few daies after the beginning of Ianuary, letters came out of Belgica from Pompeius Propinquus Procurator there, that the legions of vpper Germany without respect of oth and duty demanded another Emperour; and that this their reuolt might be the lesse hainously taken, had referred the choise thereof to the Senate, and people of Rome. These newes hastned the purpose of Galba, who had already a good while before deuised with himselfe, and with some neere about him, concerning the adoption. No speech was for the time more common and currant in the whole city, partly vpon a licence and lust to talke of such matters, and partly because Galba was spent and feeble for age: vpon iudgement or loue to the common wealth very few, the most part vpon secret hopes, as they fauored or followed this man or that, offred occasion to bring them in speech for the succession. And now Vinus was growne into great hatred; who, as he waxed daily more mighty, so daily more odious: for Galba with his too much facilitie encreased and nourished the greedy and gaping desires of his friends neuer satisfied in so great meanes, and offending, as vnder a Prince weake of body, and light of beleefe, with lesse feare, and greater aduantage. The whole power of the Prince was diuided betweene Titus Vinus the Consull, and Cornelius Laco captaine of the garde. Neither was Icelus the freed-man inferiour in fauour with his master, who being priuiledged to weare gold rings, and made a gentleman, was commonly called by the name of Martianus. These three, otherwise disagreeing, and in points of lesse importance drawing euery one a sundry waie, in this consultation of chusing a successour were diuided into two sides. Vinus was for Marcus Otho: Laco and Icelus agreed not so much vpon any one, as vpon any other. Neither did Galba much like of the

* *Crispina.** *Parthici gesta-
men Othonu.*

Iunial. Sat. 11.

b *Per libertinam**aulicam insinua-**tu Neroni, facit**summum inter**amicos locum te-**nuit, congruentia**morum.*

Suet. Oib. c. 2.

c *De lapsu Nero-**ne in amorem**Atia, assumptio**in conscientiam**Othone &c.*

Ann. 13.

d *At Seneca**intreating:**Plusar.*Ann. 13. *Deici-**tur familiaritate**sueta, post con-**gressu & comita-**tu Otho, & po-**stremo ne in urbe**amulatus ageret,**prouincie Lusita-**nia praeficitur:**ubi usq; ad ciuilia**arma non ex-**priore infamia,**sed integre, san-**ctus egit, procax**orij, & potestatis**temperantior.** *Praefectus ur-**bi.** *Sueton. c. 17.**Some what differ-**ring from Tacitus**writeth, Pisonem**repente & media**salutantum tur-**ba apprehendit,**filiumq; appellans,**in castra per-**duxit.*f *To this saying**alluded, as it may**seeme, Dagalai-**phus master of**the horse to Va-**lentian the**Emperour, who**being demanded**in counsell by**his master, what**partener he were**best to assume**of the Empire,**answered briefly,**Si tuos amas ha-**bes fratrem, si**remp. alium**quere. Marcell-**lin. lib. 26.*

party, suspecting the counsell of Vinius as partiall, and grounded vpon a mariage pretended betweene * his daughter being a widow, and Otho an vnmarried man; a matter wherewith the eares of the Prince, by reason of tale-carriers in court, were not vnacquainted. I thinke also that Galba was touched in part with care of the common wealth, which might seeme in vaine transferred from Nero, if it were to be left vpon Otho. for Otho had spent his tender yeares without ^a regard of his honour, his youth afterward in all dissolute disorder, ^a in grace with Nero ^b through emulation of vice: and therefore Nero had left in his custodie, as with one that was ^c priuy to his lusts, ³ Poppæa Sabina his principall minion, till he had dispatched his hands of Octauia his wife: soone after vpon an apprehension of ielosy, he sent him ^d away into Lusitania, colourably to be Lieutenant there. Otho hauing gouerned the prouince with all curtesy, and being the first that came in to Galba, and therewith a man of action, and of those which were present during the warre of greatest account, readily conceiued hope of adoption, and daily tooke himselfe better assured, being well fauoured of most of the soldiers, and greatly beloued of Neros court, as one like to their late master. But Galba after the newes of the German rebellion, although of Vitellius as yet he vnderstoode no certaintie, being doubtfull to what issue this violent proceeding of the armies would grow, and reposing no trust in the city-souldier, proceedeth to declare a successour, the onely stay, as he supposed, of his estate. And calling to him beside Vinius and Laco, Marius Celsus Consull elect, and Ducenius Geminus * Prouost of the city, after some speech vsed of his age, ^e he commandeth Piso Licinianus to be sent for, either vpon his owne choise, or as some haue reported, at the instance of Laco: who cunningly preferred him as a meere stranger to himselfe, whereas indeede they had in Rubellius Plautus house, had long acquaintance together, and the good opinion which went generally of Piso, gaue credit to his counsell. Piso was sonne to Marcus Crassus, and Scribonia, nobly borne on both sides; in countenance and presence after the ancient sort, rightly to iudge, seuerer; but to them which interpreted all to the worst, seeming too sowe. That quality of his, the more it was by some men, careful in that behalfe, misdoubted and feared, the better it pleased the man, who was to adopt him. So Galba taking Piso by the hand, is saied to haue spoken in this manner.

If I should as a priuate man only, by an act of the Curia, and assent of the Priests, as the maner is, adopt you, it would be both an honour for me, to take into my family the progenie of Marcus Crassus and Pompey, and a glory for you, to adioine the honorable encrease of the ⁴ Sulpitian and Lutatian houses to your owne nobility. But now being by the consent of gods and men called to the Empire, I am moued by your rare towardnes, and the loue I beare to my countrey, to offer vnto you, without your trouble, the Princes place, that, for which our auncestors haue contended in armes, which by armes my selfe haue obtained: following herein the example of Augustus, who placed in estate next to himselfe, first Marcellus his sisters sonne, afterward Agrippa his sonne in lawe, then his daughters sonnes, and lastly his wiues sonne Tiberius Nero. But Augustus, as it seemeth, sought a successour in his family, and I ^f in the common wealth. Not that I lacke some ⁵ neere me in blood, or companions in armes, whom I could respect: but neither did I by ambition attaine to the Empire, and of my iudgement herein may be prooffe, not onely mine owne friends passed ouer, but yours also. A brother you haue, noble alike, in yeares before you, well worthy of this honour, were not you the more woorthy. Your yeares are such, as are settled from the affections of youth, and so spent, as nothing

nothing past needeth excuse. Hitherto you haue tasted onely of aduerse fortune: prosperity searcheth more deeply the minde; for miseries are borne with patience, felicity corrupteth. Integrity, friendship, round and free dealing, the principall gifts of the minde, you for your part, no doubt will retaine as heretofore; but in others towards you, in respect of your degree, you shall finde it to be otherwise: flattery will breake in, and pleasing speeches, and the most pestilent poison of all true meaning, private respects for private aduantage. We two this day common plainly together, others rather talke with our estate, then our persons: for indeede to persuade a Prince that which is meete, is a point of some paine; to flatter any Prince whatsoeuer, needeth small endeour. If this vast body of the Empire could stand without gouernour, balanced in due proportion and order, the free common wealth might worthilie haue taken beginning from me: but now it is come long agoe to that passe, that neither mine age can benefit the people of Rome any way more, then in finding them a good successor, nor your youth, then in yeelding them a good Prince. Vnder Tiberius, Caius, and Claudius, we haue bene as it were, the inheritance of one family: it will be in steed of liberty, that we begin to succede by election: and now the Iulian and Claudian lines be spent, adoption will still find out of the best: for to be descended of Princes, is a matter of meere fortune, and so is esteemed: in adoptions our iudgement is most incorrupt, and seldome abused; and if we will chuse of the fittest, the voice of the most will point vs our man. Set Nero before your eies, whom, being descended of so many Cæsars, his owne infamous life, and vntolerable cruelty cast out of state, not Vindex with an vnarmed prouince, nor I with one Legion: neither was there before a precedent of any Prince by publicke sentence deposed. We, that came in, not by descent, but called in by warre and opinion of desert, how honorable soeuer we carry our selues, yet shall we be sure to haue our enuyours. And yet be not dismayed, if in this troubled and shaken estate of the world, one Legion or two be not yet settled: I my selfe found not all so sure at the first: and when this adoption shall be heard of abroad, I shall cease to seeme an old man, the onely exception they take now against me. Nero shall doubtlesse be missed, and wished alwaies among the lewd sort; you and I must prouide, lest good men also do wish him againe. To admonish you longer is not for this time, and all mine intent is fully performed, if I haue, as I hope, chosen aright. The surest and shortest rule to sort out good from euill, is to waigh what your selfe would vnder another Prince haue allowed or blamed: for you haue not here, as in kingdoms, a certaine race borne to souerainety, and the rest to be slaues; but you are to gouerne a people, which cannot beare, neither bondage, nor liberty meere without mixture.

^g To wit, *Sexta*.
Tac. 5. *Histor.*
principem Gal-
bam sexta legioni
authoritate fac-
tum.

^h That is, *Galba*
by way of in-
struction: the
rest flattering
and fawning.

ⁱ Tac. 3. *Hist.*
de Iunio Bruto.
Nullus repentinus
honoris, adeo non
principatus appe-
tens, ut parum
effugeret, quin
dignus crederetur.

^k *Pro rostris*,
that is, vnto
the people
assembled
in concione.

These words and the like Galba vsed as ^h creating a Prince, but the rest that were present, spake as to a Prince already created. Piso is saide to haue vttered no motion, as of a minde either troubled or excessive in ioy, neither then nor afterward when euery mans eies were fixed vpon him. His speech to his father, and soueraine was respectiue, and reuerent; concerning himselfe very modest: in countenance and gesture not changed, shewing himselfe rather ⁱ able to furnish the place, then desirous. Then consultation was had, where the adoption should be pronounced; * before the people, in the Senate, or in the campe. the campe was preferred, to honor the souldier thereby, whose good will and fauour, as it was by money and crowching not to be bought, so got by good meanes would not be contemned. In the meane season *Publicke expectation*, which suffereth not any great secret long to be secret, had, as it were, beset the Palace about: and the same finding an issue, was afterward

terward by suppressing encreased. The tenth of Ianuary fell out to be stormy, with great thunder, lightnings, and extraordinary weather.⁸ That being of ancient time obserued as cause to breake vp assemblies, staid not Galba from going to the campe, contemning such things as casuall, or because that which by fate is allotted, though sometime foreshewed, is neuer auoided. There in full assembly of the souldiers with breuity princelike he pronounceth, that he adopteth Piso, following the example of Augustus of sacred memory, and according to that militare fashion, where⁹ ech man maketh choise of his fellow. And least the Germane rebellion should, if it were concealed, be deemed the greater, he sheweth them purposely, that the fourth and eighteenth legion misse-led by a few mutinous persons had erred in words only, and termes, and shortly would be reclaimed: and so concluded his speech, bestowing vpon them neither eloquence nor money. The Tribunes notwithstanding, and Centurions, and souldiers which stood neere about him, returned a plausible aunswere: the rest of the companie were silent, and sad, as hauing lost now their donatiue in warre, which they had vsed¹⁰ of duety in peace to receiue. It is very certaine, their hearts might well haue beene wonne with neuer so little liberality of the sparing olde man: his too much precisenes did harme, and that ancient rigour, which we in our time are not able to beare. From thence Galba went to the Senate, and there made a speech neither fuller, nor finer, then before to the souldiers. Pises oration was curteous, and the Senators shewed themselues forward, many which liked him indeed, very farre; others that wished him not, in a good mediocritie: but most, very readie humbly to profer all duety and seruice vpon priuate respects, without care of the common. Neither did Piso say or doe publicly any thing els the other foure dayes, that were betweene his adoption, and slaughter.

⁸ Who being priuiledged to weare golde rings: *Quem annulis donatum*] In Spaine when he brought the newes of Neroes death. *Annulis donare* is all one with *equestri dignitate donare*. Tac. 2. Hist. *postulante exercitu vs libernum suum Asiaticum equestri dignitate donaret, inhonestam adulationem pompesuit*, (Vitellius). *Dein mobilisate ingenij quod palam abnuerat, inter secreta conuiuij largitur, honorauitq, Asiaticum annulis, fædum mancipium, & malis artibus ambisiosum*, Sueton. ⁹ Vitellio. *primo imperij die aureis donauit annulis super canam, quum mane rogantibus pro eo cunctis destitatus esset seuerissimè salem equestri ordinis maculam*; speaking of the same man with Tacitus. Dio. lib. 48. *δακτυλίοις τε χρυσοῖς ἐκόσμησεν, καὶ εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἱππέων τέλει εἰσέγαγεν* (Αὐγύςτος τὸν Μέναν) *That is, Augustus honoured Menas with golden rings, and entred him among the Equites.* for in ancient time, though afterward wealth increasng euery one began to braue it in golde, yet τῶν παλαιῶν ῥωμαίων ἔδει ἐκ τῶν βασιλευσάντων ποτὲ, ἀλλ' ἐδὲ τῶν ἐν ἐλευθέρῳ γένει τρανέων, δακτυλίοις χρυσοῖς, πλὴν τῶν τε βασιλευσάντων καὶ τῶν ἱππέων χρῆσθαι ἐξέειν, καὶ διὰ τὸ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις εἶναι ὃ τὸ κρείττον ἐχόν ἐξελίσσιν, καὶ οἱ ἀλλοὶ χρυσοφόροι, οὐκ ἐν τιμῇς μέρει, ὥς καὶ βαλτίσιν ἢ κατ' ἀπειλοθερίαν ἱππιδεῖν τε διωκόμενοι δίδονται. *That is, Among the ancient Romans it was not lawfull for any (I meane not of those onely which sometimes had beene slauers, but of all others freeborne and liberally brought up) to weare golde rings, except he were either Senator or Eques. and therefore the Princes bestow this vpon the freed men whom they fauour as a great honour though otherwise they weare rings of golde, as being thereby made better then common freedmen and equall in degree with the Equites.* This priuiledge the Prince conferred not onely vpon his owne, but also vpon other mens *liberis*, (although *inuitis* or *ignorantibus patronis* it was not lightly granted, or if it were, it was recalled) and it drew with it *ius ingenuitatis*, but not to exclude the *patronie ab hereditate liberis*, lib. 40. Digest.

⁹ In grace with Nero &c.] *εἰλω δὲ τὸ ὄθωνι, καὶ συμβιωτῇ διὰ τὴν ἀσωτίαν ἐχρήτο, καὶ σκεπτόμενος αὐτὸν πολλὰ εἰς μικρολογίαν καὶ ἀνελιδερίαν ἔχαιρε. λέγεται δὲ ποτὲ μύρω τῶν πολυτελέων χρυσαμένῳ τῷ νέρονος, καὶ τὸν ὄθωνα καταβρέξαντος, ἐκείνῳ πάλιν τῇ ὑπεραίῳ δεχόμενος αὐτὸν ἅμα πολλὰ ὕβριν ἀργυρῆς καὶ χρυσοῦς περιβάλλειν ὄθωνα σωλῆνας, ὥσπερ ὕδωρ τὸ μέσον ἐκχέοντας καὶ κατακλύζοντας.* *That is, Nero used Otho as his inward friend and companion because of his riot, and being often noted by him of sparing and nigardlines he tooke it in very good part, and it is reported that on a time Nero, as he was anointing with a very costly ointment, hauing besprinkled Otho with a little thereof, the day following Otho entertaining him againe set in diuerse corners silver and golden pipes spouting out the ointment like water and washing the place.* Plutarchus Galbā. *ἦν δὲ τις μάρκος σαλκίῳ ὄθων, ὃς ἕως οὗ τε τῇ ὁμοιότητι τῶν τρόπων καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν αἰσθημάτων τῷ νέρονι ὡκείωτο, ὥς καὶ εἰπὼν ποτὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἔγωγε καὶ σὺ οἷός ἐστις, ὃ δὲν διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔπαθεν, ἀλλὰ ποσὸν μόνον αὐτῷ κέρδι, ὅτι, ἐδὲ ὑπατόν σε ἐφοίμαι.* *That is, There was one M. Saluius Otho so familiar with Nero both for likeness of their conditions, and fellowship in vices, that when once in speech with Nero he let fall a worde: So may you see me Emperour as this, and this is a trueth, he did him no harme, but onely replied, No I will not so much as see thee a Consul, Xiphilinus Nerone.*

¹⁰ Poppæa Sabina] Concerning the matter how it passed betweene Nero, Poppæa and Otho, reade Suetonius Othone. cap. 3. and Plutarch Galbā differing from Tacitus in some little circumstances. But to this place of Tacitus

Tacitus most contrary, and without question irreconcilable is Tacitus himselfe in another. 13. Annal.

⁴ Sulpician and Lutatian houses] Plutarch speaking of Galbaes pedigree *μῆτρα δὲ εἶχεν*, saith he, *εὐγενείας ἀξίωμα τὸν Σεργίων διχον*, That is, He was descended of the most honorable house of the Seruij. And Tacitus lib. 2. Hist. Poft Inuios, Claudios, Seruios; both somewhat strangely vsing the forename *pro gentilitio*, to note the house which was *Sulpicia*: of which you may reade more at large in Sueton. Galba. c. 2. & 3. But Galba, saith Plutarch, *ἐφ' ὧν ἐπὶ τῇ τῷ Καίτῳ συγγενείᾳ*, That is, Gloried more in his affinity with Catulus. Qu. Lutatius Catulus being his great grandfather by the mother. That he was of kin to Liuius Augusta, as Plutarch writeth, I haue not els red, although it is true, that *obseruans ante omnes Liuiam Augustam, cuius & viue gratia plurimum valuit, & mortue testamento penè ditatus est*. Suet. c. 5. But of kinred I finde no worde, neither do I greatly belecue it. onely a stepmother he had named Liuius Ocellina, who adopted him, and therefore he was called Lucius Liuius Ocellinus after hir name *usque ad tempus imperij*, if Suetonius in Galba do not deceiue vs.

^b This forename of Seruius was so generall to the Sulpitij, that the Sulpitij surnamed Ruffi assumed another forename turning the fore-saide after a sort in gentilitium. whereupon in the life of Atticus we reade, M. Seruius Sulpicius. and in Iulius obsequens P. Seruius Sulpicius Rufus. cap. 4.

⁵ Neare me in bloud: *Propinquos aut socios belli*] Augustus adopted Agrippa and Tiberius as *socios belli*, the rest as *propinquos*. So Otho was to Galba *socius belli*, and Dolabella, who as Plutarch affirmeth was also in speech about the adoption, *propinquus*. Tac. Cornelius Dolabella *propinquitate Galbae monstratus*, if it be, as I thinke, the same man, of whom Plutarch speaketh.

⁶ Of one family] C. Iulius adopted Augustus; Augustus Liuius and Tiberius, who adopted Germanicus, whose sonne Caius was, and Claudius his brother, and lastly Claudius adopted Nero in whom failed the Iulian line. Aufonius.

Aeneadum generis qui sextus & ultimus heres Polluit, & clausis Iulia sacra Nero.

⁷ I shall cease &c. *Desinam videri senex*] *id est, Desinam contemni quasi senex. Non legiones, non classes perinde firma imperij munimenta, quam numerum liberorum*, Tacit. 4. Hist. in the person of Titus. Literally to construe, it may seeme somewhat strange, that a man should cease to seeme aged, because he had adopted one that was one and thirty yeares olde, as Piso ^d was, to whom in common intendment he might haue bene father, and so was reputed to all constructions, and purposes in law. But Adoption, as Generation, doeth in a sort eternize, and eternity knoweth no agednesse.

^d Tac. 1. Hist.

⁸ That being of ancient time obserued as cause to breake vp assemblies] *Cic. in Vatiniū. Augures omnes usque ab Romulo decreuerunt, Ioue fulgente cum populo agi nefas esse. Philippica. 5. Ioue tonante cum populo agi non esse fas quis ignorat? 2. de diuinatione. In nostris commentarijs scriptum habemus: Ioue tonante fulgurante comitia populi habere nefas. Anone after. Comitiarum solum vitium est fulmen, quod idem omnibus rebus auspiciū optimum habemus, si sinistrum fuerit.*

⁹ Where ech man maketh choise of his fellow] This maner of mustering was, that the first man should chuse out the second, who in the battell should stande fast beside him, the second the third, and so forth, ech his mate till the last man. An army so gathered was in the opinion of those ancient times thought in a maner inuincible, and questionles it had very many singular commodities. *Liuy. lib. 9. Ad Vadimonis lacum Heirufci, lege sacra coacto exercitū, cum vir virum legisset, quantū nunquam aliās arīs simul copijs, simul animis dimicauerunt.* Much after the same maner Xenoph. 1. παρδ. describeth the Persian muster, eyther because it was so indeed, or because in his iudgement, being an excellent commander, so had bene the best. Cyrus the Generall maketh choise of 200. trayned gentlemen such as he knew most fitte for the seruice. Ech of those 200. chuse foure more gentlemen: and so rising vp to a thousand gentlemen, cuerie gentleman maketh choise of thirty common soldiers, namely 10. targets, 10. slings, and 10. bowes.

^e παλινεσι.

¹⁰ Their donatiue which they had vsed of duety to receiue] The Princes liberalities to the souldiers were called *Donatiua*, to the people or otherwise to his friends, *Congiarua*, doubletse because at the first certaine measures called *congij* of wine or oile were bestowed, and afterwarde other things being giuen, yet the ancient name remayned. Tac. 12. Annal. *Additum nomine Neronis donatiuum militi, congiarium plebi.* And Sueton. ^f *Nerone of the selfe same thing: Deductus (Nero) in forum tyro, populo congiarium, militi donatiuum proposuit.* Which propriety of speech Tully, as it may seeme, not regarding, vseth *congiarium* in steede of *donatiuum*, 16. ad Attic. ep. 8. *An ires ad tres legiones Macedonicas, quæ iter secundum mare superum faciunt, quas speras suas esse. Ea congiarium ab Antonio accipere noluerunt.* Or rather, as I thinke, the worde *donatiuum* came in with the Empire, not knowen in the free state. Donatiues the Princes vsually bestowed vpon some great victorie, or other extraordinary occasion. Claudius was the first which at his creation promised to the souldiers Donatiue, fiftene thousand sesterces a man, that is, about fixe score pound sterling. *Primus Caesarum fidem militis etiam premio pignerauit*, saith Suetonius: and when Nero his adopted sonne did take *togam virilem*, he gaue them another. Nero at his entry *promisit donatiuum ad exemplar paternæ largitionis*. Tac. Annal. 12. and after the conspiracie of Piso was detected *bina millionum millia viris manipularibus diuisi*, that is, about fixteene pound, and diuerse times in the Grecian journey, inducing as it were by so many precedents a kinde of necessity to his successors. Nymphidius promised them in Galbaes name thirty thousand sesterces, that is about twelue score pound, but Galba at his comming payed nothing at all. And here in the adoption of Piso: *nullum orationi aut lenocinium addidit, aut presium.* Adrian following a more agreeable course to that time, in the adoption of Verus bestowed three hundreth millions of sesterces vpon the soldiers: and Antoninus at the marriage of his daughter Faustina exceeded *usq. ad donatiuum militum Spartian.*

^f cap. 7.

^g cap. 10.

V. An Embassage to the armies in Germanie.

THE newes growing dayly fresher of the German reuolt, and the city being ready to admit and belecue all newes when they are euill, the Senate ordered, that Embassadors should be sent to the armies. It was besides secretly debated,

ring might seeme to be grounded vpon greater reason, he fayned also feares to himselfe: how that in respect of his greatnes he had been a burden to Nero: that he was not againe to looke for a new Lusitania, or some other place of honourable exile, but to be murdered, or made away by some meanes; that course might Otho more iustly expect, the rule being almost without instaunce, That alwayes he shall be suspected and hated of the Prince in possession, whom men do account woorthy, or like to be Prince in succession, that point alone did him harme withould Galba, and would do him more with young Piso, a man by nature not of the mildest, and made by long exile sauage and rough: and therefore he must of force doe and dare, now or else neuer, whilest Galbaes authority was waning, and Pises as yet not fully well waxen; sith * changes were times most apt for greatest attempts, and delays there dangerous, where soft quiet dealing draweth more euill, then hazarding rashly. that death happens by nature to all men alike, with only this difference of fame, or obliuion with posterity: and if he must dye either guiltles or guilty, then were it more valiantnesse to dye for desert. Otho was not effeminate in mind as in body, and his freedmen and seruants, the neereft about him, being brought vp in more licence then vsually in a priuat mans house, layed before him, who greedily gaped after such baites, the court of Nero and riotous liuing, wities at will of his owne, and of other mens, with such like pleasures of Princes, as his owne proper good, if he durst seaze vpon them; if not, vpbraiding them to him, as left vnto others. ^a The Astrologers also vrged him forward, assuring by their star-learning great chaunges at hand, and a yeare of aduancement for Otho: a kind of people to Princes vnfaithfull, to hopers deceitfull, that in our commonwealth shall be alwaies forbidden, and alwaies retained. Many of that profession were employed by Poppæa in her secret affaires, the baddest instruments ^b a Princes wife can vse: of which number Ptolemæus, who followed Otho into Spaine, promised he should ouerliue Nero: and so by the euent hauing won credit, perswaded him further, by coniecture alone, and speech of people comparing the yeares of Galba and Otho, that he should be assumed to the Empire: but Otho embraced it as foretold by art, and by the forewarning of fate; as the humour is of most men to beleue that soonest, which they least vnderstand, or know what it meaneth. Neither was Ptolemæus behinde for his part, perswading him now to the point, in that kind of fact, which in a mind so desirous is soone apprehended. But whether it came in his mind on the sodaine or no, to commit this foule act, that is not certainly knowne: certaine it is, that long before that, he had by all possible meanes practised the fauour and good will of the souldier, either vpon the hope of succession, or as preparing the way to his treason: in iourneying, in marching, in warding, calling by name such as were of greatest continuance, and tearming them mates, vpon the remembrance of liuing together in Neroes traine; with some renewing acquaintance; some calling for, and releeuing their needs with his purse, and his countenance; inserting withall now and then complaints, and glauncing at Galba with speeches of doubtfull construction, or what other way he could bethinke him, to stir vp, and alter the vulgar sort. The trauailes in iourneying, the straytnesse of prouision, the hard hand held ouer them were much mislikte of the souldiers: for whereas before they were wont to visite the ² lakes of Campania, and townes of Achaia at their ease vpon shipbord, now it seemed fore to trot all afoote over the Pyrenees and Alpes, and huge long viages at small ease in their armour. The soldiers mindes being thus already incensed, Meuius Pudens an acquaintance of Tigellinus, ministred matter to inflame them further; who alluring some vnstaied heads, or such as were needy of money, and desperate

mi dolorem, etiam magnitudine eris alieni.

Neg. n. dissimulabat nisi principem se stare non posse, nihil referre ab hoste in acie, an in foro sub creditoribus caderet: for he was, as Plutarch affirmeth, aboue sixteen hundred thousand pound indetted.

** Transitus rerum: that is, the very time and moment when the state passeth from one to another, or suffereth otherwise any notable alteration.*

b Principale matrimonium, i. uxor principis, as Tacitus speaketh also, i. Annal. As Claudius, matrimonij sui ignarus, lasciuia populi seuerius edictis increpuit: that is, ignorant of his wifes behaviour at home.

^c *Anonum* *unum*
saith *Plutarch*,
and *Suetonius*,
that is, 15. 1.
74. 6. Now this
cohort or band
consisted of a
thousand sould-
iers; so that
his whole libe-
ralitie that way
cost him at one
dinner 781. li.
5. 1.
^d *Publicam*, *in-*
pari, or rather
in *publicis*.
^e *Spiculator*.

^d *Suet. Oth. c. 6.*
yeeldeth ano-
ther reason:
obstitit respectus
cohortis quae tunc
excubabat, ne o-
meraretur inui-
dia, quod eiusdem
statione & Caius
suas occisus, &
desertus Nero.
Medius quoq;
tempus religio, &
Mathematici
exemerunt.
^e For before he
had said, that
multi à Germania
& Illyrico electi
remained in
Rome.

desperate vpon new desires, by litle and litle proceeded so farre, that so oft as Galba was feasted at Othoes, vnder pretence of a banquet-beneuolence, he distributed to ech man of the cohort which waited, ^c an hundreth sesterces. which, as being a * publicke largesse, Otho strengthened with secret rewards to particular persons: so confident a corrupter, that whereas Cocceius Proculus a ^c bilman of the Garde had a suite with his neighbour about a small parcell of ground, which lay doubtfull betweene them, Otho with his owne money bought the neighbours whole ground, and freely bestowed it vpon him: such was the insufficiencie of Laco the captaine, grossely to ouersee not onely close practises, but euen those dealings, which all the whole world espied beside. But at that time Otho appointed Onomastus one of his freedmen for master woorkeman to contriue the treason, who bringing Barbius Proculus the watch-word-carier of the bilmen, and Veturius a Centurions lieutenaut anone to his master, after that Otho by sundry speeches, and much priuate conference, perceiued them to be crafty, and bould, fit for his purpose, he lades them with rewards in hand, but much more with promises to come; giuing them money to assay the minds of moe of their fellowes: and so two common souldiers tooke vpon them to transference the Empire of the people of Rome, and accordingly perfourmed it indeed. Few were by them made priuy to the principall purpose, and they by diuerse deuises incited the houiing mindes of the rest; drawing into the association the chiefe of the souldiers preferred by Nymphidius, as being suspect to the present estate; the meaner sort, and the rest, by meanes of the anger and displeasure conceiued vpon despaire of their donatiue so often differred: some also there were, whom the memory of Nero, and desire of former licence did moue: in generall all were afraide they should finde a chaunge in the seruice. This contagion infected also the Legions and Aydes, whose faith was weakened already, when as they heard their fellowes of Germany had left their allegiance. And so ready were the bad to rebell, yea the good to dissemble, that vpon the fourteenth of Ianuary, they had determined, as Otho returned from supper to haue taken him vp by the way, ^d had they not feared such casuall chances, as night might haue bred; and by reason the soldiers were lodged scatteringly throughout the whole towne; and that drunken men would a great deale more hardly agree; not for any care of common wealth, which they purposed, when they were sober, to polute with the bloud of their Prince; but least in the darke by error it might chance, that in steede of Otho some other man should be offred to the ^e Pannonian and German souldiers, and so be accepted for Emperour, the most part of them not knowing Otho by sight. Many signes of treason euen now as it were discovering it selfe, were suppressed by the conspiratours: some other in Galbaes hearing Laco the captaine put away with a iest; a man little seene in souldiers affections, and of any aduise, were it neuer so excellent, whereof himselfe was not auctour, an enemy, and against the skilfull obstinately contentious. The fifteenth of Ianuary as Galba was sacrificing before Apolloes temple, Vmbrius the Priest, by view of vnprosperous entrailes, foresheweth daungers at hand, and a home enemy in Othoes audience (for he was the next man) who contrarily construed it as good lucke on his side, and happy successe in his affaires. Anone after Onomastus bringeth in word, that the master carpenter, and those which had vndertaken the woork at a price, stayer for his comming: for that was the watchwoorde agreed betweene them, to signifie that now the souldiours were drawing together, and the conspiracy ripe. Otho faining an aunswere to such as demaunded the cause of his departure, that he had certaineould tenements to buy, which hee suspected were ruinous, and therefore would haue them

them viewed before, * following his seruants direction, went through Tiberius house into the Velabrum, and thence to the ³ golden Milliarium vnder the temple of Saturnus. There three and twenty ⁴ bilmen attending his coming salute him Emperour: and as hee stood amazed, trembling for feare at their fewenesse, they snatch him vp hastily into a chayre, and with their swordes drawen cary him away. As they went forward toward the campe, about so many mo souldiers ioyned themselves, some acquainted indeede with the cause, but most for the wonder and strangenes: part with showts, and drawn swordes, part holding their peace, meaning so to proceed, as the euent should direct them. Iulius Martialis warded as Tribune that day in the campe: who being either terrified with the greatnes of so sodaine a treason, or else fearing the campe was further corrupted, and death, if he should make shew of resistance, gaue most men to misdeeme by his dealing, that he was somewhat of counsel with the case. The rest likewise of the Tribunes and Centurions preferred present security before duety with danger: and generally after that manner were their mindes and affections inclined; that into so horrible a treason few only durst enter, more wished it so, and all were contented to suffer it to passe. Galba in the meane while ignorant of all which had passed, was busily occupied about his deuotion, importuning the gods now of another mans Empire, when as sodainely word was brought, that a Senatour, they wist not well who, was caried to the campe; and straightwaies that it was Otho. Anon flocked thither out of all quarters, * as they happened to meete him, some making the feare more then it was, some lesse, not forgetting euen then to fall to their flattering biace. The matter being consulted vpon, it was thought conuenient, to sounge the minde of the cohorte, which warded in the Palace, nor by Galba himselfe, whose authority was to be reserued intier for greater exploitcs, but by Piso: who calling them before the stayres of the house, vsed this speech. It is now, fellow-souldiers, six daies, since that I was, not knowing what might after befall, and whether this name were to be wished, or feared, adopted Caesar: with what successe to our house, or to the common wealth, that lyes in your hands. not that I am, for mine owne particular, afraid of any heauy chaunce that can happen: froward fortune I haue proued with the most; and the good I do take to bring no lesse daunger: but my fathers case, the Senates, and the whole Empires I lament, if this day of force we must either kill or be killed; a hard choise for any good man. In the last troubles these comforts we had: the city was kept cleane without any bloudshed; the state passed ouer without any discord; order was taken as it seemed, sufficient, by declaring a successour, that hereafter also there should be no new occasion of warre. I will not extoll and magnifie here mine ancient house, or modest behauiour; neither in the comparison with Orho, neede we to reckon vp vertues: his vices wherein alone he triumphs, haue ruined the state euen then, when he was but a friend of the Emperours. By his gesture and gate should he deserue to be Prince, or by that womanish attire he weareth? they are fowly deceiued, whom riot deceiues with shew of liberality. to cast away and consume well may he be learned; to giue in good order he hath not the skill: bodily pleasures and banqueting, wanton daliance with women, these be the points which now he proposeth himselfe; these he accounteth the prerogatiues of Princes; whereof the lust and pleasure shall be only his owne, the shame and ignominy redoundeth to all: for neuer any man yet vsed the Empire well, which he got by ill meanes. The consent of the world made Galba Emperor, and Galba by your consent made me. If the weale publicke, the Senate, the people, be friuolous names, and no substance; yet for your owne interest prouide, fellow-soldiers, that the raf-

* *inmixta liberis.** *Spiculatores.** *Qui quid ob-
tinuerat, sc.
Othoni, or Otho-
niani, as I
thinke.*

„ kallest fort be no Emperour-makers. The legions abroad haue sometime mutined
 „ against their generals; that hath bin heard of: your truth and good name hath re-
 „ mained as yet to this day vntouched: and Nero also forsooke you, not you Nero.
 „ Shall lesse then thirty renegates and traitors, whom none would permit to chuse
 „ their Centurion, or Tribune, dispose of the Empire? do you allow the example? do
 „ you winke at their crime, and so make it your owne? the prouinces wil vsurp the like
 „ licence, and the end of these treasons wil fal to our share, the end of those wars vnto
 „ yours. Neither is there more gotten by murthering your Prince, then by keeping
 „ your hands innocent & cleane: as wel shal you receiue of vs a donatiue for truth, as
 „ of others for treason. The[“] bilmē being slipped away, the rest of the cohort seeming
 to be moued with his words, more of feare, as it hapneth in tumults, and yet with
 some reason, make ready their ensignes, which afterward mē supposed was done for
 a color & fraude. Marius Celsus also was sent to the selected soldiers of the Illyrian
 army, encamped in Vipsanius cloyster: and commandement was giuen to Amulius
 Serenus, & Domitius Sabinus, which had bin * leaders of the principal ensigne, to
 fetch forth the German soldiers* out of the court of Liberty. The legion of mariners
 Galba distrusted, as being incensed against him for the slaughter of their fellows at
 his first entry. Cerius Seuerus, Subrius Dexter, and Pompeius Longinus Tribunes
 were sent to the Prætorian camp, to try whether the sedition might now at the be-
 ginning, & before it were grown to a ripenes, by better aduise be asswaged. Subrius
 & Cerius with threats, & manacing were put by the soldiers to silence: vpon Longi-
 nus they lay violent hands, and disarme him, because he had come to that place not
 by order of seruice, but by extraordinary fauour of Galba; a man faithfull to his
 Prince, & therfore of rebels worse liked. The legion of mariners without any stay ioi-
 ned themselues to them of the gard: the selected of the Illyrian army, with darts bent
 vpon him, driue Celsus away: the German ensignes[†] were long in suspence, being
 as yet feeble in body, but in mind wel affected, for that being sent by Nero before to
 Alexandria, at their return tired & sick with so long a cut, they were by Galba care-
 fully cherished. Now was al the cōmon people, and bondmē withall assembled into
 the Palace, requiring with tumultuous cries, as if they were to demand in the stage or
 Race a pastime, that Otho might be pulled in peeces, and those other traitors exiled;
 not vpon † iudgement or any true meaning; for the selfesame day with as vehement
 instance they would be as ready to demand the other way: but only vpo a receiued
 custome to flatter the Prince whatsoeuer he be, framing ‡ acclamations at pleasure,
 & vainely indeuouring to shew their good wils. In the meane season Galba was di-
 stracted with two diuers opinions. Titus Vinus thought best to stay within dores, to
 oppose the bondmen against them, to fortifie the passages, and not to go forth to
 men in their fury: that he should giue a space for the bad to repent, for the good to
 consent: that treasons preuaile on the sodain, good counsels gather forces by lea-
 sure: and lastly if he would, or reason required it, then might he well go, as now, so
 anone: but to come in again, if he chanced to repent him, were likely to ly in the wil
 of another. The rest were all of a contrary mind: that it was the much better way, to
 cut off delaies with all possible speed, before the conspiracy of few, as yet without
 force, took further increase: that euen Otho himselfe would tremble for feare, who
 being conueied priuily away, & brought in among those which knew not the mat-
 ter, through slothful delaying, and trifling the time, learns now at his leisure to coun-
 terfait the Prince. what? would they expect til Otho hauing composed the camp, and
 set all in order, should inuade the Place of publicke assembly, and as Galba peeped
 out of a hole, vnder his nose enter the Capitol; whilest he, like a goodly trim cap-
 taine,

“ Spiculatores.

* Primipilares.

* à Libertatis
aureo.

† Suetonius
somewhat o-
therwise, c. 20.
omnes qui accer-
serantur, spreuerunt
munus, excepta
Germanicorum
vexillatione.
Hi obsecrans me-
rui, quod se
egros & invali-
dos magnopere
fuisse, in auxi-
lium aduolare:
sed seruis, inire
deus per igno-
rantiam locorum
retardati.

taine, with his couragious friends, so they may be in couert, kept close within dores, & shut vp the gates, meaning belike to attend the siege there: much help might one hope for at bondmens hands, if the agreement of so great a multitude, and their first indignation, which is alwaies the hoatest, were suffered to coole. that therefore the partie dishonorable was also more dangerous: or if needes they must die, then better to meete and encounter the danger: that would at least breede Otho more enuy, and were withall most for their honor. As Vinius replied against the opinion, Laco, at the instigation of Icelus, persisting in priuate displeasures to the ouerthrowe of the publicke estate, beginneth to charge him with manacing and threats: and Galba without any longer delay gaue himselfe wholly to follow their counsell, which had the fairer shewe in apparence. yet first was Piso sent to the campe, as being a young man of great name and gracious, fresh in mens fauour, and enemy to Vinius, either because he was so, or that Vinius illwillers did wish it to be so; and it is thought rather he was so indeede. Piso was scant gone abroad, when first a flying rumour without autor was spread, that Otho was slaine in the campe: anone, as in great lies it falles out, some affirmed they were present, and saw it; a report which men partly reioycing, and partly not curious, easily beleecued. Many supposed this rumour was framed, and increased by some of Othoes men, being now shuffled in with the rest, and giuing out vnruly good newes of purpose to allure Galba out of his hold. But vpon the report howsoeuer, not onely the people and simpler sort clap hands, and declare immoderately their affections, but most of the gentlemen, and Senators without temporizing, as being now freed of feare, breake open the gates, rush into the Palace, presse forward to Galba, protesting how sory they were, the reuenge of his quarrell was thus preuented by others; the greatest cowards, and such as in danger dared the lest, as triall made prooffe, being most excessiue in words, and hardy of tongue. Thus whilest all affirmed, and no body knew, Galba yeelding to an vntruth so generally soothed, & puts on * a brestplate, and being not able for body nor age to sustaine the presse which came in vpon him, was lifted vp in a chayre. In the Palace Iulius Atticus met him, one of the ^{cc} bilmen, holding out a bloody sword in his hand, with which he cried alowde, he had slaine Otho. My friend, quoth Galba, who bad thee? a man of rare vertue to keepe in awe a licentious soldier, whom neither threats could terrifie, nor flattering speeches corrupt and abuse.

By this time the soldiers were whollie agreed, with so great feruency fauouring Otho, that not content to assist him in companies with their bodies, they cast a ring about him with banners, as he stode * in the midst of the ensignes in the Tribunal, in which a little before the image of Galba was planted in gould, not suffering the Tribunes or Centurions to approach, yea and further the common soldier bidding beware of officers. All the whole campe resounded with clamours, with tumult, with mutuall encouragement: none of those different chantings of dull flattery practised among the popular: but as they espied any soldier comming, they would take him by the hand, embrace him in their armour, set him fast by them, begin him the othe, recommending sometime their Emperour to the soldiers, and sometime the soldiers to their Emperour. Neither was Otho slacke for his part to stretch forth his handes, to bow himselfe to euery meane person, * to throw kisses abroad, and what seruile crouching els not for an Empire! When the whole legion of mariners had sworne allegiance, trusting now to his strength, and supposing it requisite to incense them in common, whom as yet he had onely incited in seuerall, standing vpon the rampier of the camp, he begins in this maner.

g Purposing onely, as Plutarch reporteth, to shew himselfe abroad to the people, and do his sacrifice to the gods for his deliuerance, as making no doubt but that Otho was dead.

πρὸς δὲ τοῖς στρατοῖς τοῖς πολιταῖς βολόμενος: but in the end he found himselfe bidden to another banquet.

* Thonacem. Sueton. Loricam lineam.

* Or, a priuy coate.

* Spiculatores.

* Medium inter signa i. medium inter milites sub signanos.

* iacere oscula. φιλόμυα δὲ ἐκείνους διατρίβειν τὸν λαόν. ἵππους.

was in the meane season issued out of the Palace, and come neere to the Place of publicke assembly. Marius Celsus likewise had brought an heauy aunswere againe: whereupon some thought it expedient to retire into the Palace againe, some rather to possesse themselues of the Capitoll, some other to take the Rostra: but the most did only impugne the opinions of others; and as often it chanceth in counsels crossed with euill successe, that way was commonly iudged the best, whereof the time was forepassed. It is reported that Laco, vnwitting to Galba, had a meaning to haue slaine Titus Vinius, hoping belike by his death to mitigate the soldiers, or mistrusting he was confederate with Otho, or els vpon priuate displeasure: the time and the place bred scruple in the matter: for when men are set in a killing, it is not so easy to stoppe when you list; and many other accidents stayed the purpose; fearefull messages, the slippings away of his friendes, their courages being all quailed, euen of those which cheerefully at first made most ostentation of loyaltye and stoutnesse. Galba was driuen to and fro with the crowde of the companie, as it waued vp and downe. ^m The standing in * temples and churches on euery side were taken to view this * sorrowfull sight: the people all mute, with countenances amazed, and listening eares; no tumult, no quietnes; such a silence as argued great feare, and great anger: notwithstanding it was caried to Otho, that the common people were a putting in armes: whereupon he ⁿ commaunded his men to march in all speede, and preuent the danger. So the Roman soldiers, ⁷ as if they had gone to pull Vologeses or Pacorus out of the throne anciently possessed by Arsaces line, and not to murder their owne Emperour vnarmed, and aged, dispersing the people, trampling the Senate vnder foote, ^o set spurres to their horses, and fiercely in armes rush into the Place of assembly: neither did the sight of the Capitoll, nor reuerence of the temples about, nor the Princes past and to come, terrefie them from committing that abhominable act; whereof the next successour is the reuenger. The enseigne-bearer of Galbaes cohort, Atilius Vergilio by report, as soone as he sawe a far off the armed men, marching in array, pluckt downe the image of Galba, and dashed it against the pauement. by that it did plainly appeare, that all the souldiers were wholly for Otho. The people vnbidden make away in all haste, leauing the Place of assembly voide, or if any seemed to linger, they were drawne vpon by the soldiers. At Lacus Curtius Galba was tumbled out of his chayre to the ground, through the fearefulnes of them which bare it. His last words are diuersely by diuerse reported, as they admired or hated the man: some say, he humbly demanded, what ill he had euer deserued, requesting onely a fewe daies respite to pay their donatiue. The most doe agree, that he offered stoutly his necke, to do their pleasure, and strike, if it seemed so good to the common wealth: it mattered not much to the murderers what he did say. The very man that slew him is not certainly knowen: some say Terentius Euocatus; others Lecanius: the more receiued opinion is, that Camurinus, a soldier of the fifteenth legion, pearced his throte with a sword: his armes and legges (^p for his brest was armed) others did miserably mangle and hewe: many stabbes, vpon a sauage and beastly cruelty, were bestowed vpon the headlesse carcase. Next after Galba, they assayled Vinius, of whome likewise there is question, whether the present feare wasted his speech, or els that he cried aloud, They had no commandement from Otho to kill him: which, whether he fained for feare, or confessed as associate of the conspiracie, the fame of his lewd life doth make it more probable he was guilty of the treason, whereof he was ^q cause. At the first wound in his hamme he tumbled downe before the temple of Diuus Iulius, and after by Iulius Carus, a legionarie souldier, was thrust through

^m Or, the standings vpon the common halles and temples.

* Basilica ac templa: in tunc scis et rei uirtutem. Plut. Seneca lib. 3. de ira. Frequentia iudiciorum basilica resonant.

* lugubri prospectu, for prospectu. Tacitus 2 Hist. 93. Luxu & sagine mansu-

pau. Plutarch saith meth this place

αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο.

ⁿ For he himselfe remained still in the camp.

Suet. Oth. c. 6.

while this tragédie was a playing; a circumstance which in reason Tacitus should not haue touched so lightly.

^o Equites, who procul Galba, parumper resisterunt, deinde rursus inuicti &c. Suet. c. 19.

^p Thorace, or Lorica linteae: supra.

^q Tacitus supra. Galbam, Titum Vinius deterruit mortalium odio flagitiorum orationibus.

* Both Plutarch and Appian write that not Piso, but Galba was protected by Denus.
 † Plut. noteth that he first feared them with the vine roade.
 ὁ καλῶς τοὺς ἀνδράσι δεικνύμενος.

“ Spiculator.

* Of what Legion of the manner as I thinke: for other legion I finde none in this action: and they received Aquilam & signa at Othoes hand, as it may seeme by Tacit. v. of Galba they demanded it in decide at his entrie, but they were paid with other money for their paines.

“ Plutarch. 60. βέλους δὲ ἀντί-
 ληψεν (ὁ Οὔθας)
 ἔχων τοὺς ἰσὺν ταχέ-
 ως ἀποκτείνων αὐ-
 τοὺς· εἰς αὐτὸν δὲ εἰ-
 σφεγγόμενοι ἐκπύ-
 βιντες παρὰ τὸν
 αὐτοῦ.

the fides. A worthie man that day our age did aforde, * Sempronius Denus a cen-
 turation of the cohort which garded Galba, and by him appointed to wait vpon Piso,
 who † with his rapier drawn encountring the armed men, and vpbaying to them
 their disloyaltie, partly by deeds, and partly by words turning the blowes vpon his
 own head, gaue Piso, although he were wounded, time and space to escape away.
 Piso recouering the temple of Vesta, and being receiued by the sextens compassi-
 on, and hid in his cabin, not by the reuerence of sanctuarie, or sacred ceremonies
 of the holy goddesse, but onely by hiding himselfe, differred imminent death, when
 as straight there came thither, by Othoes expresse commandement, hoatly bent by
 name for his blood, Sulpitius Florus, one of the Brittish cohortes, lately by Galba
 made citizen of Rome, & Statius Murcus a “ bilman: of these two was Piso drawn
 out, and flaine in the gates of the temple. No mans death did Otho so ioyfully take;
 no head did he view and reuiue so insatiably: whether it was that then first of all his
 minde was at ease, and free to reioice, lightened of all maner burden and care; or
 that the remembrance of maiesty in Galba, of acquaintance in Vinus, had strooke
 a kind of horrou into his vnmercifull mind: mary for Piso, his enimie and concur-
 rent, he thought he might iustly with all reason reioice at his ruine. Their heades
 were planted vpon speares, and caryed among the enseignes of the cohortes, neare
 the Standerd * of the Legion, striuing to shew their bloody hands, they which had
 flaine them, they which were present, some truely, some falsely, all making their
 vaunt, as of a goodly and memorable act. More then a hundreth and twenty suppli-
 cations, put vp for some good seruice that day, were afterward found by Vitellius,
 who caused the men to be all sought out, and flaine, not in honour of Galba, but
 vpon a tradition receiued among Princes as an assurance of their present estate, and
 a meane of reuenge afterwarde. Now the Senate and people were no more the
 same men: they runne all by heapes to the campe, contending and shouldring who
 should get formost, defacing Galba, extolling the souldiers iudgement, kissing
 Othoes hand, and the lesse they ment it in hart, doing so much the more in outward
 apparence. Neither did Otho reiect any one though comming single, moderating
 with speeches and countenance the greedy, and manacing disposition of the sould-
 iers; who demaunded to the slaughter Marius Celsus Consull elect, and to the last
 faithfull to Galba, offended with his sufficiencie and innocency as capitall crimes.
 A quarrell was sought apparently to sacke, and massacre, and to ouerthrow per-
 sonages of honour: but “ Othoes authoritie was not sufficientlie grounded as yet to
 prohibite a mischiefe, well might he commaunde one: so making semblaunce of
 anger, he willes them to put him in prison; that he would shew at leysure exempla-
 rie iustice vpon him, and so deliuered him from present destruction. All things
 beside were ordered according as the souldiers appointed. They elected captaines
 of the Gard Plotius Firmus in time past a common souldier, and then captaine of
 the watch, and in Galbaes life a fauourer of Otho: to him they adioyne Licinius
 Proculus, a neare and inward acquaintance of Otho, and therefore suspected to haue
 beene a furtherer of his proceedings. Flavius Sabinus they ordeyned Prouost of
 the cittie, following therein the iudgement of Nero, vnder whom he had obtained
 before the saied charge, most men in so doing respecting Vespasian his brother.
 With great instance was it demanded that the fees * of vacations vsually giuen to
 the Centurions might be remitted: for the common souldier payed them as an an-
 nuall pension; whereby some in companies, part wandring by licence abroad, or in
 the campe made no daintie to beare any burden, nor tooke any care how they gai-
 ned, till they had wherewith to pay the Centurion, by robbing and spoiling, or ser-
 uile

uile ministeries redeeming their ease. Further the souldier which had any wealth was sure to be tired with trauaile and stripes till he bought out his immunity; and when the poore wretch had consumed his substaunce, and wasted his body with flouth, he returned to his bande vnlustie, and beggerly, whereas he was actiue and wealthy before: and so likewise another and another corrupted with like licence, and brought to like beggery, were caried to mutinies, dissensions, and ciuill wars in the end. But Otho lest by gratifying the souldier he should aliene the Centurions minds, promised to pay out of his ⁹ owne cofers the yearely vacations; a thing no doubt verie profitable, and by good Princes succeeding established for a perpetuall order. Laco confined in shew into an island, was murdred by Euocatus, whom Otho had sent before for the purpose. Vpon Martianus Icelus, as ¹⁰ being a freedman, open execution was done. The day being thus consumed in mischiefes, the last of all illes was the reioycing. ¹¹ The citty-Pretor calleth the Senate to counsaile: the rest of the magistrates contend to excede in flatterie: the Lordes of the Senate run thither in hast: ^{*} to Otho is awarded Tribunitiall authority, and the name of Augustus, ¹² with all other Princely prerogatiues, and titles, ech man endeouoring to abolish the opprobrious speeches, and reuiling tearmes which they had indifferently vsed against him, which neuerthelesse he seemed not much to remember; whether he purposed to pardon the offences, or differre the punishment, by reason of the short time he ruled, could not be seene. Otho, the Place of assembly being yet imbrued with bloud, was caried thorow the dead bodies, as they lay flaine, first to the Capitoll, and thence to the Palace, giuing permission to bury, and burne the carcases. Piso was by his wife Verania, and Scribonianus his brother; Titus Vinius by his daughter Crispina, composed and layed in graue; hauing first sought out ^y and redeemed their heads, which the murderers had kept to be solde. Piso was when he died one and thirty yeeres olde, of better fame then fortune: his brother Magnus was flaine by Claudius, and Crassus by Nero: himselfe liued a great while in exile, and foure daies a Prince, adopted in haste before his elder brother, with this onely aduantage, that he was thereby the first made away. Titus Vinius liued fortie seuen yeeres, not all after one sort: his father was of a Prætorian house; his mothers father one of the ^{*} proscripites. At his first seruice in warre he became infamous: his Lieutenant generall Caluissius ^z Sabinus wife, caryed with an vnwomanly desire to view the site of the campe; and hauing in souldiers attire wantonly perused the watch, and other campe-offices, in the verie ^{*} Principia forseyed hir honour; and the man accused of the fact was Titus Vinius: whereupon by commaundement of Caius the Emperour he was imprisoned, and anone through change of times being enlarged he passed thorow offices of honour without touch; first Prætor, then Lieutenant of a Legion with good commendation: afterwarde he stained himselfe with a seruile crime, conueying away a golden cup from Claudius boorde; whereupon the daye following Claudius made him alone of all his guesstes to bee serued in ^{*} earthen: notwithstanding being Proconsull of Gallia Narbonensis hee gouerned the countrey with great seuerity and sincerenesse: anone by reason of credit with Galba being drawn to the place of dangerous downe-fall, hee was bolde, craftie, actiue, and as hee listed to bende his minde, mischieuous or industrious in equall degree. The testament of Titus Vinius his wealth made voide; Pises, his pouertie ratified. Galbaes bodie long neglected, and in the darke despitefully intreated, Argius his stewarde, one ¹³ of his principall bondmen, ^z buried with small ceremonie in his priuate gardens. His heade by the ^{*} followers and ^{*} rascalles of the campe, mangled and stabbed was found the day after before Patrobius tooombe,

^{*} By Suet. c. 7. it appeareth that Otho was present in Senate. *Vergente iam die ingressu senatus (Otho) positusq; breui ratione, quasi rapinæ de publico, & suscipere imperium vi coactus, gesturusq; cum omni arbitrio, Palatium petiit.*

^y Crispina paid for hir fathers ten thousand sesterces: that is, 78. li. 2. s. 6. d. *Plutarch.*

^z *proscripti. sc. ab Octauio, Antonio, Lepido, triumuiro reip. perdende.*

De quo vide Senecam epist. 27. ^{*} Principia the place in the campe where the standerde and ensignes are pitched.

scilicet. ^z *Tō δὲ σὺν τῷ Γάββα Πρίσκιος Ἐλκιδίος πειλάτο, τῷ Οὐδανὸς ἰματὶ φαντός: ἰδὼν δὲ τὴν κατὰ Ἀργίου πύλιν.* *Plutarch.*

^{*} *luxa, qui extra ordinem & sine armis exercitum sequuntur questus gratia.* *Polybius.* ^{*} *Festus calones, militum serui; so called, because they caried clubs after their masters, which the Græci call καλῶν. Sertius.* *Festus.*

a freed-man of Nero, whom Galba had executed, and so was put with his body burned before. This ende had Seruius Galba, hauing liued ¹⁴ seuentie three yeares, and out-liued fīue Princes in great prosperity; happier vnder the Empire of others then in his owne: his house of ancient nobility, and great wealth: himselfe a man of a middle disposition, rather vicelesse, then greatly vertuous; neither neglecting his fame, nor yet ambitiously carefull of it: of other mens money not greedy, sparing of his owne, of the common a niggard: bearing with his fauorites and freedmen, without reprehension, when they were good; if they were bad, to his owne shame ignorant of their ill doings: but his honorable birth, and the dangerous times covered the matter, entitling that wisdom, which in truth was but slouth: in his flourishing age greatly renowned for seruice in ^a Germanie: Africke he ruled as Proconsull with great moderation: and growing in yeeres, the nearer Spaine vprightly and well: seeming more than a priuate man, whilest he was priuate, and by ^b all mens opinions capable of the Empire, had he neuer beene Emperour.

^a Dio lib. 60.
νότος τοῦ ἔτους
(which was the
first yeare of
Claudius Em-
pire) ὁ Γαλβᾶς ὁ
Σερβικὸς Χέρ-
τις ἱεροκλῆς.
^b Aufonius.
Spem frustra
senex, priuatus
sceptra morari Vi-
sus es; imperio
prodigus inferior.
Fama tibi melior
iurum: sed iusti-
or ordo est, Com-
placuisse debuit,
displacuisse prius.

^a Gellius lib. 1. c. 9
Geometria, Gno-
monica, Musica
cetera, item di-
ciplinæ aliores,
μαθηματικά
veteres Greci ap-
pellabant. vulgus
autem, quos genti-
licio vocabulo
Chaldeos dicere
oportet, mathema-
ticos dicit.
^b Tac. 12. Ann.
qui obiceret
Chaldeos, magos
interrogatos su-
per numinis im-
peratori.
^c Tac. Ann. 12.
^d 2. Histor.
^e A.V.C. 770.
but Tacitus 2.
Ann. placeth it
in the yeare
before.
^f A.V.C. 655.

^a The Astrologers also: *Mathematici*] This vse of the worde *Mathematicus* pro *Apothelemasico* is vtterly ^a vn-
known to the ancient Grecians, and to the Romans also, for ought I remember, till the Emperours time. Before,
they were called *Chaldei*, non ex artis, sed ex gentis vocabulo, saith Tully: then *Mathematici* (a name vndue to their
occupation) or *Planetarij*, and ^b *Chaldei* also: in our time *Astrologi*, a worde of the ancientest both Greeke and
Latin applied to that part of the Mathematicall sciences, both now, and then also, known by the name of Astro-
nomie. In Augustus time, Ἀστροπῆς τὸς ἀστρολόγους καὶ τὸς ῥήτορας ἐν τῇς πόλεως ἐξήλασε. That is, Agrippa ba-
nished Astrologers (for so in Diodors time they began to call them) and Magicians out of the citie. Dio lib. 49. In Tiberius
time, Facta est de Mathematicis, magisq; Italiâ pellendis senatusconsultum, quorum est numero L. Pituitius Saxo deiectus est.
In P. Marium Coss. extra portam Esquilinam, cum classicum canere iussissent, more prisco aduersere. Tac. 2. Annal. In Clau-
dus time ^c De Mathematicis Italiâ pellendis factum senatusconsultum atrox et irritum. And in Vitellius time ^d pulsi
Italiâ Mathematici, Vlpianus lib. 7. de officio Proconsulis. Præterea interdicta est Mathematicorum callida impostura: nec
hodie primum interdicti eis placuit, sed vetus hæc prohibitio est. deniq; exat senatusconsultum Pomponio ^e et Rufo Coss. fac-
tum, quo canetur, vt Mathematicis, Chaldeis, arisolis et cæteris, qui similem artem fecerint, aqua et igni interdicator, omniaq;
bona eorum publicentur. and anone after, sepius deniq; interdictum est fere ab omnibus principibus, ne quis omnino hu-
iusmodi ineptijs se immisceret. yea before the Princes came in, M. Popillio Lenate, Cn. ^f Calpurnio Coss. C. Cornelius His-
pallus Prætor edicto Chaldeos intra decimum diem abire ex urbe atq; Italiâ iussit: lenibus atq; ineptis ingenijs, fallaci fiderum
interpretatione, quæstuosam mendacijs suis caliginem inijcientes: saith Valerius lib. 1. Tertullian in his booke de habitu
muliebri, and againe in lib. de Idololatria, is of opinion, that the angels which fell from their first creation were au-
tours of Astrologie, and therefore exiled out of heauen, as their creatures out of Italie. Expelluntur, saith he,
Mathematici, sicut angeli eorum, vrbs et Italia interdicitur Mathematicis, sicut calum angelis eorum, eadem pena est exitij
discipulis et magistris. All these lawes notwithstanding they remayned at Rome, saith Tacitus, and that in as
good credit as before, the better beleueed, the oftener they had perused the Gayles. Iuuenalis Satyra, 6.

Inde fides artis, sonus si dextera ferro,
Lenaq; si longo castrorum in carcere mansit.
Nemo Mathematicus genium indemnatus habebis.

And of Ptolemæus the same Iuuenal.

Præcipuus tamen est horum, qui sepius exul,
Cuius amicitia conducendaq; tabella

Magnus cinis obis et formidatus Othoni. Suetonius & Othone nameth him Seleucus, by error as it may
seeme; for Seleucus was Vespasians man. ^b Nec erat intactus tali superstitione (Vespasianus) ut qui mox verum dominus
Seleucum quandam Mathematicum reforem et præcium palam habuerit.

^a The lakes of Campania, and townes of Achaia] The ancientest and best historiographers, taking their
pleasure in explicatione consiliorum, and fayning orations, haue left vs sometimes rather an image of their owne wits,
then of the times whereof they haue written. The nature of which, in mine opinion, were better learned ex Actis
vrbis diurnis, Actis senatus and such like, if any were extant, then by any storie we haue. Not that I thinke a sim-
ple collection of memories of the like vse in other respects, as a storie well written. neither doe I condemne that
libertie of fayning speeches, which I see granted them by ^b Dionysius Halicarnassæus, and other good writers, so
it be done with iudgement and pro de oro personarum, including no etident absurdity or contradiction. Thucydides
the first, and as many thinke the best authour of such set speeches in stories, challengeth expressly that right. ὅσα
μὲν λόγῳ ἔπειν ἔχαστοι, ἢ μέλλοντες πολεμῶσιν, ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ ἤδη ὄντες, χαλεπὸν πρὸς ἀκρίβειαν αὐτῶν τῶν λεχθέν-
των διαμνημονεύται ἢν, ἐπειὶ οὗτοι ὅν αὐτοὶ ἤκησαν, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ποσὶν ἐμοὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν, ὡς δ' ἂν ἐδύκεν μοι
ἔχαστοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα μάλιστα εἰπεῖν, ἐχόμενον δὲ ἐγγύτατα τῆς συμπαροῦς γνώμης τῶν εὐ-
δῶς λεχθέντων; ὅπως εἴρηται: upon which place albeit the Scholiast taking his pleasure affirms, that his autour
ἔπιτιθέμενος περὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς διαιρέσεως ἐκδιμύμασιν, yet allowing that for good, which
hath so great examples, and, where the truth cannot be had, approacheth to the truth, and most commonly enfor-
meth the iudgement more then the truth would it selfe. let vs see how Tacitus hath caried himselfe in this point:
who though otherwise sharpe sighted enough, hath in this place in my opinion scarcely auoided an inconueni-
ence. Those which were wont Campania lacus et Achaia vrbes classicis adire were the ^c Prætorian soldiers: those
whom

^a cap. 4.
^b Tacitus.

^c In his booke
περὶ τῶν ἑλληνιστῶν
ἱστοριῶν.

^d Xiphilinus &
Suetonius Nerone
cap. 19. prætorian-
us pro concione
ad inchoandum
opus cohortatur
est.

whom Otho had here to talk with were the Legionaries of Spaine as they passed the mountaines, who surely could not in possibility accompany Nero into Achaia. Hist. 4. in the oration of Vocula: *Non adeo turbamur civilibus armis rem Romanam, ut Treueris etiam & Lingonibus despectui sit. Melius Divo Iulio, Divo, Augusto notos eorum animos. Galbam, & infra illa tributa hostiles spiritus induisse. Nunc hostes, quia molle seruistis, cum spoliati, exusti, fuerint, amicos fore.* and yet it is plaine by Tacitus himselfe, and all other histories of that time, that Treueri, and Lingones, were of all the French the onely men which Galba atrocibus edictis, aut damno finium perculerat, relieuing the rest of their tribute, and making them citizens. Vulcatius Gallicanus in the life of Auidius Cassius bringeth in M. Antoninus the philosopher profoundly disputing the causes of the fall of certaine Emperours, among other of Pertinax.

¹ *Enumerauit deinde omnes principes qui occisi essent habuisse causas quibus mererentur occidi, nec quenquam facile bonum vel victum a tyranno, vel occisum; dicens meruisse Neronem, debuisse Caligulam, Othonem & Vitellium nec imperare veluisse.* Nam de Pertinace & Galba paria sentiebat, cum diceret, in Imperatore auaritiam esse acerbissimum malum, whereas Pertinax was living thirteene yeares after Antoninus was dead, succeeding in state to Commodus his sonne. Appianus placing in the Roman battell Domitius in dextro cornu, Lucius Scipio in the middle battell, and Eumenes in leuo: and of the enemies Antiochus in dextro, Philippus in the middle, and Seleucus in leuo, in ioyning like a good and skilfull captaine matching the middles, opposeth the left to the left (a thing not possible in nature) Eumenes to Seleucus and his people, which indeede was true, as it appeareth by ^m Liuy, but Appians ordering of the battell is false. For Eumenes by Liuy, and in truth was placed in dextro. Appians words be *ἐπεσώτερ δὲ τῷ μὲν δεξιῷ Δομιτιος αὐτὸς, καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτὸν ἔστη (sc. Domitius) τὸν ὑπατορ. τὸ δὲ λαὸν ἐδωκεν Εὐμενέϊ.* That is, Domitius commanded the right wing, in the middle battell was the Consul himselfe, the left wing was giuen to Eumenes. of the enemies *ἐπείσθηκε τοῖς μὲν δεξιῇς Ἀντίοχος αὐτὸς, τοῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ Σέλευκος ὁ υἱὸς Ἀντίοχου, τῇ δὲ ἐκ δεξιῶν Φίλιππος ὁ ἐλεφανταρχὴς.* That is, The right wing was led by Antiochus himselfe, the left by Seleucus his sonne, the maine battell by Philip master of the Elephants. now in the ioyning, Eumenes saith he, *τὸς ἰππείας ἐπὶ τῷ ἐπὶ τὸς ἀντιπρὶ Γαλάταις τε καὶ Καππαδοκίαις.* That is, Charged with his horsemen against the Galatians and Cappadocians which were ouer against them. and least we might doubt where these Cappadoces stood, he concludeth with these words, *καὶ τὰ δὲ μὲν ἦν περὶ τὸ λαὸν τὸ γαλαρρὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων.* That is, And these things were done on the left hand of the Macedonian battell. The like errour is in Dionysius lib. 6. *τῆς τε ῥωμαίων στρατῶς, saith he, τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κίεας εἶχεν ὁ ἱππάρχης τίτος αἰδούπιος ἐναντίως σέξτῳ ταρκυνίῳ,* That is, Of the Roman army the left wing was commanded by T. Acbutius Generall of the horse ouer against Sext. Tarquinius, whom before he had placed *ἐπὶ τῷ λαῷ τῶν λατίνων κίεας,* That is, In the left wing of the Latins, in the battell ad lacum Regillum. And in Callisthenes storic of Alexander Polybius lib. 12. noteth many *σφάλματα τακτικά.* That is, Errours in marshalling the men in battell.

¹ M. Antoninus.

^m lib. 37.

³ The golden Milliarium] *Milliarium aureum* was a golden pillar set vp by Augustus, as Dio. witnesseth lib. 54. in capite fori Romani, saith Pliny, *eis ὅν αἱ τελευτῶναι τῆς ἰταλίας ὁδοὶ πάλαι τελευτῶσιν.* That is, At which all the high waies of Italy doe end: Plutarchus Galbā. so called because from thence began the account of miles. Beside *Milliarium aureum* there were *Milliaria lapidea*, that is, little pillars of stone erected by order from C. Gracchus at the end of euery mile. Plutarchus Gracchis. *περὶ δὲ τούτοις διαμετρήσας καὶ μίλιον ὁδὸν ᾗσαν (τὸ δὲ μίλιον ὁκτώ σταδίων ὀλίγον ὀπίσθι) κίονας λίθινὰς στήθεα τῷ μέτρῳ κατέστησεν.* That is, Moreover hauing measured out the whole way by miles (a mile being little lesse then eight stadia) he erected pillars of stone at markes of the measure. whereupon grew the usuall phrase *ad tertium, quartum, quintum ab urbe lapidem*, for three, foure or five miles from the city.

⁴ Not vpon iudgement, or any] Tacit. 3. Hist. *Populi mobilem animum, & si se ducem præbuisse, easdem illas adulationes pro Vespasiano fore, which now they vsed to Vitellius. and in the same booke. Vultus eadem prauitate infestabatur interfectum (Vitellium) quā fouerat viuente.* Iuuenalis Satyra. 10.

⁴ Flauio Sabino

Sed quid

*Tumba Remi? sequitur fortunam, ut semper, & odis
Damnator idem populus, si o Noria Tusco
Fauisset, si oppressa fores secus senectus
Principis, hac ipsa Seianum diceret hora
Augustum.*

^o Vultus, n. (vn-
de Seianus erat
autore Tacito
Ann. 4.) templum
Nortia dea. Lsu.
lib. 7.

⁵ Framing acclamations at pleasure] The formula of acclamations in Senate is to be scene in the later Roman stories, in fauour, as in Lampridius, to Alexander Seuerus, *Auguste innocens dii te seruent, &c.* In Vulcatius Gallicanus, to Antoninus, *Antonine pie dii te seruent, Antonine clemens dii te seruent, &c.* to Diuus Claudius, in Trebellius Pollio, *Auguste Claudii dii te nobis prestens (dictum sexages) Claudii Auguste, &c.* In Flauius Vopiscus, to Tacitus the Emperour, *Tacite Auguste dii te seruent, te diligimus, te principem facimus, &c.* In disfauour, as in Lampridius after Commodus death, *Hosti patriæ honores deirabantur, parricida honores deirabantur, parricida trahatur, &c.* Of popular acclamations we may gesse they were much after this forme.

⁶ Easily beleued: credula fama] Dionysius noteth in Thucydides among many other innouations in speech, that he commonly changed actiues into passiues, and passiues into actiues, *τὰ μὲν παθητικὰ ῥήματα δεαστέρα ποιοῦν, τὰ δὲ δεαστέρα παθητικὰ.* In Tacitus here we haue *credula* to signifie *cui facile credatur*, passiuely, whereas *credulus* in comon Latin, & so it is vsed in this booke, signifieth only *qui facile credit*, likewise, *Ne vulgi largitione centurionum animos auerteret, i. largitione qua fiat vulgo, siue gregario militi.* Againe 15. Ann. *Iniurie minorum, i. quæ minoribus inferuntur.* But to giue a taste once for all of Tacitus grammar, I will note here three or foure places worthy the noting. Hist. 3. *si omnes Muziano volentia scripsere, volentia, pleasing.* againe. *Turbæ sacricolarum immixtus, ignarusque delictis, i. ignotus.* in another place, *gnarum id Casari, for notum.* and, *quæ gnara Vitellianis, incomperita hostibus.* 1. Annal. *Fama dedidit Segeſti vulgata, ut quibusque bellum inuisis, aut cupientibus erat, cōs ἢ ἐχέσθῃ ἢ βυλομένῃ ἢ ἀκρόσι πέλεμος.* 25. Ann. *Hæc atque talia plebi volenti fuerit, δῆλον βυλομένῃ ἢ.* In vita Agricola: *Ut quibus bellum volentibus erat.* 5. Hist. *Cæsar Titum ut superior sui iam crederetur, χρῆσθαι εἰαυτῷ.* Ann. 2. *Appellatq. Celophona, ut Clarij Apollinis oraculo videretur.* Homer. *ἀδύα. κ. λυγρῇ χειρομένης θεοῦ τερπείας.* Ann. 3. *Adulteros eorum morte aut fuga punxit, i. exilio, οὐ γὰρ.* To be short, who so list seeke and looke more nearely into Tacitus phrases shall doubtlesse finde as many strange points in his grammar, as Dionysius hath done in Thucydides.

⁷ As if they had gone to pull Vologeses or Pacorus out] Dio. lib. 40. *ὁρᾷ δὲ (ὁι παρόντες) ὥσθ' τι γένοιτο, τὸ*

το μὲν πολὺ, τέρη κ' ὀρέεια, ἥδη δὲ κ' πόλεις ἄλλας, κ' κτισσόμενα, ὧν ἡ κ' βασιλεία ἔχει. τὸ δὲ γένος σφῶν
 ἦν μὲν πρὶν κ' παρὰ πῶς πύλαι βαρβαρίαι, κ' τόγα ὄνομα τὸτο, κ' ὑπὸ τὴν περσικὴν βασιλείαν ἔχον. ἀλλὰ τότε
 αὐτὰ τε ἐν μέρει γῆρας βραχὺ ὄκυν, καὶ δυνατεῖαν ὑπερέβαιον ἐκ ἐκείνηντο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦτε τῶν περσῶν
 ἀρχὴ κατελείβη, κ' τὰ τῶν μακεδόνων ἡκμασεν, οἷτε τὰ ἀλξάνδρου διαδόχου σασιάσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπανθεῖν
 ἤρξαντο κ' μὴσανεσθαι, ἐς τε τὸ μέσον τότε πρῶτον ὑπ' ἀρσάκην πινὸς ἀφίκοντο. ὁ δὲ πρὸς κ' οἱ ἐπειτα βασιλευ-
 σάντες αὐτῶν ὁ ἀρσάκιδαι ἐπωνομαδίσαν. κ' εὐτυχῶσαι, τίποτε πηλοσώχων ἐκινήσαντο πᾶσαν, κ' τίτω με-
 σοποταμίαν σατραπίαν κατέχον. τελευτῶντες δὲ ἐπὶ πρῶτο κ' τῆς δόξης κ' τῆς δυνατεῖας ἐχώρησαν, ὥς κ' τοῖς
 Ῥωμαίοις τότε ἀντιπολεμήσαν, κ' δεύας δὲ ἀντίπαλοι νομίσανται. That is, The Parthians inhabite beyond the river
 of Tigris in castles and holds, now of late they have some cities also, among others Ctesiphon where the kings place of residence is,
 they were a severall nation among the ancient barbarians, and this name had they even vnder the Persian Empire, notwithstanding
 as that time their territory was small, neither had they any dominion abroad. But when the Persian monarchy was dissolved
 by the Macedonian power, and Alexanders successors waging war one against another, began to wither and decay, then attempted
 the Parthians first of all to come forward vnder the conduct of one Arsaces, of whom all the kings afterward were called Arsa-
 cidæ. and so good was their fortune that they conquered all the cuntry adjoining, together with the province of Mesopotamia. In
 fine they grew to such heights both of glory and strength that they opposed themselves in open warre against the Romans, and till
 this day are accounted the onely men to match and make head against them. Herodianus lib. 6. τῶν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδό-
 χων πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφερομένων, πλείους τε συνεχᾶσι τῆς Μακεδόνων δυνατεῖας ἐξεδυνέστης, πρῶτος Ἀρσάκης
 λέγεται τὸ γένος Παρθυσῶς ἀναπτεῖται τὸς ἐπὶ κείνους βαρβαροὺς ἀποσῆναι Μακεδόνων περὶ δὲ μὲν τὸ διαδύνα-
 μίαν Παρθυσῶν, καὶ τῶν περὶ ἑαυτὸν βαρβαρῶν, αὐτὸς τε ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνου τὰ γένης ἐπὶ πλείστον
 παρέμενε ἡ ἀρχή. That is, Alexanders successors being divided one against another, and the Macedonian power greatly
 weakened with continuall warres, Arsaces by birth a Parthian is said first of all to have persuaded the barbarians of those quar-
 ters to revolt from the Macedonians. and assuming the diademe by consent both of the Parthians and other barbarians therea-
 bout himselfe was king, and after him the crowne continued for a long time in his posterity. The very precise time of the Par-
 thian revolt was vnder Antiochus, Tacitus 5. Hist. Antiochus Parthorum bello prohibitus est, nam ea tempestate Arsaces
 descenderat. Appianus ἀρσάκην specificth which Antiochus, to wit, Antiochus surnamed Deus, grandchilde to P Se-
 leucus founder of the Syrian kingdom. καὶ παρθυσῶν τῆς ἀποστάσεως τότε ἤρξαν, ὡς τε περὶ γένους τῆς τῶν
 σελευκιδῶν ἀρχῆς. That is, At that time began the Parthians their revolt by reason the kingdom of the Seleucidæ was
 in great disorder. From this Arsaces the Parthian kingdom continued to Artabanus, who reigning in Alexan-
 der Seuerus time, was then destroyed by Artaxerxes a Persian, & so the Empire of those Easterne cuntries vnted
 againe to the crown of Persia. Herodianus lib. 6. Vologeses or Vologesus (for both waies we find it written the Grecians
 call him Ουολόγαισος) was at this time king of Parthia, sonne to Vonones that died in Claudius time, Anno
 vrb. cond. 802. and brother to Pacorus king of Media, and Tiridates by Nero crowned king of Armenia.

* And solus il-
 ne frares alio,
 saith Marcelli-
 nus lib. 23. quod
 Arsaces astitit vi-
 tui sui consecra-
 tione (ut ipsi existi-
 mant) permixtus
 est omnium pri-
 mu.

¶ Ammianus lib.
 23. affirmeth it
 was Seleucus
 Nicator.

¶ Hist. gratie
 Vologeso acta.

¶ 1. Annal.
 lib. 2. cap. 19.

* The fees of vacations: *Vacationes* Id est, *pretia vacationum*, for so he tearmeth them 1. Annal. *Mox indiscretis*
vocibus pretia vacationum incusant. now *vacationum*, of what? *munerum*. for so Tacitus speaketh in another place.
hinc vacationes munerum redimi. So that *vacationes* in this place, & in another, is as much as *pretia vacationum mune-*
rum. for the common foldier by the strictnesse of ancient discipline was tied and bound to many seruile ministe-
 ries in the campe, by * Tacitus called *munera*, as is aforesaid, and by * Vegetius *munia*, as to bring in wood, straw,
 hay, water &c. Being negligent, or failing in execution thereof, they were cudgelled and whipped by the Centu-
 rions. Tac. 1. Annal. *Frastra vix in tergo militis, alteram clara voce, ac rursus aliam poscebat centurio Lucilius.* whereup-
 on in all mutinees the Centurions were the men principally shot at by the common foldier. In the German fed-
 ition at the entring of Tiberius, they muttered first among themselves *venisse tempus quo cunctis modum miserationum*
exposcerent, senisiamque centurionum viderentur: and straight after put it in execution against them. *Repetit lym-*
phati districtis gladijs in centuriones innadunt. ea vetustissima militibus odijs materies, & senisendi principum. proftratu
verberibus multans sexagenis singulos, ut numerum centurionum adæquarent. Tum conuulsos laniatosque & partim exanimos,
ante vallum, aut in amnem Rhenum proieciunt. Now the wealthy souldier, and those which had meanes, redee-
 med and bought out for money this seruice at the Centurions handes. So the souldiers in Pannony com-
 plaine. *Denis in diem assibus animam & corpus estimari; hinc vestem, arma, sentoria, hinc senisiam centurionum, & vacati-*
ones munerum redimi. and the German. *mox indiscretis vocibus pretia vacationum, angustias stipendijs, diuisionem operum ac*
proprijs nominibus incusant vallum, fossas, pabuli, materie lignorum adgestus, & siqua alia ex necessitate, aut aduersus omnem
castrorum queruntur. That then which heere they demanded was, that for purchasing immunitie from these mu-
 nera, they should not be forced to paie any money to the Centurions.

¶ cap. 18.

* His owne cofers: *Ex Fisco suo* Fisci, sparrea sunt utensilia ad maioris summe pecunias capiendas; Alconius. and
 so Tully vseth the worde, in *Verrem*. *Fiscos complures cum pecunia Siciliensi a quodam senatore ad equitem Romanum esse*
translatos. And in the same sense we reade it in Tacit. 1. Annal. *cum fisci de imperatore rapiti inter signa, interque*
Aquilas veherentur. in Suet. * Claudio, *postis ante se cum pecunia fisci &c.* Whereupon quia maior summa est pecunie
 publice quam privata, ut pro censu privato loculos, & arcam & sacellos dicimus, sic pro publico thesauro aram dicimus fisci, saith
 Alconius, applying the names of *fiscus* & *ararium*, both to one thing; as Tully doth, *Verrinā. 3. Quaternos H. S.*
quos mihi senatus decreuit & ex arario dedit, ego habebō, & in ciuitatem transferam ex fisco. But after the diuision of the Em-
 pire made by Augustus in *publicas, & principis provincias* the words were no more indifferently vsed, *Fiscus* being
 appropriated to signifie the Princes treasure, and *Ararium* the publicke, a difference notwithstanding more of
 names then of substance. *λόγῳ μὲν δὲ τὰ δημόσια ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνων (Ἀρχῆς) ἀποκρίνεται, ἔργῳ δὲ κ' ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν*
νόμον αὐτῶν ἀνελίσκετο. Dio. l. 53. That is, In name the publicke treasure was seuered from Augustus exchequer, but in
 truth that also was spent at his disposition.

* Being a freedman] *Ingeniti* were commonly mured priuily; *serui*, or *libertini* generis publicly executed.
 Such also was Asiaticus end, that carried the credit with Vitellius, as soone as Vespasian came in. Tacit. 4. Hist.
Asiaticus, ut libertus malam potentiam seruiti supplicio expiauit.

¶ ep. 12.

* The Citty-Prætor calleth the Senate] For both the Consuls were slaine. In which case or otherwise in
 their absence *ius vocandi senatum* belonged to the *Prætor urbanus*. Cic. lib. ad familiares * 10. *Paulo post idem mihi*
Munatius eas literas legendas dedit, quas ipsi miserat, & eas quas publicæ. Placuit nobis ut statim ad Cornutum prætorē urb.
 literas

litteras deferremus : qui quod Coss. aberant, consulare munus sustinebas more maiorum. Senatus est continuo conuocatus.

¹² With all other princely prerogatives] The principal titles vsually annexed to the Princes place were these.

¹ Princeps, ² Imperator, ³ Caesar, ⁴ Augustus, ⁵ Tribunitia potestas, ⁶ Pater patrie, ⁷ Pontifex maximus. Tac. 1. Annal. Augustus cuncta discordia civilibus fessa nomine ¹ Principis sub imperium accepit, which title of Princeps, as I thinke, was borrowed from princeps senatus in the former state. ² Imperator hath a double signification both touched by Dio. l. 52. ἐν τῷ ἐτει ἐκείνῳ καὶ τὴν αὐτοκρατορεὶς ὀπίκλητον ἐπέθετο (ὁ Αὐγούστος) λέγων δὲ ὅτι ταῖς νίκαις καὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖα διδομένην πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐτέραν τὴν τιμωτέαν σφραδύνειν. That is, In that yeere Augustus tooke to himselfe the name of Imperator. I meane not that name which in ancient time was given to certaine persons vpon some notable victorie, but this other signifying soueraine power and maiestie. And not onely this later which began first in Iulius Caesar, A. v. c. 79. importing soueraine maiestie, but also the other was vsuall vnder the Emperours, both in the Princes stile, and conferred likewise vpon priuate persons that had deserued it. Tac. 3. Annal. Tiberius id quoque Blaso tribuit, ut imperator à legionibus saluaretur, prisco erga duces honore, qui bene gesta rep. gaudio & impetu victoris exercitus conclamabantur, erantque plures simul imperatores, nec super ceterorum aequalitatem, concessit quibusdam & Augustus id vocabulum, ac tunc Tiberius Blaso postremum. In the Princes stile thus. Imp. Caesar Augustus, Imp. decimum sextum. Imperator in the first place signifying supreme autoritie, in the second τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις, obtained either by himselfe, or by his deputies. So Nero remaining at Rome obrem bene gestam à Corbulone in Armenia consalutatus est Imperator.

Tac. 13. Annal. ³ Caesar by kinred or adoption from D. Iulius to Nero, in quo, saith Suetonius, progenies Caesarum defecit. Galba and the rest nullo gradu contingentes Caesarum domum were called Caesars in respect of succession in office and place, rather then blood: and not onely the Princes themselves, but also their sonnes and designed successors. 5. Hist. Eiusdem anni principio Caesar Titus, in his fathers time. And before that, 3. Hist. milites Domitianum, Caesarem consalutant. and Piso in this booke, ex quo Caesar asseim sum. ⁴ The name of Augustus peculiar to the Prince in possession had his beginning from Octavius, whose originall and etymologie Dio declareth lib. 53. ὁ κατὰ ἐπιθεμὶν μὴ ἰσχυρὸς ῥωμαῖος ὀνομασθῆναι, ἀισθόμενος δὲ ὅτι ἀποπτεύεται ἐκ τῆς τῆς βασιλείας ὀπθυμείν, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ἀντεποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ Αὐγούστος, ὡς καὶ πλεον πῆ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὄν, ἐπεκλήθη. πᾶσι γὰρ τὰ ἐπιμώτατα, καὶ τὰ ἱερωτάτα, Αὐγούστος προσαρρένεται, ἐξ ὧν καὶ σεβαστὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἑλληνιστὸς πᾶσι ἐπὶ τῆς σεβαστέας, προσείπον. That is, Octavius desired most earnestly to haue bene called Romulus, but perceiving that thereby he came into suspicion of affecting the kingdome, he desisted from that purpose, and was surnamed Augustus as being somewhat more then a man. For in Latin things most precious and sacred are called Augusta, and so the Greekes call him Sebastos, which is deriued of a worde signifying diuine adoration.

⁵ Tribunitia potestas. Dio lib. 53. ἡ ἐξουσία ἡ δημαρχική καὶ λαμπρὴ, διδοσίσσι τῷ ἐπὶ τῷ γένει αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, αὐτῶν καὶ σωμάτων, πᾶσι, καὶ μὴ καὶ σεβαστέας καὶ ἀρχαῖα πῆ τὸ βαρύτερον καὶ ὅτι ἐργῶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγῳ ἀντιθεσθαι δόξαι, καὶ ἀκέραιον τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτὸ, ὡς καὶ ἐναγὴ δολιχῶναι. Δημαρχεῖν μὴ γὰρ, ἀπὸ καὶ ἐς τὰς εὐπαιδείας πᾶσι τελευτῶν, καὶ ὅστιον νομίζουσιν εἶναι. τὴν δὲ δὴ δύναμιν τὴν τῶν δημαρχῶν πᾶσι, ὅσην τὴν μάλιστα ἐγένετο, προσετίθενται (οἱ αὐτοκρατορες) καὶ δὴ πᾶσι καὶ ἡ ἀειθυσίαι τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ κατὰ ἐτος αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν αὐτῶν δημαρχῶν λαμβανόντων, προσείπον. That is, Tribunitiall autoritie giues the Emperours power to stop any thing done by others against their owne liking. Moreover it preserues their person from all maner of iniurie or contumely, giuing them autoritie immediately to make away without iudgement or formality of law, as an execrable person, whosoever shall offer them neuer so little an indignitie in worde or deede. And albeit the Princes themselves beare not the office of Tribunes, as being Patritij, and therefore by law not capable thereof, yet take they to them all their power and autoritie as the highest reckoning that euer it was, and by it account the yeeres of their government (writing for example Tribunitia potestas quartum, Trib. pot. quantum the fourth and fift yeere of their Empire) as though they assumed that autoritie from yeere to yeere with the yeerely Tribune. Tacit. 3. Annal. Tiberius potestatem tribunitiā Druso (filio) petebat, id summi fastigij vocabulum ² Augustus reperi, ne ⁷ Regis aut Dictatoris nomen assumeret, ac tamen appellatione aliqua cetera imperia premineret. 1. Annal. Augustus posito Triumviri nomine, Consulē se ferens, et ad tuendam plebem Tribunitio iure contentum. Flavius Vopiscus in the life of Tacitus the Emperour; Tribunitia potestate, quae pars maxima regalis imperij est. As for the office of Tribunus plebis, vnder the Emperours the ² name rather then the authority, and ius intercedendi in some sort remained. In Tiberius time, cum primum accusatori decerneretur, Iunius Otho tribunus plebis intercessit. and in Neroes, Rusticus Arulenus flagrans inuenis, et cupidine laudis offerebat se intercessurum senatus consulto, nam plebis tribunus erat. Tacitus 16. Annal.

The name and honour of Pater patrie was giuen by M. Cato to Tully in Catilines conspiracie, and after peculiar to the Princes, vnlesse it were some that for modestie, or in respect of their youth refused it. Appianus 2. Εμυρ. Καίτοι δὲ αὐτὸν (τὸν Κικέρωνα) καὶ πατέρα τῆς πατρίδος προσαρρένεται, ἐπεβόησεν ὁ δήμος, καὶ δοκεῖ πρῶτον ἢ δὲ ἡ εὐφημία τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀρξάνην περὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων τὸς φαινόμενος ἀξίως. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς δὲ, καὶ πρὸς ὅτι Καίλιοντιν εὐδὸς ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν ταῖς ἀλλαῖς ἐπὶ νουμίας, ἀλλὰ σὺν χροῖνι μάλιστα ἦδὲ ὡς ἐντελής ὅτι μετὰ τῆς διηγερέας ἡσυχίᾳ. That is, When Cato called Cicero Pater patrie all the people assented with a shoute. And some thinke that this honourable acclamation in Tully was a precedent for the Senate afterward to conferre the same title vpon their Princes, such as seemed worthy: for euen they, though being absolute Princes, yet haue not this at first together with the rest of their stile, but after a long time this title is decreed vnto them for a full accomplishment of their honour and a small testimony of their greatest and most vertuous actions.

⁷ The office of Pontifex maximus was a seuerall charge in the free common wealth, vnited in the person of Caesar at what time he vsurped the state, and so for the most part continued in his successors, of which we shall haue occasion to speake more hereafter. Besides these titles of honour vsually expressed in the Princes stile, many other dignities conferred vpon Augustus, and the first emperours at seuerall times, and vpon occasion, were all in one ordinarie decree granted to the Prince, at the first assemblie of the Senate after his comming to state, as ⁸ Imperium proconsulare, ⁹ ius relationis himselfe being not Consul, and that of being aboue all law,

¹⁰ legibus solui, &c. Dio. lib. 53. ἡ δὲ καὶ ἐτέραν πῆ, ὁ μὲν δὲ τῶν πάλαι ῥωμαίων ² ἐς πάντα ἀντικρυς ἐδίδου, προσεκλήσαντο (οἱ αὐτοκρατορες) λέλυσται γὰρ δὴ τῶν νόμων, ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ λαμπρὰ ῥήματα λέγει, τῶν ἐπὶ ἐλδοῖσι ἀπὸ πάσης ἀναγκῆς νομίστας εἶσι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐνέχονται. That is, And here the Emperours obtained another prerogative such as was neuer absolutely granted to any of the ancient Romans, that is, legibus solui, to be tied to no obseruation of any written law. Again, διὰ ταῦτα ἡ γενοία χροῖα πρῶτον αὐτῷ (πρὸ Αὐγούστου) δεινὸν ὅτι αὐτὸν ἐθέλησιν καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνης, καὶ μὴ ὑπακούσῃ, ἐδίδου, τῶν τε ἀρχῶν τὴν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν εἶναι, ὡς ἐντελής μὲν

x According to Appian the Tribunitall privileges were first conferred vpon C. Caesar: ἡ δὲ ἐξουσία ἡ δημαρχική καὶ λαμπρὴ, διδοσίσσι τῷ ἐπὶ τῷ γένει αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, αὐτῶν καὶ σωμάτων, πᾶσι, καὶ μὴ καὶ σεβαστέας καὶ ἀρχαῖα πῆ τὸ βαρύτερον καὶ ὅτι ἐργῶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγῳ ἀντιθεσθαι δόξαι, καὶ ἀκέραιον τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτὸ, ὡς καὶ ἐναγὴ δολιχῶναι.

y Which both were abolished with great curses to him that should go about to induce them again. the one by L. Brutus, the other after Caesars death.

z As Tacitus saith in another place; domi res tranquilla; eadem magistratum vocabula: but not the same power.

a For to some particular purposes some other were solui legibus, as Scipio legibus solui, &c.

μήτε ἐν τῇ ἐκείνῃ τῇ εἴσῳ τῇ παμπληθεὶ καταπύεσθαι αὐτὴν, μήτ' αὐτοῖς ἀναγεῖναι, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκείνῃ τῷ πλείοντι τῶν ἐκαστοῦ ὁδοῦ ἀρχόντων ἰσχεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. That is, For these causes the Senate granted Augustus power to propose any one thing which himselfe listed every Senate, though he were not as then Consul. Likewise that he should haue Proconsular authority once for all. so that he should not neede either to depose it when he entred the Pomerium, nor againe to resume it. Beside that in all other places subiect to the Empire his power and authority should be above and superiour to all the particular magistrats there. The Consul apud Vopiscum in Probo, hauing made relation to the Senate of Probus letters elected Emperour by the souldier, Decerno igitur, saith he, P. C. votis omnium concinentibus (Aurelio Probo) nomen Casarenm, nomen Augustum, addo Proconsulare imperium, Patri patrie reuerentiam, Pontificatum maximum, ius a tertis relationis, Tribuniciam potestatem, Posthæc acclamatum est Omnes, Amnes, Vopiscus.

a That is, Beside
the two Consuls.

43 Of his principal bondmen: *E prioribus servis*] *Primoribus servis* it would be, as I think. *Servorum enim alij primores alij Mediaffini*, of *primores* Tacitus maketh mention 4. *Annal.* *Lygus erat atque forma carus domino, interq; primores, ut nifros erat.* Now that *dispensatores* were of the better sort it appeareth by that of Suetonius ^b *Nerone. Certum dominis servorum numerum indixit (Nero) nec nisi ex tota cuiusque familia probatissimos, ne dispensatoribus quidem aut amanuensisibus exceptis recepit.*

• CSP. 44.

⁴⁴ Seventy three yeares] Galba was borne, saith e Suetonius, *Messala & Lentulo, Coß. 9. Calendas Ian. Anno ab urbe conditã. 751. flaine, 822. 18. Cal. Febr.* So that Galba liued but 23. daies onely aboue seuentie yeares, and yet Suetonius in two or three places agreeth with Tacitus, onely Xiphilinus hath 72. which is with the most.

6 CAP. 4.

VIII. *After the death of Galba, the newes growing boater of Vitellius and the German revolt, how the Cittie stood affected betweene him and Otho.*

THE cittie thus terrified, and hauing in horreur both the haynousefse of the late fact, and the olde conditions of Otho, was put in a further feare, by the newes of Vitellius reuolt, which were in Galbaes time suppressed, that men should belecue no more had rebelled, saue the armie of vpper Germanie alone. But then seeing ^a two of all mortall men the most detestable creatures, in slothfulnesse, incontinencie, and wastfull life, fatally elect, as it were, to ruine the Empire, not onely the Senatours and Gentlemen, who had some part and care of the state, but the ^a commons also openly began to waile and lament. Their talke was no more of the fresh and bleeding examples of the late murdering peace: but of ciuill warres recorded in ancient story, of the cittie so oft surprized by her owne citizens, Italy wasted, the prouinces spoiled; of Pharsalia, Phillippi, Perusia, Mutina, ^b famous names of common calamities. The worlde was subuerted almost, euen when good men stroue for the state: notwithstanding there remained when Caius Iulius, there remained when Cæsar Augustus was conquerour, the forme of an Empire. ^a If Pompey had preuailed, if Brutus, the popular state would haue stode: now whether for Otho, or for Vitellius should they goe to the temples! that both prayers were impious alike, both vowe alike detestable, betweene two, in the warre of whom this alone you might know, that he which should win, would be ^c worse then before. Some secretly wished Vespasian with the Easterne armies; and as he was more liked then either of the other, so did they greatly mislike to multiply warres and calamities: and againe Vespasian was not altogether without exception; the ³ onely Prince before his time, which changed to the better.

a Tac. *Vulgo*, &
magnitudine ni-
mia curarum ex-
pers populus: and
yet *expers* not in
al circumstances,
as here may be
seene, nor of all
common cares: *Plebs cui unica
ex rep. anonyma cu-
ra*, saith *Tacitus*
elsewhere

At Pharſalia
Cæſar ouerthrew
Pompey: *an. vr.
condit. 706.* at
Phillippi Octa-
uius and Antoni-
us ouercame
Brutus and Cæſ-
ſius: *av. v. c. 712.*
in the Perſian
war Octavius
rooke armes a-
gainſt L. Antoni-
us and Fulvia.

Anno. 713. at
Mutina the Cō-
suls Hirtius and
Pansa fought
with M. Antoni-
us. Ann 710.
For admitting
them before e-
quall in vices,
the victorie it
selfe would cor-
rupt the winner:
*victoria eriam
egregios duces in-
fascere, saith
Tac. elsewhere.*

* Two of all mortall men the most] Otho and Vitellius are here compared as like, in opposition both to a good Prince: 2. Hift. as vnlike, with notes of distinction, opposed the one to the other. *Vitelly ignaue voluptuarii: Othonis flagrantiffime libidines. Vitellius ventre & gula fubijit hostis: Otho luxu, fenitid, audacia reipub. exitiofior ducebatur.* Of the one fide an ill minde in a man of nothing, of the other an ill minde ioined with courage and edge.

¶ If Pompey had preuailed, if Brutus the popular state would haue stood] Of Brutus I cannot call it in question carying that honourable minde which no doubt he did to the libertie of his cuntry: but surely for Pompey I cannot affirme it. his doings affirme rather the contrary, and Tacitus himselfe teacheth vs otherwise. 2. Hist. *Mors plebe infima C. Marius, & nobilium scississimus L. Sulla, uictam armis libertatem in dominationem reuerunt. Post quos Cn. Pompeius occultior non melior.* Salust. apud Sueton. lib. de claris grammaticis. *Pompeius uis probi, animoq; inuenerundo.* Appianus 2. Εμφυλ. maketh report of a worde that escaped Pompey, a man not vsed to dissemble that way, a little before the battell at Pharsalia. *ποσῶτον δ' ἐνεπὶ πρὸς τοῖς φίλοις, ὅτι ἡδ' ἡμεῖς, ὅπότερος αὐτὸς ὀππότερος, κερδῶμεν ἐς αἰεὶ Ρωμαίοις ἀρξέει χαλῶν, παράτασεν ἐς τὴν μάχην, ὃ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῷ τὴν διαόλιαν σεβαστέην πυνες ἐν τῷ φόβῳ νομίζοντες ἠγῶντο ἐδ' αὐτὸ Πομπηίου κερκίσματα μεθίνασι τὴν μοναρχίαν.* That is, Pompey before

he set his men in array at the battell of Pharsalia, so them about him les fall vnawares a worde, whereby it was discovered that himselfe if the victory had gone on his side would still haue retained the monarchy. This day, quoth he, whether soeuer of vs two shall win, will be the beginning of great calamity for euer to the Roman estate. Of the same opinion is Tully also in his letters ad Atticum, whose iudgement, as of a man of affaires, and in re praesenti we may iustly account aboue all exception, lib. 8. epist. 11. *Nentri exortus est ille, ut nos beati simus, uterque regnare vult.* De Pompeio & Caesare. lib. 9. ep. 6. *Mirandum in modum Cneus noster Sullani regni similitudinem concupiscit.* *ἐξ ὧν ἐστὶ λέγω.* That is, I tell you this vpon mine owne knowledge. Lib. 7. 5. *Ex victoria sum multa mala, sum certe tyrannis existet.*

³ The onely Prince before his time which changed] For after him Titus his sonne changed also the same way. Suetonius Tito cap. 1. *Titus amor ac deliciae generis humani: sanctum illi ad promouendam omnium voluntatem vel ingenij, vel artis vel fortunae super fuit: & (quod difficillimum est) in imperio, quando priuatus, atque etiam sub patre principe, ne odio quidem, nedum vituperatione publica caruit.*

IX. The reuolt of the armies of both Germanies, and rising of Vitellius.

NOW will I set downe the beginning and causes of Vitellius commotion. After that Iulius Vindex with all his host was flaine, the ¹ army growing insolent with spoile and glorie, as hauing obtained, without paine and danger, a most rich conquest, loued much better exploites and fighting, * rewards and booties, then ordinary pay. they had passed before a long, fruitles, and hard seruice there; partly through the * qualitie of the soyle, and climate, and partly through the straitnesse of discipline, which in time of peace being rigorously obserued, by ciuill warres is vtterly dissolued; corrupters being ready at hande on both sides, and fugitiues scaping as then without punishment. Men, armour, horses they had sufficient for vse, and ornament too: but before the ² warre they had no further acquaintance together, but with the men of their owne troupes, and companies: the armies lay seuered ^b in seuerall prouinces. then against Vindex the Legions being assembled in one, and hauing prooued themselues and the forces of Gallia, fought now a fresh occasion of warres, and new troubles, not terming ^c them as they were woont, friends and allies, but enemies and conquered persons. The tract of Gallia, which lyes vpon Rhene, hauing followed before the souldiers side, auanced themselues then with the foremost to instigate the armies against the Galbians: for so now they called them, disdayning the name of Vindex as stale. Thus being incensed against the Sequani and Hedui, and so further, as the towens were in wealth, they conceiued in hope sacking of citties, wasting of countries, rifling of houses, irritated next after couetousnes and presumption, principall vices of them which be stronger, by the peruersenesse of them of Gallia foolishly bragging, that Galba had released a fourth part of their tribute, & * generally made them citizes of Rome in despite of the army. Moreouer it was giuen out craftily, and rashly beleueed, ² that in the Legions euerie tenth man was allotted to die, and the ablest men of the Centurions should be cast: from euery quarter hainous rumours, sinister reports from Rome, the ³ colony of Lions discontented, and as it were a nurcery of tales by reason of their constant affection to Nero: but greatest matter to forge out a lye, and win it credit, the camp it selfe did yeeld vpon hatred, feare, security also, when they had measured their own ability. Aulus Vitellius entering the yeere before about the first of December into lower Germany, with great care and diligence had visited and surueyed the standing camps of the Legions: many he restored to their roomes, to their fame, and honor, most part to win fauour, and some vpon iudgement; vndoing that with integritie, which Fonteius Capito vpon briberie and lucre had done displacing, or placing for money in degrees of seruice: neither were his doings accepted after the measure of an ordinarie Lieutenant generall, but in a far higher degree. And as among the seuerer sort Vitellius was thought bate and demisse, so his fauourers termed it curtesie

* premia: as the sacke or spoile of a city, or countie, donatiues, or any other extraordinary liberality.

* ingenio loci obliq. 2. Hist. Germanica hiberna caelo, ac laboribus dura.

* Against Vindex

^b And so remained, for ought I know, in the war against Vindex, where onely the vpper army was present, by the testimony of all writers, and Tac. himselfe in many places.

^c To wit, them of Gallia, with whom they had fought.

* publice i. iudicij, for the priuileges of Gallia had obtained the priuledge before Claudius came. 1. Ann. primores Galliae sedera & ciuitatem Romanam pridem affecti

** auditate im-
perandi.*

*¶ Valens in low-
er Germanie
where Vitellius:
and Cæcina in
higher, where
Hordeonius
Flaccus was
Lieutenant
generall.*

** collegium Cæsa-
rii Sueton. Vitel-
lii. c. 2. Vitellius
imperatoris pater,
cum Claudio prin-
cipe duos ordina-
rios consularis
censuram, gessit.*

*• The indolent
ἀνὰ δὲ ἀπορία
ἀνὰ τὴν ὀλιγο-
νίαν, ἡ δὲ ἀνὰ τὴν
ἐν τῇ πρὸς αὐ-
τὴν ἀπορία. Xi-
philinus.
¶ 2. Hist. Centuri-
onem Sisennum
dextris, concordia
insignia, Syriaci
exercitus nomine,
ad Pretorianos
forentem, variis
artibus aggres-
sus est.*

and goodnesse, bicause without measure or iudgement he gaue out his owne, lasht out other mens, construing vices for vertues * vpon an extreme desire of the Empire. Many in both armies there were, as modest and quiet men, so likewise bad and valiant; by name among other Alienus Cæcina and Fabius Valens ^d Lieutenants of Legions, in appetites immoderat, and singularly rash. Valens offended with Galba, as being not recompensed according to his deserts for discovering Verginius doubtfull proceeding, and the oppressing of Capitoes conspiracy, ceased not to vrge and incite Vitellius; laying open before him the souldiers feruent good will; the honorable report that went euery where of his doings: as for Hordeonius Flaccus that seely man could hinder but little, that Britanny would ioine, the German Aides follow him, that the prouinces were not assured; in fine that the old man was Emperour of curtesie and quickly would lose it; let Vitellius onely but open his bosome, make towards, and receiue in good fortune, as she offred herselfe: that Verginius indeed had good cause to be doubtfull, being onely of a Gentlemans house, his father hauing not borne office; the place was aboue his capacity, if he had vnder taken it, and then refusing it, he was out of danger: that contrariwise Vitellius father had beene thrise Consull, Censor, * colleague with the Emperour: that these qualities in the father tooke long agoe from the son the securitie of a priuat person, and put vpon him the dignitie of a Prince. His dull spirits were mouued with these speeches rather to desire then to hope. But in vpper Germanie Cæcina a comely young man, of bodie big, and minde insatiable, quicke of speech, of gate stately, had maruellously won the goodwill of the souldier. This young man Galba promoted to gouern a legion, for that being Questor in Bætica, he came without stay to his side: by and by being convicted to haue dealt false with the common treasure, hee was by Galbaes commaundement endited of purloyning: Cæcina taking heauily the disgrace, determined to trouble the state, and with the calamities of the common wealth to couer and close vp his owne priuate wounds. Neither in the army wanted there seeds of sedition: for they all had beene present in field against Vindex, and could not be brought to sweare vnto Galba, before they did know that Nero was flaine; and were also in taking the othe preuented by the ensignes of low Germanie, againe the Treueri, Lingones, and those other citties, which Galba had pinched with heauy edicts, or with losse of territorie, lay neare to the standing camps of the Legions: whereupon grew seditious conferences, and the souldier by conuersation with the ⁴ countrey-man more corrupted, and by ^e reason of the good will borne to Verginius to be employed for any other man. The Lingones according to their accustomed maner had sent gifts to the Legions ^f Right-hands in token of mutuall loue and hospitality. their messengers purposely with sad cheere and heavy countenance in the Principia, in the souldiers cabins, lament and bewaile, sometime the wrong done to themselues, sometime the honour done to their neighbours, and perceiuing their talke had so ready an audience, they passed on further, incensing their mindes, and bewayling the hard hap euen of the armie it selfe, their dangers, and contumelies. The matter thus growing toward a sedition, Hordeonius Flaccus commandeth the messengers to get them away; and that their departure might be the more secret, he commaundes them to auoide the campe in the night season. Thereupon a suspition and grieuous rumour arose, the most part affirming they were made away: and that without doubt, vnlesse they prouide for themselues the more surely, it would come to passe that those of the soldiers which were of most courage, and most misliked the present estate, should likewise by night, vnawares to the rest, be secretly murdered. Vpon this the Legions priuily conspire, and couenant together:

ther: the Ayde-soldier was made also of the party, whom at first they suspected, as though with his cohortes and wings enuironing them he ment them a mischief; but anone he appeared more earnest then any, as the bad agree better to broach a new warre, than in peace to keepe concord one with another. Notwithstanding the Legions of lower Germany, the first day of Ianuarie, sware their solemne alleageance to Galba, with much adoe, and slow comming forward, some few in the first ranckes yeelding a weake applause; the rest standing mute, ech looking his neighbour should dare, as it is the nature of men, to follow with speed that, which they are otherwise of themselues loath to begin: but euen the Legions were diuersly minded, the first and the fift rebelliously affected, so that some cast stones at Galbaes images: the fifteenth and sixteenth murmuring and threatening, and daring no further, stood waiting for others to shew them the way. In the higher armie the fourth Legion and the eighteenth, wintering both in one * place, the very first day of Ianuary brake the images of Galba in pieces; the fourth very resolutely, the eighteenth after some little stay, anone by common consent: and lest they might seeme to haue shaken off the obedience of the Empire, they sware & To the Senate and people of Rome, a stile long ago ouerworne; no Lieutenant, no Tribune labouring for Galba, yea some, as in tumults it happeneth, troubling more: neuerthelesse no man presumed to make any solemne oration assembly-wise, or out of Tribunall; for as yet they had none to bestowe their benefit vpon. Hordeonius Flaccus Lieutenant generall stood by ^h and lookt on, while this pageant was playing, not daring neither to restraine the rebellious, nor stay the doubtfull, nor encourage the good; a timorous slugge, and innocent, as being a coward. Fower Centurions of the eighteenth Legion, Nonius Receptus, Donatius Valens, Romilius Marcellus, and Calpurnius Repentinus, endeououring to saue and protect the images of Galba, with the souldiers violence were caried away, bound and layed vp: neither did there remaine any more in any of them all any sparke of faith, or alleageance, no memorie of the ⁱ othe before given; but as in seditions it happeneth, as the most part went, so did they all go. The same day at night the * Standerd-bearer of the fourth Legion brings word to Vitellius, as he sate at banquet in ⁶ Coleyne, that the fourth and eighteenth Legion had broken downe the images of Galba, and sworne to the Senate and people of Rome. That othe seemed friuolous and voide: wherefore it was thought good * to vse the opportunitie, and profer them a Prince. Thereupon Vitellius dispatcheth in post to the Legions, and Lieutenants of his owne prouince, aduertising them that the higher army was reuolcked from Galba: wherefore either fight they must against the reuolters, or if they liked better of peace, and concord, set vp an Emperour: and with lesse danger they might take a Prince, then seeke one. The first Legion lay nearest, and Fabius Valens Lieutenant, of all the rest the forwardest man: who, the very day after, with the horse-men of his Legion, and of the Aydes, entring Coleyn, ^k solemnely saluted Vitellius Emperour. The rest of the Legions of the same prouince stroue who should be formost to follow the example: and the higher army, laying aside those glorious titles, and goodly to shew, of the Senat and people of Rome, the third of Ianuary roundly come ouer to Vitellius side: a man might easily perceiue that the other two daies they ment nothing lesse, then a free common wealth. They of Coleyn, the Treueri, and Lingones, were not inferior to the souldiers in forwardnesse, offering aydes, horses, armour, money, as they were able in body, wealth, or wit. and not onely the 7 principall men of the colonies and camps, which presently had wealth at wil, and vpon the victory hoped for great matters; but also the * bands and common souldier, vpon an instinct and heate of

^a At Magoniacis & Statim (Suet. c. 10.) legationem ad Praetorianos cum mandatu destinauerunt; displacebat imperatorem in Hispania factum, elegerunt ipsi, quod cum illi exercitus comprobaretur. But the embassage, as it may seeme, vpon the report to Vitellius was reuolcked.

^b Yet was he left by Vitellius Lieutenant of both Germanies. 2. Hist. afterward he fauoured Vespasians side, and lastly was slaine by his owne souldiers. 4. Hist. Which they had sworne to Galba, pressed thereto by Vespasian after Nemes decess.

^c Aquilifer. ^d occupata nutantem fortunam, is peracuerunt properly to catch first hold, or put your selfe in sure possession of fortune waivering, and now standing in doubt, where she might best bestow herselfe.

^e Suet. Vitell. c. 8. somewhat otherwise: vix dum mens transacto, neq. diu, neq. tempus habita ratione, ac iam vespere, subito a milibus e cubiculo raptus, ita ut erat in veste domestica Imperator est constitutus, circumlatuq. per celebrissimos viros. Plut. saith it was at mid-day.

^f manipuli. i. manipulares, in opposition to primores castrorum.

affection, and couetous humor, gaue vp their money, and in steede of money their
 *belts, their trappings, the siluer trimming of their harnish. Vitellius hauing great-
 ly commended their cheerful willingnes, committeth the offices of court, common-
 ly supplied by freedmen, to Gentlemen of Rome; and paies the vacations to the
 Centurions out of his cofers. The souldiers cruelty demanding many to death he
 doth oft condescend vnto: sometimes he deceiues them with shew of emprisoning.
¹ Pompeius Propinquus, Procurator of Belgica, was straight put to death: Iulius
 Burdo admirall of the German nauy he saued by sleight. the whole army was incen-
 sed against him, as first an entiser of Fonteius Capito to rebell, & then a great helper
 to make him away: wel beloued was Capito, & gladly remembred; and in that raging
 and bloudthirstie company a man might openly kill whom he list, marie pardon
 or saue but by pollicy he could not: so Burdo was presently had into prison, and
 after the victory, the souldiers malice being appeased, enlarged againe. In the
 meane time Crispinus the Centurion was yeilded vnto them, as an *expiatory sacri-
 fice, who had embrued his hands with Capitoes bloud, and therefore more in the
 eye of the soldier, and of lesse account ^m with Vitellius. Next after was ⁸ Iulius Ci-
 uilis, a man of great might, and credit among the Batauians, deliuered from danger;
 lest by his death that fierce nation should become foes. Moreouer in the state of the
 Lingones there lay ⁹ of Batauians eight cohorts, the aides of the fourteenth Legiō,
 but then by means of the troublesome times they were departed away, of no small
 moment to sway the whole cause as they hapned to fauor the one or the other.
 The foure Centurions before mentioned, Nonius, Donatius, Romilius and Cal-
 puurnius, Vitellius commanded to be executed, being attainted of truth; a most hai-
 nous crime among rebels. Then came to the side Valerius Asiaticus Lieutenant of
 Belgica, to whom anone after Vitellius married his daughter; and Iunius Bloesus
 Gouvernour of Gallia Lugdunensis with the Italian Legion, and Taurin wing en-
 camped at Lions. The Rhoetian soldier without any stay ioined himselfe. In Britan-
 nie also the matter went cleere. ⁿ Trebellius Maximus was Lieutenant generall
 there, contemned and hated of the army for his niggardly sparing and polling: and
 Roscius Coelius Lieutenant of the twentieth legion inflamed them further against
 him, his ancient enemy, but now by occasion of ciuil dissensions they were fallen out
 further, and brake into more hainous termes: Trebellius obiecting to Coelius, and
 charging him with factious behauour, and dissoluing of discipline: Coelius againe
 that Trebellius had spoiled and beggered the legions: but in the meane time, the
 Lieutenants thus iarring, the modesty of the army was marred; the discord at
 length growing so great, that Trebellius being railed away by the Aydes also, in
 cohorts and wings sorting themselues to Coelius side, was glad to giue place being
 forsaken, and flee to Vitellius. The prouince although the Lieutenant generall was
 absent, remained in quiet, the Lieutenants of the Legions supplying the charge, in
 right of equall authority; but Coelius indeed bare the most stroke, because he was
 of most boldnesse. ¹⁰ Now that the Brittish host was adioyned, Vitellius growing
 strong in men and money, ordaines for the warre two sundry Generals, and two
 sundry waies for the Generals to passe. Fabius Valens was willed to allure by faire
 meanes, or if they refused, to wast and destroie the countreyes of Gallia, and so by
 the Cottian Alpes to enter by force into Italie. Cæcina was commanded a shorter
 passage, by the Penine Alpes to make his descent. Valens had vnder his conduct the
 choise men of the lower army, and the fift Legion with cohorts and wings, ^o forty
 thousand armed men. Out of higher Germany Cæcina led thirty thousand, the
 flower and strength whereof consisted in the one and twentieth Legion. Moreouer
 they

* *baleos*. Varro
lib. 4. de ling. Lat.
Baleum, cingulū
ē corio bullatum,
 usually trimmed
 with siluer or
 gold. *Spasianus*
Hadriano, vestem
humillimam fre-
quenter, & sine
auro Baleum
sumebat.

¹ He that wrote
 the first newes
 to Galba of the
 German rebelli-
 on *supra*.

* *ut piaculum.*
ut dicitur.

^m For it might
 be his owne case.

ⁿ *2. Hist.*
vita Agric.

• This number
 of fortie thou-
 sand far excee-
 ding the number
 of a Legion in
 any age, was
 made vp by gel-
 ding the other
 Legions of that
 prouince, yet
 leauing vnto
 them their stan-
 dard and their
 name, and by
 Auxiliaries of
 the Germans:
 as it appeareth
 by the words of
Tacitus.

they had both assigned vnto them ^p Aides of the Germans; out of whom Vitellius, who was to follow with the maine weight of the warre, furnished vp his army also. Strange was the difference betweene the army and their Emperour. the soldier was instant, demanding armes whilest they of Gallia stood in a feare, whilest Spaine in a doubt: as for the winter, that was no let, nor such like excuses receiueable, only in idle and peaceable times: that Italy must out of hand be inuaded, the city surprized; that nought is more safe then speede in ciuill diffension, where dispatch is more needfull then long consultation: on the other side Vitellius, a man of nothing, playing the Prince before hand in rioting and prodigall banquets, drunck at noone-day, and heauy with surfet; but the soldiers forwardnes and feruency fully supplied the place of the leader, as if he were present in person, encouraging, or terrifying the valiant or dastard. When all was in order ready to march, they call to sound the remoue, increasing Vitellius stile with the ¹¹ name of Germanicus: for Cæsar, euen after the victory, ^q he refused to be called.

^p Not only of the French side, but of Transalpinum; and such, I thinke, were principally ment in this place.

^q In perpetuum saith Suet. lib. 8. but Tacit. 3. Hist. teacheth vs otherwise. Quin & Cæsarem duci se voluit aspernatum antea.

¹ The army growing insolent, &c. *Cæso cum omnibus copijs Iulio vindice ferox præda, gloriaq; exercitus* Exercitus ex re ipsa atq; opere exercitijs nomen accepit. Vegetius lib. 2. cap. 1. and so it seemeth that Tacitus here doeth in some sort appropriate the name to the Roman trained souldier, terming the rawe and vntained of Vindex, copias, which word notwithstanding is common to both sortes. 1. Hist. *Aegyptum, copiasq; quibus coerceretur*, meaning of the two Legions remaining there. Beside this vse copie hath also in Tacitus another signification for prouision, or vittails. 3. Hist. *Et specie parandarum copiarum ciuili prædâ miles imbueretur*, and, *Lixas calonesq; Bebricum missis, copias, caeteraque vsui allaturus*. againe, & *locus ipse castrorum placebat, late prospectans, tuto copiarum aggestu, florentissimis pone terguni municipijs*. 4. Hist. *Nihil æquè exercitus nostros, quàm egestas copiarum fasigabat*, and so it is taken in this booke, *Trinacri & promiscuis copijs inuere militem*.

² That in the Legions euery tenth man was allotted to die] In ancient time if some great part of the armie had lost their ensignes, throwen away their weapons, and run cowardly out of the field, the maner was for the Generall to put all the Standerd-bearers, Centurions &c. to death, and of the common sort euery tenth man. The example is in Liny lib. 2. of Appius Claudius in the Volscian warre, in Dio, of Augustus and Antonie; lib. 49. and in Tacitus of L. Apronius Proconsul of Africke, when ancient discipline was welny expired. Annal. 3. The maner is in Polybius lib. 6. *εάν ποτε συμβῇ καὶ σημαίας πινὰς ὁλοκαυτῶς πτεδίστας λιπεῖν τὰς τάξεις, τὸ μὲν ἅπαντας ἐυλοκοπεῖν, ἢ φονδεῖν ἀποδοκιμαζομένους, λυσιπύρους δὲ τὰς περὶ τὰς σημαίας ἐυεχόντων συμπερικταῖν ἅμα καὶ καταπληκτικῶν. συναθροίσας γὰρ τὴν στρατιὴν ὁ χιλιάρχος, καὶ παρακαλῶν τὰς λελοιπότητας καταρρεῖ πικρῶς, καὶ τὸ τέλος, πῦρ τε μὲν πέντε, πῦρ τε ὀκτώ, πῦρ τε δὲ εἰκοσι, τὸ δὲ ὅλον πρὸς τὸ πλεῖστον ἀεὶ στρατεύματος, ὥστε δεκάτην μάλιστα γίνεσθαι τῆς ἡμετέρας, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἐν πᾶσι κληροῦται τῆς ἀποδεδεικνύμενης καὶ τῆς μὲν λαχόντας ἐυλοκοπεῖ ἀπαραιτήτως, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς τὸ μέγεθος κειθὰς δὲς ἀπὲρ πυρῶν ἐξω κελδεῖ τὸν χιλιάρχος, καὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ποιεῖται τὴν παρεμβολήν. That is, If at any time it happen that whole ensignes pressed by the enemy do forsake their standing & run away, the maner of the Romans is not straightwaies to put them all to death without difference, but they follow a meane course both profitable and terrible. For the Tribune calling the army together and producing those which failed in seruice, first he checketh them sharply, and in conclusion out of the offenders he chuseth by lot sometimes five, sometimes eight, sometimes twenty (alwaies hauing an eie to the number, and aiming as neare as he can to take euery tenth man) and those on whom the lot falls are beaten to death with clubs without remission. To the rest he giues the their allowance in barley in steede of wheate, and so commandes them to quarter without the trench and places of suretie. And not onely vpon the causes before rehearsed of *λεητοταξία*, and *ὁλοκαυτῶς*, That is, Forsaking their standing and casting away their armour, but vpon ^a occasion of a mutinee Scipio in Spaine in the second warre Punicke, and in later times also, when feueritic of discipline was much decayed Cæsar at Placentia renewed the custome, and Antony at Brundisium. Linius lib. 28. Appianus 2. Εμψυλ. & 3. Εμψυλ. Dio. lib. 41.*

^a Appianus 3. Εμψυλ. oratione Ciceronis διακρίσειν (ὁ Ἀντώνιος) ἵς δαίτατον ἐστὶν σπασίαντας, ἢ φυλάκην, ἢ τὰς ἐν πολέμῳ λιπόμενας, ἵδ' ἀν' μόνον ὁ στρατιώτης νόμος τὴν εὐτὴς ἀμνηστίας πτωχείαν.

³ The colony of Lyons discontented] The Senate fearing that Lepidus and Plancus, whom they had called into Italy, would betray the side, and goe to Antonius, willed them still to stay in France, and found the colony of Lyons, at the confluent of the Rhone, and Saone and there to place those which before had been driuen out of Vienna by the Allobroges. Dio. lib. 46. Now Lyons in Neroes time being burnt, *hanc cladem*, saith Tacitus 16. Annal. *quadrages. H. S. solatus est princeps*, and therefore they had cause to loue Nero, as of the other side to hate Galba, *qui reditus ipsorum occasione in e in fiscum reuerat*. Tac.

⁴ The cuntreyman: Paganos] Paganus a townesman, a cuntreyman, in opposition to miles. Veget. lib. 2. c. 23. *Nam si doctrina cesset armorum, nihil paganus distat a milite*, and that which Suetonius ^d Galba vttereth in these words *Dimota paganorum turba*, the selfe same circumstance Tacitus in this booke noteth with these *Disiecta plebe, concitato senatu*; and Tacitus himselfe 4. Hist. *Tria millia legionariorum, & tumultuariæ Belgarum cohortes, simul paganorum, lizarumq; ignaua, sed prociæ ante periculum manus*. and againe 2. Hist. *Multa & atroces inter se militum cedes, manente legionum, auxiliorumq; discordia*; *vbi aduersus paganos certandum foret, consensu*. Antonius Primus 3. Hist. disgracing the Prætorians (who were before discharged of their seruice and disarmed by commission from ^e Vitellius) names them *paganos*. *Vos, inquit, nisi vincitis pagani, quis alius imperator, quæ castra alia excipiens?* like as Cæsar at Rome in a mutinee, and afterward Alexander Seuerus at Antioch, dismissing his souldiers in displeasure, called them *Quirites*, *Quirites discedite atque arma deponite*. Sueron. Cæsare cap. 70. Lampridius Seuerus.

^b λεγέμενον μὲρ ἰουμασθῆναι, καὶ δὲ λεγέμενον κελδεῖσθαι. Dio. c. 31250 pound English.

^c cap. 19.

^e Tac. 2. Hist.

⁵ The very first day of January] And before that day, as it may appeare by Plutarch, the army of vpper Germany

Germany had given shrewde signes of small good liking of Galba. *Ἰδὲ γὰρ ποτὲ ἄνδρες, καὶ οἱ χιλιάρχων καὶ λοχαγῶν τὸ Ῥωμαίων συνέδριον, εὐτυχίαν ἐπυνχομένων τῷ αὐτοκράτει Γάλβᾳ, διεθορυβήσαντο οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ πρῶτον, εἰτα τοῖς ἐν χάρις ὀπλιζόντων ἐκείνων, ἀντεφώνον, Οὐκ ἄξιός.* That is, For in a publicke play the Tribunes and Centurions wishing good lucke to Galba the Emperour, according to the vsuall manner of the Romans, many of the souldiers as the first murmured, and when as the capitaines persisted in their wishes, they answered and cried againe, He doth not deserve it. Now to breake downe the images of the Prince was the vsuall beginning in all rebellions. 3. Hist. *Trierarchi magno tumultu Vitellij imagines inuadunt, & paucis resistentium obruncatis &c.* in the same place. Simul Vitellij imagines deperire.

⁶ Coleyn: *Coloniā Agrippinensem*] Founded by Agrippina Claudius' wife. Tacitus 12. Annal. *Sed Agrippina quō vim suam socijs quoque nationibus ostentaret, in oppidum Vbiorum in quo genita erat, veteranos, coloniāq; deduci imperat, cui nomen inditum ex vocabulo ipsius.*

cap. 9.

⁷ The principall men of the colonies] *Principes coloniarum*, be the *Decuriones*, *Principes castrorum*, whom Vegetius lib. 2. ² calleth also *militēs principales*, & Tacitus 3. Hist. *primores castrorum*, are the *Aquiliferi*, *Signiferi*, *Optiones*, &c. *qui privilegij muniantur*. Where as the rest, the common soldiers are called *Manifices*, *quid munia facere coguntur*.

⁸ *Iulius Ciuilis*] The same man who afterwarde with the Batauians, and aide of the French and Germans, maintained warre so long with the Romans, as it appeareth 4. & 5. Hist. Of the euent heere noted Tacitus maketh mention againe 4. Hist. *Iulius Paulus, & Claudius Ciuilis, regia stirpe, multo ceteros (Batauos nobiles) antebant. Paulum Font eius Capito falso rebellionis crimine interfecit, iniecit Ciuili casene, missusque ad Neronem, & a Galbā absolutus, sub Vitellio rursus discrimen adiit, flagitante supplicium eius exercitu. Inde cause irarum, spesque ex malis nostris.* Where is to be marked, that he calleth him there Claudius Ciuilis, whom here he nameth Iulius Ciuilis, forgetting himselfe in the one or the other, or els the describers of bookes not forgetting their accustomed negligence.

⁹ Of Batauians eight cohorts, the Aydes of the fourteenth Legion] The great and notable rebellion of Britanny, by the vertue of Suetonius Paullinus, and valiantnesse of the fourteenth Legion, not without great losse of men being suppressed, Nero sent out of Germany thither a fresh supplie of 2000. Legionaries, a thousand horse, and eight cohorts of Auxiliaries, which I take to be the very eight cohorts of Batauians mentioned here. Howsoeuer, certaine it is that these cohorts of Batauians were assigned as Auxiliaries to the fourteenth Legion: That Nero, for what occasions soeuer, vpon speciall confidence of their valour sent for into Italie the same Legion, with her Auxiliaries: That in the troubles of Vindex the Auxiliaries vpon some quarrell departed from the Legion, in preiudice, as it may seeme of Neroes cause: That Galba comming to state the Legion was sent into Illyricum, the Batauians into Britanny againe, and in the meane season, as they were in their way thitherwarde, hearing the newes of Vitellius commotion they ioyned themselves to the side. For confirmation of the premisles Tacitus alone may suffice. 14. Annal. *Auxitque copias Caesar missis à Germania duobus legionariis milibus, octo auxiliariis cohortibus, ac mille equitibus.* 2. Hist. *Motus ad imperium Othonis, è Dalmatia, Pannoniaque legiones, præcipui fama Quartadecimani rebellionis Britannia compressa. Addiderat gloriam Nero eligendo ut potissimos. unde longa illis erga Neronem fides, and in the same booke, cohortes Batavorum, quas bello Neronis à Quartadecima legione digressas, cum Britanniam peterent, audito Vitellij motu in ciuitate Lingonum Fabio Valens adiunctas retulimus superbe agebant, ut cuiusque legionis sensoria accessissent, coercitos à se quartadecimanos, ablatam Neroni Italiam, atque omnem belli fortunam in ipsorum manu sitam iactantes.*

¹⁰ Now that the Brittainish host was adioyned] if it be true that *Trebellius desertus* (a militibus) *ad Vitellium perfergit*; if it be true which Paullinus alleadgeth. 2. Hist. *Britannicum militem hoste ac mari diffineri*. which Tacitus himselfe writeth. *In Britannico exercitu nihil irarum. Non sanè aliæ legiones per omnes ciuiliū bellorum motus innocentius egerunt*, how can it be true that here is saied, *Adiuncto Britannico exercitu*, and in another place: *Vitellius è Britannico dilectu octo millia sibi adiunxit?*

Lib. 30.

¹¹ With the name of Germanicus] The first of the Romans that bare the name of the place he conquered was Cn. Martius of Corioli named Coriolanus; then P. Scipio the elder of Africke subdued, & Africanus. Lucius his brother likewise of Asia, Asiaticus. Manie of the Metelli, more for distinction, then for any notable conquest obtayned. The former Emperours at pleasure sometime tooke some fewe names to themselves, sometime bestowed them on others. In the later times, vertue decaying, ambition in titles increased. Xiphilinus Commodus. *ἔπο καὶ ὁ Κολλὴν ἐμεμένην τὸ καὶ δαρμα, καὶ τῇ Σουλῇ στατ ἐπέσπλεν. Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Δάκιος Ἀῖλιος Ἀυρήλιος Κομμοδός, Ἀυγύστες Εὐσεβὺς Εὐτυχὴς, Σαρματικός, Γερμανικός, Μέγιστος, Βρετανικός, Εἰρηνοποιὸς τῆς οἰκουμένης, Ἀνίκητος, Ῥωμαῖος Ἡγεμὼν, Ἀρχιερεὺς, Δημάρχων ἐξουσίας τὸ οὐτοκρατορικόν, Αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ὄνομα, Ὑπάτος τὸ ἐξουσιον, Πατὴρ πατρίδος.* That is, So exceeding great was the madnes of that vile monster Commodus, and with this stile he sent a lesser to the Senate; Imp. Caesar L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus, Augustus Pius Felix, Sarmaticus, Germanicus, Maximus, Britannicus, concordia orbis terrarum, Inuictus, Romanus Hercules, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestas. xvij. Imperas. vij. Consul vij. Pater patriæ. And Iustinian accounted of as a sober Emperour hath his stile notwithstanding not much shorter. Imp. Caesar Flavius Iustinianus Alemanicus, Gothicus, Francicus, Germanicus, Anticus, Alanicus, Vandalicus, Africanus, Pius Felix, Inuictus Victor ac Triumphator semper Augustus. Now what right Vitellius had to the name of Germanicus, where he had neuer scene enemy in face, sith he was Emperour, the fountaine of iustice, who can do no wrong, we will not dispute it.

X. How Fabius Valens guided his charge of forty thousand fighting men from Coleyn to the Cottian Alpes.

THE very day of remouing there appeared a¹ lucky signe to Fabius Valens, and the army which he led to the warre, an Eagle softly flying before, as the army marched, as it were to note out the way; and for a great space the soldi-

ers

ers so shouted for ioy, and the bird passed on without feare so assuredly, that it was reputed an vndoubted token of great and prosperous successe. The state of Triers, as friends, they passed thorow with all security. At Diuodurum a towne of the Mediomatrici, although they were with all kind of curtesy receiued, a sodain feare came vpon them, and the alarme was giuen to sacke the poore innocent citty, not for the pray, or desire of spoile, but vpon a fury, and rage, and causes not knowen, and therefore the remedies harder to finde: till at length, being pacified by Valens entreating, they held their hands from razing the citty: notwithstanding about foure thousand men were slaine. This accident strooke such a terror into them of Gallia, that alwaies after, as the camp was a comming, whole citties with their officers and humble supplications went out for to meet them, with women and children downe on their knees along the way side; and generally all meanes by the which men aswage their enemies anger; though warre they had none, yet then were they forced to purchase their peace. Valens in the ^a citty of the Leuci receiued the newes, that Galba was slaine, and Otho in place: the souldier was neither gladder, nor sadder, hauing nothing but warre in his minde: the French thereby were ^b resolu'd; Otho and Vitellius they hated alike, and Vitellius they feared beside. The next citty, was that of the Lingones, sure to the side: being intertain'd there curteously, they requir'd it with modest behauiour: but the ioy lasted not long through the disorder of those cohorts, which being departed, as before I haue sayd, from the fourteenth legion, Fabius Valens had ioined to his army. hard words grew at the first, then quarrelling betweene the Batauians, and Legionaries: and as the rest of the souldiers suted on sides, it had welny come to a hoat fray, had not Valens in time, by punishing a fewe, reclaym'd the Batauians, who had now forgotten their duty. Against the Hedui was sought, but in vaine, some occasion of warre: being willed to bring in both money and armour, they brought also vittales for nothing. That which the Hedui did vpon feare, the same did the Lugdunenses for ioy, neuerthelesse the Italian Legion and Taurin wing were taken away. The eighteenth cohort it was thought conuenient to leaue there at Lions in the accustomed standing campe. Manlius Valens Lieutenant of the Italian Legion, although he had well deserued of the side, was not in any credit with Vitellius: Fabius by secret sinister reports had defaced him vnwitting, in outward speech commending him, that he might be at more vnawares circumuented. The ancient hart-burning ^c betweene them of Lions, and them of Vienna, was by the late warre freshly reuiued: much hurt was done on both sides, ^d so often and in so cruell sort, that a man might easily see, they fought not alone for Nero and Galba: and Galba by occasion of displeasure had confiscated the reuenues of the Lugdunenses; contrariwise much honoured them of Vienna: whereupon grew emulation and enuy, and inseparable hatred betweene them, whom one riuer separated. Vpon these causes, the Lugdunenses incited the soldiers seuerally to the subuersion of the Viennenses; shewing vnto them how they had besieged Lions, furthered Vindex attempts, mustered of late Legions for Galba: and hauing so placed in the first shew the causes why iustly they were to be hated; then they suggest to the souldiers minde, what a rich and welthy pray they might get: and so from secret exhorting proceeding to publicke requests, they besought them to go and reuenge so many wrongs, to raze the seate-towne of the French warre: that there was ^e nothing els but straungers and enemies: contrariwise themselves a Roman colony, and part of the army, their companions in welth and in wo: and if fortune should chaunce to disfaour, they praied not to leaue, and abandon their friends, to the mercy of their mortall and mercilesse enemies. With these

^a *Sueton. Vitellius* c. 9. saith, that Vitellius had the newes of Galbaes death before Valens departed. ^b For as long as Galba their benefactor liued, they were loth any way, but enforced to aide Vitellius: but now hating alike Otho, and Vitellius, and fearing but the one, it was great reason to make the most countenance thither, whence they feared most present danger.

^c The discord, as it may seeme was founded vpon this ground. The first inhabitants of Lions had bene driuen by force out of Vienna, and therefore were iustly to hate them, as vniuersall sufferers of that which was theirs. ^d *Municipalium emulationem bellis ciuilibus miscens*, as Tacitus writeth 3. *Hist. of Capua and Puteoli.*

these speeches and many such like they had wrought and incensed the souldier so, that euen the Lieutenants, and Captaines of the side did scanty thinke it a possible matter to quench their choler; when they of Vienna in very good season, foreseeing their danger, with 3 sacred veles and infules afore them, as the army marched, embracing their armor, their knees, their feete, mollified the soldiers minds: beside, Valens bestowed vpon them ^c three hundreth sesterces a man. Then was the antiquity and dignity of the colony respected: then were the words of Fabius, commending vnto them the liues, and welfare of the Viennenses, patiently heard: being fined notwithstanding to forsaite their publicke munition, ech man according to his abilitie with priuate prouision helped the soldier. But the report went constantly that Fabius fauor was bought with a large summe of money: the man, a great while needy and poore, becomming now rich on the sodaine, cloaked not well the change of his fortune; exercising excessiue the lusts and desires which long pouerty had kindled; and of a beggerly yong man a prodigall old. Afterward the army marched on slowly thorow the territory of the Allobroges, and the Vocontij, the Generall setting to sale the length of his iournies, and places of lodging; bargaining shamelessly with the owners of the grounds, and magistrates of the cities, and that in such threatning maner, that he offred to set ^d Lucus, a free towne of the Vocontij, on fire, till he was appeased with money: where matter of money was wanting, there payment was made with women and such like pleasures. And so at the last they came to the Alpes.

^a That is, 46. s. 10. d. ob. and so for 40000. (for so many he had beside the eight cohorts of Batavians, the *legio Italica*, and *ala Taurina*) 93750. pound.

^a *ορες τῶν ἱερῶν ἀγίων*.

^a A luckie signe] Many of the Latin stories (for to them and their disciples this vertue is peculiar) account it, I thinke, a capitall crime to set downe any notable mutation in state without many prodigious *portenta*, miraculous *omnia &c.* inducing the change, most of them being counterfeit, and coyned to driue ^a the reader into an extasie, many happening commonly, and remembered onely when any notable euent did ensue. In the seconde booke, at Othoes death, we haue another tale much of this making, or somewhat worse, with a preface to giue it some credit. As for our eagle here she was surely either a notorious cosener, or els notoriously ignorant of what would befall, thus to giue *omen hand dubium* of great prosperitie, which in effect dured but a moment.

^a Nothing els but strangers and enemies: contrariwise themselves a Roman colony] And so was Vienna too. The Emperour Claudius in a speech in Senate which yet is extant at Lions grauen in brasse: *ORNATISSIMA ECCE COLONIA VALENTISSIMAQUE VIENNENSIVM QVAM LONGO IAM TEMPORE HVIC CVRIAE SENATORES CONFERT?* And Tacitus himselfe almost in the next sentence, *Tum vetustas dignitasque colonie valuit*, speaking of Vienna, so that both being colonies, and both externall alike, this rhetoricke of his was here out of season.

^b lib. 2.
 ^c *ἐκμαρτα* in *Polyb. lib. 16.* Liuy turneth *insulas* lib. 31.

^a Sacred veles, and infules: *Velamenta & insulas*] *Velamenta & insula* signes of submission and humble demanding of mercy. 3. Hist: Antonius Primus vehemently assaulding Cremona, *primores velamenta & insulas promissis ostendens*. And Coriolanus wasting the Roman cuntrey, *sacerdotes suis insignibus velatos isse supplices ad castra hostium traditum est*. saith ^b Liuy. and the same Liuy lib. 30. *Hand procul aberas (Carthaginiis portu Scipio) cum velata insulis ramisque oleæ Carthaginiensium occurris naus*. Now ^c *insula* saith Varro and Festus, were certaine *velamenta lanea*, quibus sacerdotes & hostie, templaque velabantur. so that by their description there shoulde seeme to be no great difference betwene *velamenta* and *insulas*.

^d cap. 15.

^a Lucus, a free towne: *Municipium id Vocontiorum est*] *Municipium* and *Colonia* though vsed indifferently in many good autours, yet indeed, and in precisenesse of speech cary seuerall senses. and so doth Tacitus. 2. Hist. put them as diuers. *Dispersi per municipia & colonias Viselliani*. The difference is that *municipia in ciuitatem extrinsecus assumuntur*, and *coloniae in ciuitate educuntur*. Gellius ^d lib. 16. ex oratione D. Hadriani ad Italenses, distinguisheth them in this maner. *Municipes sunt ciues Romani ex municipijs, suo iure & suis legibus viuentes: muneris tantum cum P. R. honorarij participes, a quo munere capeffendo appellati videntur: nullis alijs necessitatibus, neque vlla P. R. lege astricti, quum nunquam P. R. eorum fundus factus esset. Coloniarum alia necessitudo est; non enim veniunt extrinsecus in ciuitatem, nec suis radicibus nituntur, sed ex ciuitate quasi propagatae sunt, & iura institutaque omnia P. R. non sui arbitrij habent*. Now that Lucus was indeed *municipium*, according to the exquisite vse of the worde, may appeere by Pliny lib. 3. cap. 4. *Vocontiorum ciuitatis federatae duo capita, Vasio & Lucus Augusti*.

XI. The iourney of Cacina from Coleyn with thirty thousand men thorow the Penine Alpes into Italie.

^a Liuy, lib. 21. seemeth to call them *Semigermatos*. *Quae ad Peninum*

CACINA gained more spoile, and shed more bloud. The Heluetians (^a a people of Gallia anciently in name for warlike men, and after for the memory of their renowne) hauing not heard of Galbaes death, and refusing to be

be at Vitellius deuotion, had exasperated his froward and troublesome disposition. The warre was commenced through the rauening and hastinesse of the one and twentieth Legion; who by force tooke away certain money, which the Heluetians had sent to the pay of a garrison, in a castle anciently kept with their owne men, and at their owne costs. The Heluetians being highly displeased at the fact, intercepted letters sent from the army of Germany to the Legions of Pannonia, committing a Centurion, and certaine soldiers to warde. Cæcina desirous of warre, and ready to reuenge faults as they fell, without giuing time of repentance, remoued his campe hastily forward, wasteth the country, and sacketh a place well peopled, by reason of the pleasant and holesome bathes, and through long peace beautified with buildings in forme of a free towne: word also was sent to the Rhoetian Aides to assaile the Heluetians backs, as they made head to the Legions. The Heluetians fierce before danger, in danger searefull, though at the first tumult they had chosen a captain Claudius Seuerus, yet wist not at all how to handle their weapons, to keepe their array: they had no common counsaile amongst them to direct their doings all to one end: to venture the battaile against the old experimented souldier would be their ruine: to try the siege seemed vn safe, their wals being decayed, and fallen for age: on the one side was Cæcina with a puissant army; on the other the wings and cohorts of Rhoetia, and the Rhoetian youth practised in armes, and trained vp soldier-like. on euery side there was burning and killing: in the midst the Heluetians stragling, flinging weapons away, and for the most part wounded or wandring in disarray fled to the mount Vocetius; and being straightwaie by a cohort of Thracians beaten downe from their holde, and chaced by the Germanes and Rhoetians, they were in the woods and couerts put to the sword: many thousands of men were slaine, * many solde to be slaues. And as the army, hauing spoyled the countrey marched toward Auenticum head-cittie of the nation in battell array, messengers were sent to yeeld vp the citty: which being accepted, Iulius Alpinus a principall man was by Cæcinaes sentence adiudged to die, as one which had ray sed the trouble: the rest he referred to Vitellius to pardon, or punish as pleased him best. Whereupon the Heluetians send Embassadors thither: it is hard to say whether of both they found, Emperour or armie, harder to be appeased: the souldiers require the towne to be razed, they bend their weapons and fists against the Embassadors faces; and Vitellius for his part spareth no threats, nor speeches, till Claudius Cossus one of the Embassage, a famous orator, but cunningly cloaking his arte with an apt kinde of feare, and so much the more of force to perswade, appeased the soldiers furious wrath: * as vsually the common sort is sodainly changeable, and within a moment as prone to pittie, as it was before excessiue cruell: with shedding of teares, and importunat begging a better answere, they obtained at length that their city should be saued and pardoned. Cæcina hauing staid a few daies in Heluetia of purpose to heare how Vitellius resolved, and withall preparing to passe the Alpes, receiued from Italie a ioyfull message; that the Syllan wing which lay about Po had sworne to Vitellius. They had serued in Africke vnder Vitellius being Proconsull, and afterward being remoued from thence by Neroes appointment to passe into AEgypt, and staid vpon the troubles of Vindex, and so remaining in Italie, they went to the side, perswaded thereto by the Decurions, who being beholding to Vitellius, and vtterly vnacquainted with Otho, extolled the strength of the Legions comming, the fame and renowne of the German army; and as a present for a new Prince, they brought ouer to his side the strongest free-townes beyond the Po, Milan, Nouara, Eporedia and Vercelles. That aduertisement

*seruus iunera
obscure gentibus
Semigermania
fuerunt.*

** sub corona ve
nimanda. Corona
capiti imposta,
sacra Gelius,
lib. 7. ca. 4. fol
lowing the o
pinion of Sabin
us the lawyer,
signum fuit cap
itum venia
lium. Antiquis,
sacra the lawier,
mancipia iure
belli capta coro
na induta veni
bant, & sacro
dicebantur sub
corona venire.
Cato, lib. de re
militari, alluding
to this custome,
better it were,
sacra he, ut po
pulus sua opera
potius ob rem bene
gestam coronatus
supplicatum eas,
quam re mal
gesta coronatus
veniat.*

** ut est mos
vulgo mirabilis
subitu.*

ment Cæcina received by their meanes: and because the garrison of one only wing seemed not sufficient to keepe & defend the largest country of Italie, he sent beforehand certaine cohorts of Frenchmen, Portugals, and Britrans with the German enseignes, and ¹ Petrin wing, himsele pausing awhile, and standing in doubt; whether he should turne aside into Noricum by the Rhoetian mountaines, against Petronius the Procurator, who had raised the country, and broken the bridges in Othoes behalfe: but fearing to lose the Aides he had sent; and counting it more reputation to retaine Italie; and that Noricum, wheresoeuer the matter should chance to be tried, would follow, and increase the conquerours heape; he conducted ouer by the way of the Penine mountaines, thorow the winter snowes, ² his heauy Legionary soldier.

¹ Petrin wing] our printed bookes haue in *Alpe Graia*; corruptly no question. for *Alpes Graie* are the passage out of Sauoy into Italy, as I thinke, by mount Senise, or S. Bernardo minor; the direct way from Lions to Milan. Out of Suifferland, where Cæcina was, bee the *Penine* by mount S. Bernardo maior. The *Cottix* are out of Daulphiney into Italy by mount Gineura. In the Vatican copy of Tacitus it is, *cum alpe tarina*, which with lesse mutation of letters, and more possibilitie of circumstance, we may rather imagine should haue beene, *cum ala Petrina*, then *cum ala Taurina*, which passed the other way with Valens. and Tacitus himsele ⁴. Hist. maketh mention of one Claudius Sagitta which was *è Vitellianis*, and *Præfatus ala Petrina*.

² His heauie Legionarie: *Subsignanum militem & graue legionum agmen*] *Subsignanum miles & graue legionum agmen* (and yet there was here but one whole Legion, the One and twentieth) may seeme to signifie both one thing, as being contradiuided both to Auxiliaries. ². Hist. *Eruptere legionary in perniciem auxiliorum* ⁴. Hist. *Id solum, ut in tumultu, monuit, subsignato milite media firmare. Auxilia passim circumfusa sunt.* and yet in another place we haue; *Quicquid sub signis sociorum.*

XII. Marius Celsus pardoned.

NOW Otho in the meane time, contrary to all expectation, did not giue ouer himsele to pleasure and idlenesse; but differed his delights, dissembled his riot, and ordred all as was most fitting for the honor of the Empire. This glose of vertues, and vices which would returne to their course, increased mens feare. And first he ^a commandeth Marius Celsus Consul elect, whom before he had saued from the soldiers rage by a colourable casting in prison, to be sent for into the Capitoll: his meaning was, by pardoning so noble a man, so odious to the side, to purchase a name of mercifull dealing. Celsus being called, constantly confessed the whole accusation of faithfulness vnto Galba, affirming that Princes were not to ¹ mislike such examples: and Otho, not as remitting a fault, but admitting the defence as iust and vertuous, straightway put him in place nearest about him, and anone in the warre appointed him one of his principall leaders; lest lying aloofe as a pardoned enemy, he might peraduenture suspect the breach were but badly made vp: and Celsus, fatally fauouring the losing side, persisted vnfortunately faithfull for Otho also. The sauing of Celsus, an acte which reioyced the chiefe of the citty, and was to the common sort plausible, euen of the souldier was not misliked, admiring that vertue, with which they were displeased erewhile.

^a The very next day after that Galba was slaine, as it seemes by Plutarch.

¹ Were not to mislike such examples: *Exemplum vltro imputauit*] *Imputare* in Tacitus is a worde of a middle signification, indifferent to the good part and bad: yet more vsually standing for *beneficij loco numerare*, or some such like thing. Examples, Hist. 1. *Neque enim eras adhuc, cui imputaretur.* that is, for as yet there was none whom they might account benefited by the reuolt. In this place *Exemplum vltro imputauit*, he accounted this fact of his standing sure to his olde master beneficiall to Otho also, and the example not to be disliked of any Prince whatsoever. Plutarch, I knowe, in the beginning of Otho seemeth to take it otherwise. *κελεύσας (ὁ ὄθων) Μάριον Κέλσον ἀχλύναι πρὸς αὐτὸν, παύσατο καὶ διελέχθη φιλανδρώπως, καὶ παρεκάλει τῆς αἰτίας ἐπιδιδόναι μάλλον, ἢ τῆς ἐξέσσης μνημονεύειν. τὸ δὲ Κέλσον οὐκ ἀγεννῶς ἀποκρινάμενος οὐκ ἀναδιδάσκων, ἀλλὰ φησάντος αὐτῷ τὸ πρῶτον δίδοναι τὸ ἐγκλημα πᾶν (ἐγκλημάτων γὰρ ὅτι Γάλβας βέλαιοι ἐαυτὸν παρέσαν, ὃ χρεὶν ἐδμεῖαν ἐρεῖλεν) ἠγάδουσιν οἱ παρόντες ἀμφοτέρων καὶ τὸ τραυολιχὸν ἐπήνεσεν.* That is, Otho commanded Marius Celsus to be brought before him, whom he embraced and intreated very kindly, desiring him rather to forget that euer he was in fault, then to remember that

XIII. *Tigellinus put to death. Crispinilla escapeth.*

* *virilia scelerata*,
in opposition to
fœda pueritia.
for all vices are
not incident
to all ages.
a The ill-willers
hating him as
Nero's chief
instrument of
all wickedness;
the well-willers
as one that had
left, and betrayed
his master.
b *Plutarch. O-*
thonæ. ἐπιτίθειν
ἐπὶ τὴ Τυραννίδι
τὸ ὀδυρματικὸς
περὶ Σινέσταν
σγῆς. ἐκεὶ γὰρ
διηπάτο. πολλοὶ
περιερρίπτου-
σας φιζυόμενος
ἀποτίτες. καὶ τὸν
καὶ περιφρίτα
χευόμεν πολλοὶ
πείθειν ἐπιτί-
θεσις παρέται.
οὐκ πείθονται δὲ
οὐδὲν ἐπὶ δὲ δύναν
εἶδεν ἥτορ, εἰδένθ,
δὲ ὁ πείθειται ἐὰν
ἀν' αὐτὸ ὕμνηται τὸ
ἴδιον. καὶ λαβὼν
αὐτὸς αὐτὸ ἀνα-
μορτίσμος.
c A place of
ordinary repaire
for pleasure and
health.
Tac. 12. Ann.
In tanta mole
curarum Claudius
valetudine ad-
versus corripitur,
resolvensq; viri-
bili mollitie celi.
d *saluberrate*
aquarum Si-
næffam pergit.

ched whilest Galba, Otho, and Vitellius liued; and after their times 3 mighty in money, and because she was childlesse; good helps in all worlds both good and bad.

^a The Scholiast of Iuuenal lib. 1. Sat. 1. calleth him C. Fulcinus Tigellinus, where also his fœda pueritia is described.
^b 14. Annal.

^a Sophonius Tigellinus] Of Tigellinus all the stories are full. After the death of Burrhus, Nero, saith Tacitus, duos Prætorij cohortibus imposuerat, Fenium Rufum ex vulgi favore: Sophonium Tigellinum ex intimis libidinis assumptum, ἀσελγεία τε καὶ μιαιφονία πάντας τὸς κατ' ἐαυτὸν ἀνδράδας ὑπερβαίνοντα. That is, In luxurionnes and crueltie exceeding all the men of his time. Xiphil. for those were indeede the two vertues, by which Tigellinus wan credite with Nero. Tacitus 15. Annal. Fenium vita fama, laudatum, per seuitiam impudiciamq; Tigellinus in animo principis anteibat. againe, Poppæa & Tigellino coram, quod erat seienti principi intimum consiliorum, interrogat &c. 14. Annal. he is described as the onely autour of all the miseries of that time. Validior indies Tigellinus, & malas artes, quibus solis pollebat, gratiores ratus, si principem societate sceleris obstringeret, metus eius rimatur &c. Tacitus bestoweth as fauours vpon him these friendly termes: flagrantissima flagitia, adulteria, vetus impudicitia, infamia, in another place. Tigellino scilicet comitante eum pellicibus. againe, he notes him as autour, or priuy at least to the burning of Rome. Plusq; infamia id incendiū habuit, quia prædij Tigellini Aemilianis prorupit. A fit man in all respects for such a bad master, and vnfit to haue been by Galba protected.

^b To famish the city of Rome] Tacitus 3. Hist. Africam eodem latere sitam, terra, mariq; innuadere parabat, clausis annonæ subsidij inopiam ac discordiam hosti facturum. for so was it, that Egypt and Africke furnished the city of Rome for corne. Egypt for foure monethes the yeare, and Africke for eight. Iosephus ἀλώσ. 2. cap. 28. καὶ δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν καρπῶν, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην πόλιν τρεῖς καὶ ἑξάκις πλείους φορῶν ἐνταῖς (οἱ λιμένες) καὶ ταῖς χεῖρας τῆς ἡγεμονίας παρέχοντι ἐπίπλους τὰς εἰσφορὰς. That is, They of Africa beside eight monethes provision of corne yearly for the people of Rome, pay all manner of tributes, and willingly support all other charges of the Empire. & paulo post, τὰ δὲ ἐνταῦθα παρ' ὧν (ἰσχυρῶν) φόρος καὶ ἕνα μῆνα πλέον Ῥωμαίων παρέχει (ἡ αἰγυπτιὸς) καὶ ὅς ἑξαμῆτων ἑξάκις, τῇ Ῥώμῃ σίτην μῶν τριῶν. That is, Egypt payes more tribute in one moneth, then the Iewes doe in a whole yeare, and beside this great summe of money they yeeld provision of corne for Rome for the space of foure moneths.

^c Mighty in money and because she was childlesse] Rich & childlesse, two good helps to get many friends, euery man contending to please them, of whose wealth he may hope to be heire. Siluanus being in Neroes time accused reperiendarum valuit saith Tacitus pecuniosa orbitate & sancta: & yet in the end he deceiued them al, ouerliuing those quorum ambitu enascebat. in ciuitate nostra (saith Seneca Consol. ad Mariam cap. 19.) plus gratiæ orbis confere quam eripis. Contrarily in Germany nulla orbis pretia sed quanto plus propinquorum, quo maior affinitum numerus, tanto gratiosior senectus. De moribus Germanorum.

XIIII. Of the letters, messages and practises that passed betweene the sides.

^a Suet. Othone, c. 8. Otho per inscriptiones & literas confortem imperij generumq; se Vellio obtulit.

^b The like conditions offered by Flavius Sabinus in Vespasians name were accepted by Vitellius as much as in him lay, had not his friends disturbed the bargain.

^c 3. Histor.
^d For in truth they were sent to practise the Legions.

^e For Vitellius was greeted Emperor the second of January, and Otho the fifth.

IN the meane time Otho sent to Vitellius many ^a letters spiced with womanish perswasions, and ^b offering him money and countenance, and what place of rest he would chuse to passe therein his prodigall life: Vitellius quit him againe with the like; at the first in milde termes, with fonde and vncomely dissembling on both sides: afterward in scolding maner, obiecting ech to the other vicious life, and villanous actes: neither amisse. Otho reuoking the Embassage which Galba had sent, sendeth a new in the name of the Senate to both the German armies, the Italian Legion, and companies which remained at Lions. The Embassadors that went staied with Vitellius, being as it seemed quickly intreated, and willingly with-holden. Those of the Gard, which Otho had assigned ^c in shew to attend vpon the Embassadors, were turned home againe, not suffered to haue conference with the Legions: Fabius Valens sendeth withall a packet in the name of the German army to the Prætorian, and Vrbane cohorts, extolling the strength of the side, and offering amity; blaming them beside, in that they did conuert vpon Otho the title of the Empire, whereof Vitellius had so ^d long before the rightfull possession. So were they with threats and promises doubly assayed, as being in warre not able to stand, in peace not likelie to loose: notwithstanding the Prætorians persisted for Otho. Plots also were laied for priuy attempts: Otho sent some into Germanie, to practise against Vitellius person, and Vitellius to Rome against Othoes. both missed of their purpose: the Vitellianists missed the punishment, scaping vnspied, as in so great a multitude of men, where no body knoweth nor marketh another: but Othoes men, among such as knew ech other, were quickly bewrayed, as strangers. Moreouer Vitellius wrote letters to Titianus Othoes brother, threatening the death of him and his son,

if

if his mother and children tooke any harme: and so^e both the houses continued entier; for feare peradventure in Othoes time, but Vitellius being conquerour, and without such a bridle, caried away the vndoubted commendation of clemency.

^e To wit, of Vitellius & Titianus

XV. *How the provinces declared themselves in fauour or disfauour of the sides.*

THE first aduertisement which put Otho in courage was out of Illyricum, that the Legions of Dalmatia, Pannonia and Moesia had sworne vnto him: the like was reported of Spaine, and Cluuius Rufus by publicke edict solemnely prayed; and by and by it was certified that Spaine had reuolted to Vitellius. Aquitania likewise, though hauing receiued the oth to Otho tendered by Iulius Cordus, remained not long in obedience: fidelity or loue bare no where sway: by feare and force they changed to and fro. The same feare brought to Vitellius the prouince of Narbon, a gentle passage, and easily made, vnto the nearer and stronger. The prouinces which were far off, & al the armies seuered by sea, remained at Othoes deuotion, not for loue to the side, but the name of the citty, and shew of the Senate did greatly countenance, and credit the cause: and he had first possessed their mindes, as being the former in speech. In Iury Vespasian sware his armie to Otho, and Mucianus the Legions in Syria: AEgypt likewise and Eastward the prouinces were all possessed in his name: Africke also in his obedience, they of Carthage beeing most forward; not expecting the Proconsull Vipfanius Apronianus authoritie, Crescens a freed-man of Nero (for he was in those bad times become a part of publicke affaires) had feasted the people for ioy of the new Emperor, & the people hastened many things disorderly. The rest of the citties followed the example of Carthage.

XVI. *Otho bestoweth offices: restoreth the banished: relieueth the provinces, and erecteth the images of Poppæa his olde loue.*

THE armies and prouinces being thus distracted, for Vitellius it was needfull, if he would be Prince, to win it in field. Otho as in time of great peace disposed the affaires of the Empire, some according to the dignity of the state, and most otherwise, halting and shuffling vp as present necessitie forced. And first hee declareth¹ himselfe and Titianus his brother, Consuls till the kalends of March: the next two monethes were assigned to Verginius, to please in some part the German armie: with Verginius he ioyneth Poppæus Vopiscus, vnder the colour of olde acquaintance, most thought it was done to honour the Viennenses: the rest of the Consuls, as they were by Nero or Galba appointed, remained vnchanged; Coelius Sabinus and Flauius Sabinus till Iuly; Arius Antoninus, and Marius Celsus till September: whose offices Vitellius also after the victorie confirmed vnto them. The Pontificall dignities and Augurs roomes Otho bestowed vpon ancient men, such as had borne already great office, completely to perfit all points of their honor: and young noble men, lately returned from exile, he friendly remembred with their fathers, and grandfathers places among the Priests. Cadius Rufus, Pedius Bloesus and Seuius Promptinus, in Claudius and Neroes time condemned for² polling the prouinces, were restored againe to their places in Senate. It pleased them which graunted the pardon to chaunge the true name, and terme that, which indeed was extortion and bribery, crime of³ Maiesty and treason; an accusation so hatefull, that in respect of it euen good lawes were not obserued. By

^a It is indeed somewhat hard to beleue, that Otho should confer such a benefit vpon the Lingones in France (for other I know not) the chiefest fauourers of Vitellius cause, his onely concurrent in the matter of the Empire.

the same way of bounty he sought to win the cities and prouinces; granting ⁴ to the Hispalienſes and Emeritenſes a new ſupply of families; making ^a all the Lingones citizens of Rome; vpon the prouince of Bætica beſtowing in pure giſte the townes of the Moores; newe liberties vpon Cappadocia, and new vpon Africke, more for a ſhew then for to continue. Among theſe things which the neceſſitie of the preſent affaires, and cares at hand made paſſable good, Otho euen then not vnmindfull of his olde loues, by an order of Senate, cauſed the images of Poppæa to be erected againe. It was alſo ſuppoſed he had a purpoſe to celebrate the memory of Nero, in hope to allure the harts of the commons: and ſome there were which ſet out the images of Nero; yea and certaine daies the people and ſouldier, in their acclamations to Otho, as though they ment to enable and honor him more, cried TO NERO OTHO: he notwithstanding helde it in ſuſpenſe, aſhamed to acknowledge, or afraid to forbid it.

¹ Himſelfe and Titianus his brother Conſuls till the kalends of March] In the free ſtate the two Conſuls entring the firſt of Ianuarie remained in office the whole yeare out, vnleſſe they chanced to die, or vpon ſpeciall and rare occasions reſigne. Afterward *cum belli ciuiliſ premia ſeſtimari caperunt*, as Tacitus ſpeaketh, when many moe for their good ſeruiſe to the ſide had deſerued to be pleaſured then there were places to pleaſure them in, a ſhift was found to abridge the time, and ſo to ſpeede many in one yeare. The authour of this diſorder was C. Caſar, *Ann. vrbis conditæ 709* whenas being Conſul *ſine collega* he reſigned to Fabius and Trebonius. Dio libr. 43. *ᾧ χρόνον μὲν δὴ τότε τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καθεστὸς ἐγένετο, τὸ μὴτε ἐπιſτάν, μὴτε ἐς πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκείνῳ (ἵπατον) τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ῥῶντα πῶς αὐτῆς, καὶ μὴ ἀναγκαζέμεντα, μὴτε ἐκ παλαιῶν μὴτε ἐξ ἐπιμελείας τινὸς ἐκείνῳ, καὶ ἕτερον αὐτῷ αὐτὸ ἀντικαταſτάναι. ἐν δ' ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τῷ τῷ ἐκείνῳ οἱ αὐτοὶ διὰ παντὸς τὸ ἐπὶ, ἢ πᾶν ὁλίγων παύſει, καὶ ἀπενεῖται. ἀλλ' ὡς περ καὶ ἐπύχον, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πλείους, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ ἐλάττω, οἱ μὲν μῆνας, οἱ δὲ ἡμέρας.* That is, Then firſt of all contrary to the ancient cuſtome a precedent was giuen, that a man ſhould beare the office of Conſulſhip neither for the terme of a whole yeare, nor for the remainder of the yeare, if happily vpon another mans death or reſignation he was choſen to the place, but that one during his life time, not compelled by lawe, in whoſe creation no error was committed in matter of Auguſticia ſhould reſigne the place & cauſe another man to be choſen in his roome. & from this time forward very few enioyed the Conſulſhip a complete yeare, but as it chanced ſome more ſome fewer either monethes or daies. In the yeare *ab vrbe condita 715*. it altered from a voluntary reſignation to a matter of neceſſitie, and order. Dio libr. 48. *ἡ αὐτὴ δὲ ἐδὲ ἴδω ἐπὶ τῷ, ὡς περ εἶπτο, ἀλλὰ πλείους τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἶλοντο. καὶ ᾧ χρόνον μὲν γὰρ (τοῦτ' ἐκ τῶν 709. year) μὲν ἕτερος πῶς, μὴτ' ἀποθανόντας, μὴτ' ἐπ' ἀπείῃ, μὴτε ἄλλως πῶς παύοντας ἤρξαν. ἀλλ' ἐκείνοι μὲν ὡς περ τοῖς ἐς ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν χειροτονηθείσιν ἐδόξε, κατέſταναι, τότε δὲ ἐνιαυτῷ μὲν ἕδεις ἡρέθη, καὶ δὲ δὴ τὰ τῷ χρόνῳ ἕδεις, ἄλλοι καὶ ἄλλοι ἀπενεῖθην. That is, They choſe not two Conſuls for the whole yeere according to the ancient cuſtome, but euen at that time of election they nominated more, for ſix yeares before this ſome had ſucceeded others in the ſame yeare, though the former neither by death, nor miſde-meanour, nor other cauſes were deprived. Howbeit then they were made as it pleaſed them who were choſen for the whole yeare: but now euen at the firſt creation no man was nominated for the whole yeere, but ſome for one part of the yeare, and ſome for another. In Auguſtus time, ſpecially toward the later end, as it may appeare by the Capitolin tables, foure Conſuls were yearly created, two to beare office from the Kalends of Ianuarie to the Kalends of Iuly, and two more, *ex Kalend. Iulij* to the end of the yeare. After his daies, although I cannot preciſely define when it began, the ordinary time was no more but two moneths, and the ordinary number of Conſuls twelue. In our preſent yeare.*

^b Tac. 1. Hiſt.

Ex Kalend. Ianuar. ^b

{ Seruius Galba. 2.
Titus Vinius.

which two being ſlaine in their office M. Otho, and L. Titianus ſupplied their roomes in Kal. Mar.

^c Tac. 1. Hiſt.

Ex Kalend. Martij. ^c

{ L. Verginius Rufus.
Poppæus Vopifcus.

Ex Kalend. Maij.

{ Coelius Sabinus.
Flavius Sabinus.

Ex Kalend. Iulij.

{ Arius Antoninus.
Marius Celfus.
Fabius Valens.

^d Tac. 2. Hiſt.

Ex Kalend. Septembris. ^d

{ Alienus Cæcina, adiudged enemy of the ſtate. in his place for one day that remained *Rocius Regulus*. Tac. 3. Hiſt.

^e Tac. 3. Hiſt. Xiphil.

Ex Kalend. Nouembris. ^e

{ Cn. Cæcilius Simplex.
C. Quintius Atticus.

This number & this time continued euen to Diocæge: *ἐπεὶ νῦν γε (ſaith he) ἕδεις ἔτ' ἐνιαυτὸν, ὥς ἐς πλείω δὲ μῆνα χρόνον ὡς πλείω σὺν ἐπὶ πᾶσι ἵπατεῦναι.* That is, For in our time no man beareth the office for a whole yeere, nor moſt commonly for more then two moneths. lib. 43. Now of theſe Conſuls the two which entred the firſt of Ianuarie were *ἐπὶ ὀνόματι*, named the yeere, and were called *ordinarij*: the reſt *minores*, as being obſcure and not heard of abroad,

abroad, so that with great reason a man might demand in whose Consulships they were Consuls: otherwise in authoritie &c. not differing any thing the one from the other. Dio. lib. 46. *καὶ οἱ μὲν παλαιὸν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ὑπατείας διαπαντός ἔσται, ὡς περ καὶ νῦν γινέται, εἰς ἅντας δὲ ἑτέρας αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ τε λοιπῇ ἰταλίᾳ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν χρόνῳ ὠνόμαζον; ὁ καὶ νῦν πλείεται. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἢ πῶς αὐτῶν ἢ ἄλλως ἠδύσαν, καὶ διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης ὁμοίας ὕπατος ὑπελάλυν. That is, They which were first to enter had the name of Consuls (as euen yet it is used) during the whole yeere, as for the rest they which lived in Rome and other parts of Italy called them so during the time of their office. But all that lived abroad either knew none or but few of them. whereupon they were called Consules minores. and againe lib. 43. *τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἕθεν διαφέρουσιν (nos Consules, lest we might haue bene ignorant of his preferment) ἀλλήλων. τὴν δὲ ἐξ ἀεὶ θύμωσιν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐπατέοντες καρπάζονται. That is, In all other things there is no odds betwene vs Consuls, onely they which enter first enjoy the prerogative of giuing the name to the yeere. notwithstanding this minor Consulship serued well enough to make vp a number. example in Veipasian who bearing the office of Consul in Claudius time *per duos nouissimos anni menses*, of ordinarie neuer before. an. 823. is stiled *Veipasianus iterum*. Tac. 4 Hist.**

For polling the prouinces: *Repetundarum criminibus*] The action of *Repetundae* lay against the gouernours of prouinces for money vnduly extorted, or crueltie exercised in their iurisdiction, so called of the more principall part, because by that action, *pecunias iniuste ablatas, vel si quid aliud ablatum, captum, conciliatum, auersumue sit, prouincialibus repetere ius fasque esset*: and not onely the summe extorted, but an arbitrarie mulct was imposed beside, double, or treble *nomine pæne*. This law was induced by *L. Calpurnius Piso*, Anno primo tertij belli Punici: and afterward remued by other with many new clauses and straight sanctions. Tacit. 15. Annal. *Magistratum auaritia Calpurnia scita peperit*. And yet notwithstanding all the good lawes in that case enacted the Proconsuls and Proprætors, both before and vnder the Emperours, ceased not to racke and poll the poore cuntries. Nay the more lawes there were and greater penalties established, the more they robbed and spoiled the prouinces, to make good great extortion abroad with great briberie at home, according to the Greeke senarie, *ὁ πολλὰ κλέπτει, οὐδὲν δὲς σωφρονέεται*. That is, He that hath stolne much with giuing a small matter shall escape well enough. and therefore Tully telleth vs (in iest, or in earnest) that the prouinces would surely preferre supplication to the Senate, that the lawe *de repetundis* made in their behalfe, at their request might be repealed. his words be these, *proamio prioris actionis inuerrum. Placuit facere multis rebus possim, C. Verrem in Sicilia multis audiensibus sepe dixisse, se habere hominem potentem cuius fiducia prouinciam spoliaret: neque sibi soli pecuniam querere, sed ita triennium illud præstare Siciliensis distributum habere, ut secum pulchre agi diceret, si unius anni questum in rem suam conuerteret: aliterum patronis & defensoribus suis traderet; triennium illud vberissimum, questuosissimumque annum totum iudicijs referuaret. Ex quo mihi venit in mentem illud dicere, quod apud M. Glabronem nuper cum in reiiciendis iudicijs commemorassem, intellexi vehementer Populum Romanum commoueri, me arbitrari fore, uti nationes exteræ legatos ad Populum Romanum mitterent, ut lex de pecunijs repetundis iudicijsque tolleretur, si enim iudicia nulla sint, tantum vnumquemque ablatum putant, quantum sibi, ac liberis suis satis esse arbitrentur, nunc quid eiusmodi iudicia sint, tantum vnumquemque auferre, quantum sibi, patronis, advocatis, prætoribus, iudicijs satis futurum sit. Hoc profecto infinitum esse. Se auarissimi hominis cupiditati satisfacere posse, nocentissime victoriæ non posse. Vnder the Empire the lawe was vnderstoode, as it may seeme by Pliny. lib. 2. epist. 11. against extortion onely.*

Crime of Maiestie and treason] *Lex Maiestatis* in the ancient free common-wealth comprehended onelie points of greatest importance in state: *si quis prodicione exercitum, aut plebem seditionibus, denique male gesta Republi- ca maiestatem Populi Romani minuisse*. Augustus put it in vre against libellers, whereas before *facta arguebantur, dicta impune erant*, or at least not punished with the penalties *lese maiestatis*. In Tiberius, Caius, Claudius and Neroes time it was *unicum crimen eorum, qui crimine vacabant*, as Pliny speaketh. One was accused to Tiberius, and all was maiestie, *quod venditis hortis statum Augusti simul mancipasset*: another *quod violasset perjurio nomen Augusti*. a third beside some vndutifull speeches, that he had set vp his owne image higher then those of the Princes, and that in another image he had cut off the head of Augustus, and clapped in place one of Tiberius for sauing of cost. an other for making an epitaph for the Princes sonne, before he was dead, arraigned and condemned. another, *quod effigiem principis promiscuum ad usum argenti vertisset*. another, for that he had done greater seruice for the Prince, then that he was able any other way to requite it. another, for that in his story he had commended Cassius and Brutus enemies of the monarchy, and dead about threethree yeeres before. others because they were defended of those which in their time had bene of neere acquaintance with Pompey. another, because he had bene a follower of Germanicus, of whom Tiberius without iust cause had euer bene iealous. another for making a Tragedy wherein certaine verses were of doubtfull vnderstanding. In Claudius time one was arraigned, & condemned of maiestie for dreaming a dreame, another for being dreamed of. In Neroes time one Cassius, *quod inter imagines maiorum etiam C. Cassij effigiem coluisset ita inscriptam DVCI PARTIVM*. And infinite mo for such trifles as these. Seeing therefore that *lex maiestatis* had bene so late so odiously executed, it pleased the pardoners to tearme that which indeede was extortion, crime of maiestie, the memorie whereof was so hatefull, that in respect of it euen other good lawes were neglected.

To the Hispanienses and Emeritenfes a new supply of families] In deducing of colonies a certaine number of families were assigned, which if tract of time, or any mischance had diminished, or adulterated, to haue them supplied a fresh, or increased, was esteemed of the rest, as a speciall great benefit. Liuius lib. 32. *C. Acilius tribunus plebis iulit, ut quinque colonie in oram maritimam deducerentur. Tricena familie in singulas colonias inbebantur missi. eodem libro. Narniensium legatis querentibus ad numerum sibi colonos non esse, & immittos quosdam non sui generis pro colonia se gerere, earum rerum causa triumuiros creare L. Cornelius consul iussus. creati P. & Sex. Aelij (Patris suis ambobus cognomen) & C. Cornelius Lentulus. Quod Narniensibus datum erat ut colonorum numerus augeretur, id Cossani petentes non impetraverunt. And in another place, postulantiibus a senatu Aquileiensium legatis, ut numerum colonorum augeret, M. & D. familia ex S. C. scripta. Tacit. 13. Annal. Ceterum colonia Capua aique Nuceria, additis veteranis firmata sunt. Now that Hispania was a Colony of the Romans, Pliny affirmeth lib. 3. cap. 2. *A leuia Hispania colonia, cognomine Romulensis: That Emerita Dio. lib. 53. πανταμένως δὲ τὴν πόλιν οὗτος ὁ Αὐγύστες τὸς ἰδίῳ ἀποικιστέροις τῷ στρατιωτῶν ἀφῆκε, καὶ πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἐν λυσιστασίᾳ τῷ αὐγύστεν ἐμμεταίην καλκμένην κῆπον εἰδωκε. That is, This warre being ended**

Augustus dismissed the souldiers which were past yeeres of service, and gave them license to builde a citie in Portugall called *Augusta Emerita*. The reason of the name is apparent *Emerita*, quod emeriti milites ad hanc urbem deducebantur. For militar colonies (to leaue the other kinde which in the free state were deriued abroad by the Senates appointment, for so Velleius seemes to diuide them) they were deuised for a recompense of old souldiers, who hauing spent the floure of their age in the seruice of their cuntry, small reason it were to turne them a begging when they were aged. Wherefore Sylla, Cæsar and the Emperours following, at the ende of their seruice rewarded the old souldier with an honourable maintenance of lande of inheritance. In this kinde of colonies at the beginning
 * *uniuersæ legiones ducebantur cum tribuni, centurionibus, & sui cuiusque ordinis militibus, ut consensu & caritate temp. efficient.* Mela. lib. 2. cap. 5. nameth some speciall Legions, and where they were placed. *Secundanorum Arausio, Sextanorum Arelate, Septimanorum Biteræ, Decumanorum colonia Marcus Narbo.* In proceſſe of time this good order decaying, * *non ut olim uniuersæ legiones, sed ignoti inter se ducebantur, diuersis manipulis, sine rectore, sine affectibus mutuis, quasi ex alio genere mortalium repente in unum collecti, numerus magis quam colonia:* and the prooſe thereof was according, the souldiers slipping away in prouincias, in quibus stipendia meruerant, and leauing the colonies desolate. Whether vpon this or whatſoeuer occasion, apparent it is that Hispalis and Emerita were both decayed, and therefore with new families here by grace from Otho stocked againe.

XVII. *The Rhoxolani a people of Sarmatia vanquished, and slaine by the soldiers of Mæſia.*

MENs mindes being set vpon ciuill warres, externall matters were lightly regarded: by reason whereof the Rhoxolani a people of Sarmatia, hauing the winter before slaine two cohorts, ventured more boldly to inuade Mæſia. Their former exploite, and conceit of themselves had assembled nine thousande horse, more minding the spoile, then prouided to fight: whereupon the * third Legion with the Aydes assayed them sodainely as they were straggled and carelesse. The Romans had all things fitted for fight: the Sarmatians being scattered, or through greedines of spoile heauily charged, their horses being tired by reason of their burdens and slippery waies, as if their hands had beene tied behind them, were hewed in peeces. It is woonder to see how all the Sarmatians valour is as it were out of themselves: to fight a foote no nation so cowardly, on horsebacke by troupes they are hardly resisted: but then the weather being wet, and the frost somewhat thawed, neither their staues, nor long two-handed swordes serued in steede, through the sliding of their horses, and great waight of their cataphracts; a kind of harnish, that Princes and noble-men vse, composed of iron plates or stiffe bend-lether, which as against blowes is sure and of prooſe, so if one be borne downe by the force of the enemy it maketh him vnable to rise vp againe: beside they suncke into the snow being deepe, and not able to beare: contrarily the Roman souldier in his easie * corselet nimble and light, a far off with a * dart, or with launce charging vpon them, and with a light sword neare at hand, the case so requiring, gored so long the vnarmed Sarmatian (for it is not their maner to warde with their buckler) till at length a few which remained fled to the marishes: in the one place the mortallnesse, in the other the misery of their wounds wasted them all. When this was by certaine aduise vnderstood at Rome, Marcus Aponius Lieutenant generall of Mæſia was honored with a ¹ triumphal image, Fuluius Aurelius, ² Titius Iulianus, and Numisius Lupus Lieutenants of the Legions with Consular ornaments; Otho reioycing, and drawing the glorie to himselfe, as if he also were fortunate in war, and had by his leaders and armies enlarged the Empire.

¹ Honoured with a triumphal image: *Triumphali statua* Tac. 4. Ann. *Iamque tres erant laureata in vrbe statuae &c.* and the sentence before of the same matter. *Priores duces impetrando sibi triumphaliū insigni sufficere res suas crediderant.* againe 15. Annal. *Triumphale decus*, and *Triumphales in foro imagines* of the same. So that we may reasonably gather *Triumphalem statuam* to be either the same with *Triumphalia insignia*, or els parcell of them, and yet inducing the whole. This title of honour, *τῶν ἐπὶ νίκῃ*, vnknown in the free common wealth, was first conferred, as some do suppose, by Augustus vpon Tiberius Anno. vrb. conditæ. 742. Sueton. ² Tiberio. *Quas ob res & ouans & curru urbem ingressu eff* (Tiberius) *primus (ut quidam putant) triumphalibus ornamentis honoratus, nouo, nec antea cuiquam tributo genere honoris.* But ³ Dio writeth that it was to Agrippa two yeeres before first granted: *Διοῦς τὸ πρῶτον Ἀγρίππῃ δόξαν ἐξ ἑξήκοντος ἔτους καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ νίκῃ αὐτῷ ἐπισημαίνοντα γὰρ ἔχοντες ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸ σὺνδεσφον*

1 lib. 1.

2 Tac lib. 15. Annual.

3 Tacitus.

* *tertia legio*: per aduenture it was written by Tacitus *tres legiones*: for so many Legions were at this present in Mæſia, & the Lieutenants of all the three Legions were honored with Consular ornaments, & therefore present in the action, and in all likelihood with the Legions vnder their charge.

* *lorica*.

* *missili pilo*.

¹ In the 2. and 4. booke he is still named *Tertius Iulianus*.

2 cap. 9.

3 lib. 4.

blind feare, and because they could not name any one to the slaughter, demanding licence indifferently against all the Senate; till such time as Otho standing vpon his dining bed, contrary to the maiesty of an Emperour, with teares & humble requests, at last, though hardly, refrained their rage: and so they returned to the campe unwilling, though after so much harme done. The next day, as if the towne had been taken, the houses were shut, small stirring in streetes, the people all sad, the soldiers hanging their heads, with many heavy lookes and little repentance. Licinius Proculus and Plotius Firmus the captaines dealt with the souldiers by bands, in gentle or rough sort, ech after his nature: the conclusion was this, that they should receiue five thousand sesterces a man. Then Otho boldly entred the campe: the Centurions and Tribunes come round about him, and casting away the marks of their degrees, desire dimission from so vn safe a seruice. The soldiers perceiued the meaning, and framing themselues to obedience, require vnbidden the authors of the sedition to death. Otho, although things were in such a confusion, and the souldiers so diuersly minded (the best requiring a remedy for the present disorder; the common sort, and more part, who liked seditions, and corrupt gouernment, beeing more easily brought by troubles and spoiling to make ciuill warre) and withall remembring that a state gotten by lewd meanes cannot be retayned at first with suddaine modestie, and ancient grauity; neuerthelesse carefully considering the danger of the citty and Senate, at last he spake in this wise. My fellow-souldiers, I am not come hither to incite you to loue me, and lesse to exhort you to vertue and valour; for of both you haue great store and too much: but I come to request a moderation of your valour, and a meane in your loue toward me. No hatred it was, no desire to haue (which things haue set many armies at discord) no daunger you feared and ment to auoide, but a tender care, and excessiue affection it was toward me, more zealous then considerate, which bred and excited the yesternights trouble: for oft the causes of things being good, yet where iudgement is wanting, pernicious ends do often ensue. We are going to warre. what? is it expedient that all messengers haue open audience; that all matters be handled in presence of all? the nature of warring will not endure it, the swift sliding away of occasions permitteth it not. I tell you it is as be-hoouefull that the souldiers should be ignorant of some things, as know other some. The authority of Captaines, the rigour of discipline is of that nature, that many things must be onely commaunded and simply bidden by the Centurions and Tribunes. If when things are bidden every one may demaunde, and question the matter, obedience failing, gouernment withall will fall to the ground: or shall there at midnight likewise the alarme be giuen? shall a lost and drunken companion or two (for I cannot beleue they were mo which madded in the last vprore) shall they dare to embroe their hands in a Tribunes and Centurions bloud? rush into their Emperours pavilion? you did indeed the same for my sake: but yet in the darke, in such a confusion, occasion might also haue serued against me. If Vitellius and his adherents had choise to dispose our minds as they listed, what else would they wish but sedition and discord? that the souldier should not obey his Centurion, the Centurion his Tribune, footemen and horse confusedly should run to their ruine. Surely fellow-souldiers by duly obeying, not curiously scanning the captaines commandments, is all good soldiery and militare matters maintained: and that army in danger is alwaies most valiant, which before the daunger is most quiet of all. Be you onely well armed, and valiantly minded, to aduise and direct your valour leaue that to me. The fault was of few: the punishment shall be onely of two: contend you the rest, to abolish and raze out of memory that dismall nights worke: such bloody wordes

f That is, 39. li.
1. 3. d.

* indirect.

μυστικός.

*Apinas alius Volsconum in monte solebas
 Poscere mercedes alieno lassus aratro.
 Nodosam possi hęc frangebas vertice visem
 Si lentus pigra muniret castra dolabra.
 Hic tamen etc. -----*

By

³ By the gods approbation: *Auspiciatō*. That is, *adlocutionibus ambus*. For although neither Liuy nor Dionysius make any mention of any such ceremonie obserued in the choise of the Senate, yet seeing we find that *equus centuriæ* were by Romulus ^a *auguratio scripta*, that the city was founded & named *capis ad inaugurandum templis*, the Auentin by Remus, the Palatin by Romulus (Liuius lib. 1. although ^b Ennius placeth them otherwise) seeing that Romulus *ἐν τῇ κατεστάτῳ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν ἀπασιν, ὡς βασιλεὺς, ὡς ἀρχὴ λαμβάνειν, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ τοῖς δαμόνιον αὐτοῖς (δὲ δαμόνων) ἐπαίσιον*, That is, Brought vp this custome for all posteritie that they should not take vpon them neither the kingdome, nor any other office, except first the gods per auspicia gaue their approbation ^c, we may probably coniecture that it was not omitted in a case of so great importance, as was the choise of a counsell of state. Surely after that Attius Navius had cut with a razor a whetstone in Tarquinius Priscus time, ^d Liuy writeth that the Augurall discipline grew daily in reputation.

^a Liuy lib. 1.

^b in his verses reported by Tully 1. de diuinatione.

^c Dionys. Halicarn. lib. 2.

^d lib. 1.

XIX. Rome full of ielosies: the difficultie that was to carie a mans selfe euenlie in the Citie and Senate.

IT was also supposed by many that some of Vitellius men were come to the cittie to spye out and learne how the sides were affected: whereupon all grew full of ielosies, and scarce were the secret closets free from feare: and abroad worst of all, where according to the occurrents which came they turned, and shaped courage and countenance, fearing to seeme, when matters went doubtfull, distrustfull; or when they went well, not enough to reioice: specially in Senate, there was the hardnesse indeede to beare a mans selfe euenly in so nice and ticklish a case: silence would be construed for contumacy; free speech had quickly in ielosie; and flattering Otho would soone smell out, hauing passed from priuate estate, and vsed the trade so lately himselfe. Wherefore they were forced to tesse and turne in and out their sentences, to wrest them this way and that, calling Vitellius parricide and traitour; the wiser sort spending vpon him some fewe ordinary rayling termes, some touching him neerer with viler matters, and matters of truth; but then about all times, when for the great noise they least could be heard, or when otherwise the most spake at once, or else by tumultuous heaping of words confounding their owne disorderly tale.

^a Plutarch. *ἡ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ θυμῶν δὲ συμμιγνύσθαι μείον ἵπποισιν τοῖς πολλοῖς μολύβδον*. Plinius lib. 3. c. 5. *Quinimo vates intelligitur (Tiberius annus) pugili ac monitor, ausu semper religioſus uernis, quam ſeius*.

^b Which penury grew by reason of the rising of the river. Plutarch. *πλεῖστον δὲ κατεκλυστοῖς αἰσιν τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν διαποδοῖσιν αἰσιν αἰσὶν ἀποδείξαι διμῶν συχίων κατὰ χεῖρ*.

^c *Inſule dicuntur proprie, que non iunguntur communib. parietibus cum vicinis; circuiusq. publico aut privato cinguntur; a similitudine viz. earum terrarum, que fluminib. ac mari eminent, suntq. in ſalo posite.*

Festus. *a Promogressu inundationib. Tiberis retardatus (Otho) ad viceſimum etiam lapidem ruina edificiorum preclusam viam offendit.* Suetonius Othone, cap. 8.

XX. Certaine prodigious things which happened in Italie and Rome before the warre.

MOREOVER diuerſe miracles vouchd by sundry persons terrified the minds of men. In the entry of the Capitoll the raynes of the coche whereon the image of Victory stode were let flippe: out of Iuno's cell started vp a ghost taller then any man: the image of Iulius of sacred memory in the Iland of Tiber turned it selfe from the West to the East in a day which was cleare and without any earthquake: in Tuscany an oxe spake: ougly monsters were borne of beasts, and many other like prodigious things were reported, by the old world obserued euen in peace, but now not talkt on, but in times of daunger. But the principall terrour for the time to come ioyned with present damage was ^a the sodaine swelling of Tiber, which waxing hugely brake downe the Sublician bridge, and by the ruines of it being dammed, reculing againe, overflowed not onely the lowe and plaine places of Rome, but those also which seemed safe from such casualties. Many were caryed away as they walkt in the streets, mo intercepted in shops and lodgings: ^b dearth of vittailles, and no waies of winning, bred a famine among the poore people: the foundations of the ^c iiles, which the water by washing against them had weakned, after the river returned became ruinous: and as soone as that perill was ouer past, the ^d stopping by casuall, or naturall causes, of Campus Martius and the

Flami-

Flaminian way, by which the army should passe, at that time when Otho prepared to march, was construed for an ominous signe of calamities to ensue.

XXI. *The prouision of Otho for the warre.*

OTHO hauing ^a hallowed the citty, consulting how to manage the warre, and seeing the Penine and Cottian Alpes, and the other passages of France stopt by Vitellius armies, determined to invade Gallia Narbonensis with a strong nauye and ^b sure to his side: for he had enrolled for Legionary souldiers the remnant of those which were slayne at the Miluian bridge, whom Galba had cruelly ^c layed in prison; and the ^d rest of their fellowes conceiued thereby good hope of honourabler seruice hereafter. With the nauy he shipped Citty-cohorts, and many Garde-souldiers, for a strength and support to the army, and for a counsell and gard to the generalles. The generall charge of this vyage was committed to Antonius Nouellius, and Suedius Clemens (*which had been chiefe Centurions) and AEmilius Pacensis, to whom Otho had restored his Tribuneship, which Galba had taken away: Ofcus his freedman was Admirall of the vyage, being willed to watch how loyally honest men behaued themselves. Of the footemen and horse ^e Suetonius Paullinus, Marius Celsus, and Annius Gallus were appointed gouernours: but his speciall affiance ^f was in Licinius Proculus captaine of the Garde, who being a man seruiceable enough in citty-soldiery, but raw in the fielde, cauilling and carping at the graue authority of Paullinus, the couragious quicknesse of Celsus, the considerate discreetnesse of Gallus, as ech was in vertue, by lewdenesse and craft (a matter not vneasy) bare it away from good men, and modest. About the same time ^g Cornelius Dolabella was confined to Aquinum, without either strait or close keeping, for no matter of crime, but only as an eie-sore for his ancient house and kindred with Galba. Then Otho commaunded many of the magistrates, and a great part of those which had been Consuls, to be in a readinesse for the viage, not as to employ them in any charge in the warre, but to accompany him only: among other Lucius Vitellius also in like sort with the rest, neither as brother of an Emperour, nor as brother of an enemy. Hereupon the cares of the city reuiued: no state was voide of feare or of danger: the chiefe of the Senate weake for age, and with long rest vn-lusty; the nobility slothfull, and hauing forgotten the warres; the gentlemen ignorant in seruice: the more they all sought to couer and hide it, the more they in sight bewraied their feare. On the other side some vpon a foolish vainglory bought them braue armour and goodly great horses; some riotous prouision for banquets and ^h allurements of lusts, as instruments of warre. The wiser sort were woe to see the quietnesse of the weale-publicke perturbed: the witleffe, and not able to see into sequels, were puffed vp with vaine hope: and many a good man, bankrupt in peace, now in the troubles shewed most gallant, then being safest, when the state was vn-safest. The common people, who for their huge greatnes taketh no care of publicke affaires, began now to feeble by little and little the smarts of the warre, perceiuing the money was turned all to the souldiers vse, and vittailles to grow more deare in the market; which euils in Vindex commotion had nothing worne the commons so bare: the citty was then out of danger, and the warre in the prouince, which being fought betweene the Legions and them of France might seeme in a sort externall and forrayne. For since the time that D. Augustus ordered the Empire, the people of Rome fought a farre off; the care and the credite belonged to one: vnder Tiberius and Caius men feared alone the miseries of peace: ⁱ Scribonianus at-

tempts

^a *lustrata urbs.*
^b *paribus sila,*
 not because the
 new made Le-
 gionaries went
 with the nauy
 (for surely the
 most remained
 with Otho) but
 rather for that
 the other *classe*
arj, which were
 kept still in the
 galleys, concei-
 ued good hope
 of preferment
 by the fauour
 which Otho be-
 stowed on their
 fellowes.
^c yet were they
 loose at his death
 to do him a mis-
 chiefe, and made
 a Legion, as ap-
 pearth before,
 so that the be-
 nefit of enrolling
 them was not
 Othoes, as it
 might seeme by
 this place, but
 Galbaes.
^d *Scilicet*, they
 that remained
 still at sea-seruice.
^e *Primipilarib.*
^f *i. qui primos pilos*
^g *duxissent: as*
^h *Consularis, qui*
ⁱ *Consul extitisset.*
^j Othoes cap-
 taines in this
 warre were sixe
 or seuen: Paul-
 linus, Celsus, Gal-
 ba, Proculus, na-
 med here by Ta-
 citus, Spurrinus,
 & Macer in the
 story, and Titia-
 nus his brother
 sent for after-
 ward.
^k *Profecto Brix-*
^l *ellum Othone,*
^m *bonor imperij*
ⁿ *penes Titianum*
^o *fratrem, vis ac*
^p *potestas penes*
^q *Proculum pre-*
^r *fectum. Celsus*
^s *& Paullinus*
^t *cum prudentia*
^u *eorum nemo ute-*
^v *retur, inani no-*
^w *mino ducum a-*
^x *liena culpe pre-*
^y *ueniebantur.*
^z *Tac. 2. Hist.*
^{aa} Slaine after-
 ward by Vitel-
 lius comman-
 dement.
^{ab} *Hist.*
^{ac} Lichtenant
 of Dalmatia.
^{ad} *Dial. lib. 60.*

1 Tac. 2. Histor.
Quod singula
veteris istius
transacta sunt
bella, ignavia
principum factum
est.

tempts against Claudius were begun and dashed in a moment: Nero was rather by newes, and by rumours, then by force of armes cast out of state: but now the Legions, the nauies, and that which seldome else hath beene seene, the Garde and citiy-souldier were brought to the field; the East, and the West, and whatsoever was on both sides behinde; matter for a long warre, if other captaines had warred. Some perswaded Otho, as he was now ready to march, to stay yet awhile, making a scruple that the holy shields called Ancilia were as yet not layed vp againe: but he could not abide to heare of delayes, which had bene, he said, Neroes destruction; and Cæcina hauing already passed the Alpes called him forward. The fourteenth of March recommending the commonwealth to the Lords in Senate, he granted to the persons restored from exile the residue of Neroes confiscations, such as were not as yet come to his cofers: a gift most reasonable and in shew very great, but in effect fruitlesse by reason of the hasty exaction. By and by assembling the people he magnifieth the maiesty of the citiy, the consent of the Senate and people of Rome in fauour of his side, modestly touching the contrary faction, and blaming the Legions rather for ignorance, then rashnesse, without any mention at all of Vitellius; whether it was of his owne temperatenesse, or that els he which penned the oration fearing the worst, did of purpose forbear to reuile: for as in militare matters he followed the aduise of Suetonius Paullinus and Marius Celsus, so in ciuill he was thought to vse Galerius Trachalus wisedome: and some there were, which would seeme to know the manner of phrase, notorious by reason of his often pleading, large and sounding, and framed to fill the eares of the people. The commons after their flattering fashion receiued the speech with cries and acclamations without either measure or trueth, contending to passe one another in applause and wishes, as if it had bene to Cæsar the Dictator, or the Emperour Augustus; neither for feare nor for loue, but onely vpon a delight in seruility (*as in priuate families) euery man prouoked by some priuate cause, no man regarding the publicke dishonour. ^k Otho departing away, commended the quiet estate of the Citiy, and cares of the Empire to Saluius Titianus his brother.

* as in familijs,
inter seruicia;
in opposition
to plebs ingenua.
4. Ann.
k Otho departed
from Rome, saith
Suetonius, die quo
cultores delam
matris lamentari
et plangere inci-
piunt, that is,
the seuen and
twentieth of
March according
to Marcellinus.

^x Allrements of lust &c.] Iuuenal Satyrâ secundâ writeth, that Otho himselfe *inter instrumenta belli* caried a certaine looking glasse.

*Res memoranda nouis annalibus, atque recens
Historiâ, speculum ciuilibis sarcina belli.*

Contrarie to that testimonie which Tacitus giueth of him. 2. Hist. *Nec Othoni segne, aut corruptum luxu iter; sed lorica ferrea usus, et anse signa pedester, horridus, incomptus, fanaq; dissimilis.*

a Although Liui
in the oration of
Camillus see-
meth to attribute
them to Romu-
lus also for kin-
redfake. *Quid de
Ancilibus vestris
Mars Gradivus, tu-
que Quirine pa-
ter.* lib. 5.

² That the holy shieldes called Ancilia] *Ancilia, chypei a Martis, ab ancisu sic dicta, quod ea arma ab utraque parte, ut pelsæ Thracum, incisa.* Varro lib. 6. de ling. Lat. Ouidius Fastorum. 3.

*Atque Ancile vocat, quod ab omni parte recisum est,
Quemq; notes oculis, angulus omnis abest.*

Dionysius Halicarn. lib. 2. expressing *Ancile* in Greeke turneth it *πέλιν θρακίαν*, in figure much like, saith he, *πέλιν θρακίαν* *ὑπερθερύτερος ἔχοντι τὰς λαγόνας.* That is, a Thracian shield, resembling a lozeng-figur sarge whose angles be rebated. Liuy lib. 1. and lib. 5. termeth them *caelestia arma*, and *celo demissa*: whereof the story at large is in Ouid, in the place aboue alleadged: *Dum loquitur totum &c.* and in Dionysius although with some little difference of circumstance. *ἐν δὲ ταῖς πέλινταις πολλὰς πάλιν ἔστι μὲν εἶναι λέγουσι Διοπέτην. εὐρεθῆναι δ' αὐτὴν φασιν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τῶν νομῶν, μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπων εἰσενέγκαντος, μὴδ' ἐγνωσμένῃ κατέστη ἐν ἰταλοῖς τοῖς τε οὐράτοις, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ὑπολαβεῖν ῥωμαῖοις Διοπέτην εἶναι τὸ ὄπλον. βωλὴν δὲ τὸν νομῶν πιάσαι τε αὐτὸ φερόμενον ὑπὸ τῷ κρατὶ τῶν νέων ἐν ἱερῇς ἡμέραις ἀνά τὴν πόλιν, καὶ θυσιῶν ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν γὰρ, δεδοκῶτα δὲ ἐπιβλάς τας αἰὲς ἐχέειν καὶ ἀφανιστὸν αὐτῇ κλοπαῶν, ὅπλα λέγουσι πολλὰ κατακλιδῆσθαι τῷ Διοπέτῃ παρὰ πᾶσι, καμνοῖς πινος τὸ ἔργον διμωρῶς ἀναδεξαμένη, ὡς ἀσχυρὸν γενέσθαι καὶ δυσδωρῶτον τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐπιβλάειν καὶ τῷ Διοπέτῃ φασιν, διὰ τὴν ἀπαράλλακτον αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔργων ομοιότητα.* That is, Among these shieldes, which are very many, one they say there is which fell downe from heauen, and that it was found in Numæ's Palace not brought thither by any mans hand, no not so much as the fashion being knowne in Italy before that time. vpon which two reasons the Romans were induced to thinke that the piece was sent from the Gods. So when Numæ had determined to haue it caried thow the citiy on high daies, by some of the most honourable young men, and to institute yearly sacrifice in memorie thereof; fearing least the enimie should priuily steale it away, as the report goeth he tooke this course. He caused many other to be made like

unto this which fell from above (one Namurius undertaking the worke) that whosoever sought to steale it, for the nearnesse and likenesse of the vest wrought by many hands might not be able to discern the forme of that which came from the gods. Lamprius Heliogabalo. *Marris typum, & Vestis ignem, & Palladium, & Ancilia, & omnia Romanis veneranda &c.* Now as concerning the *motus Ancilium* I finde of it two severall circumstances recorded. Scivius vpon this place of Virgil. 8. *Aeneid.* ——— *viq. impulsit arma, writeth thus: Is qui bellis suscepit arcem* (meaning, as I thinke, the Consul

b Varro, from
whom Dionysius
in matter of an-
tiquities seldome
swarteth, see-
meth to follow
another opinion.
Lb. 5. de ling. Lat.

ſacrarium Martis ingreſſus primò Ancilia commovebat; poſt haſtam ſimulachri ipſius deſcendens, Martis vigila. After which ceremony performed by the Conſul, the Salij, as I geſſe, immediately they and their ſervants caried the Ancilia about in proceſſion. Which pompe and ſolemnitie is deſcribed by Dionyſius. ἐορτὴ δ' αὐτῶν οὕτῃ περὶ τὰ παλαιὰ θήναια, τὸ χαλκικὸν μαρτίον μιν, δημοτικῆς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἀρχάνει, ἐν αἷς διατρεπόμεναι τὰς χεῖρας εἴτε τὴν ἀρσενίαν, καὶ τὸ χαλκικόν, καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας ἰδίας τε καὶ δημοσίας τοῖτας, χαλκίους ποικίλους χαλκίους μίτρας κατέωσμένοι, καὶ τιβέννας ἐμπεπερπημένοι περὶ τοὺς, αἱ καλῶς τραβέας καὶ τὰς χαλκίους ἀπικὰς ὀπκημύροι τὰς κεφαλὰς. παρὶς ὡς αὐτῶν ξίφος, καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ χεὶρὶ λόγχην ἢ ράβδον, ἢ τὴν αὐτῶν ἑτέρον κρατῇ. τῇ δ' ἐναντίῳ κατέχει πέλτιον θράκιον. κινεῖται δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν ῥυθμῷ τὸς ἐνοπλίας κινήσεις, τότε μὲν οὖν, τότε δὲ παραλλάξ, καὶ πατέας πρὸς ὅσον αὐτὰς χορεύουσιν. That is, The Salij celebrate a ſolemn feaſt about the time of the Athenian Panathenaea in the moneth of March, continuing many daies, in which they paſſe thorow the city ſolemnly dauncing into the Forum, the Capitoll, and many other both publique and private places, wearing party coloured coates girt to them with copper girdles. Over theſe they caſt their gownes garded with girdes of purple in their owne language called Trabex, which they faſten with a buſion, laſtly wearing on their heads a certaine aſſire which they call Apices. Beſide this every man is girt with a ſword, and in his right hand holdeth a ſpeare or rod, or ſome ſuch other thing, and in his left a Thracian ſhield. They daunce in certaine militar meaſures to the noiſe of the pipe, ſometimes all at once, ſometimes by turnes, and with all ſing olde ſongs delinered to them by tradition from their faſhers. Liviꝝ lib. i. Salios item duodecim Marti Gradivo legiſt, tunica qꝛ pictæ inſigne dedit, & ſuper tunicam aneum pectori ſegumen, caſethiaꝛ arma, quæ Ancilia appellantur ferreæa per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudij, ſoleniaꝛ, ſaltatu inſiſt. This feaſt as Dionyſius writeth, was celebrated μαρτίῳ μὲν, begun, as it may appeare by Ouid, the very Calends of March. Carifus ſeemeth to place it in the Quinquatrus, which began the 19. of March. Quinquatrus, ſaith he, a quinquando, i. luſtrando, quòd eo die arma Ancilia luſtrari ſolita. which etymologie no doubt is erronious, for Quinquatrus without queſtion is deriued of quinqꝛ, Ouidius,

c *Dionysius*.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. Titus Vespasianus sailing toward Rome, hearing of Galbaes death at Corinth, returneth into Syria. The disposition of the Easterne armies.



OW fortune in a contrary coast of the world prepared cause, and layed the foundation for a new ^a Empire: ^a which put vp in sundry regions, and according to the different gouernment, became ^b acceptable or hatefull to the state, and to the Princes themselues prosperous, or pernicious. Titus Vespasianus being sent by his father from Iewry, before Galba was slaine, gaue foorth as ^c cause of his voyage the doing of duety to the new Prince, and suing for office, whereunto he was now by his yeeres enabled and ripe; but the common sort, ready to make and deuise, had cast abroad, that he was sent for to be ^d declared successour. The age of Galba and lacke of issue, and that intemperate humour of the citty, to name many till one be appointed, gaue occasion and ministred matter to the speech: the towardlinesse of Titus increast the report, as being a person capable of any dignitie were it neuer so great: the comelinesse also of his countenance with a certaine maiesty, the prosperous proceedings of his father in Iewry, prophecies and oracles; and lastely, when as the minds of men were once inclined to belecue, euen common accidents were reputed ^e ominous, and helped to further the fame. At Corinth a citty of Achaia he receiued certaine aduertisement, that Galba was slaine, and some also were there, who assured that Vitellius was in armes, and doubtlesse would proceede to make warre. Whereupon being perplexed in minde, calling some fewe of his friends, he weigheth the reasons on both sides in counsell: if he should proceed in his iourney to Rome it were but a thanklesse office, being first vnderaken to honor another; and beside he should remaine as an hostage to Vitellius or Otho; if returne back againe, the winner without question would be offended, but yet in som tolerable sort, seeing the victorie as yet rested vncertaine, and the father afterwarde applying himselfe to the side, the sonne would finde an easie excuse: or if his father tooke vpon him the state, then care not to offend were to be forgotten, where open hostilitie must bee proclaimed. With these and the like discourses was Titus distracted betweene feare and hope, till hope at the length preuailed. Some men supposed the vehement loue he bare to Berenice the Queene did alter his course: and in truth his youthly affections were settled somewhat that way, notwithstanding in no such degree, that it was any hinderance to his honorable actions: his youthfull yeeres he passed in pleasures licentiously, of better behauour Emperour then ^e Emperours sonne. So coasting along by Achaia and Asia thorow the seas ^f on the left hand, he sailed to Rhodes and Cypres, and thence ^g by the maine sea into Syria. Touching at Cypres he had a desire to go visite ^h the temple of Venus at Paphos, so much spoken of both there and abroad. It shall not be long summarily to set downe the beginning of that deuotion, ⁱ the site of the temple, and shape of the goddesse: for she is not elsewhere purtrayed so. The ancient tradition is, that the temple was founded by ^j king Aerias, which

^a For the Empire of the Flavian family.

^b or, which diuersly accord.

^c Acceptable and prosperous in the persons of Vespasian & Titus; hatefull & pernicious in the person of Domitian.

^d Josephus aduers.

^e Tacit. 29.

^f Tacit. further,

that Titus was

sent to vnderstand

Galbaes pleasure

concerning the

Iewish matters.

^g Tacit. 29.

^h Tacit. 29.

ⁱ Tacit. 29.

^j Tacit. 29.

^k Tacit. 29.

^l Tacit. 29.

^m Tacit. 29.

ⁿ Tacit. 29.

^o Tacit. 29.

^p Tacit. 29.

^q Tacit. 29.

^r Tacit. 29.

^s Tacit. 29.

^t Tacit. 29.

^u Tacit. 29.

^v Tacit. 29.

^w Tacit. 29.

^x Tacit. 29.

^y Tacit. 29.

^z Tacit. 29.

^{aa} Tacit. 29.

^{ab} Tacit. 29.

^{ac} Tacit. 29.

^{ad} Tacit. 29.

^{ae} Tacit. 29.

^{af} Tacit. 29.

^{ag} Tacit. 29.

^{ah} Tacit. 29.

^{ai} Tacit. 29.

^{aj} Tacit. 29.

^{ak} Tacit. 29.

^{al} Tacit. 29.

^{am} Tacit. 29.

^{an} Tacit. 29.

^{ao} Tacit. 29.

^{ap} Tacit. 29.

^{aq} Tacit. 29.

^{ar} Tacit. 29.

^{as} Tacit. 29.

^{at} Tacit. 29.

^{au} Tacit. 29.

g Father to Cy-
prus, of whom
some say the Hæ-
rooke denomi-
nation, *Eusebius*
in Dionysii
ἱερεως καὶ βασι-
*λεως τοῦ Κι-
πρου ὧς καὶ ἱε-*
r Of the Cypri-
ans skill that way
re ad Tully de Di-
versations, and
others.

† Eustachius in
Odyss. speaking
of the altar of
Venus in Paphos:
ο δε θεος βου-
μος αιδεος πα-
κειτο, δια σικκος,
καθαι η αρωα
παρει τοι ποιανη
φαυνται αει κα-
βιζουσι οδισται.
† The like is re-
ported by Poly-
bius lib. i. c. and
believed by
others: καταπα-
ρμισα δ η πα-
πιστυα παρε-
μιν τοις βαρβα-
ροις, οποι το
αυς κρηναδους
αριμους αγα-
ρα κα παρ ον
καταδειος ην
νεστη το παρ-
σαν, ην βριχται,
* or spire fashion.
† remaining then
in *Cesarea* the
head towne of
Iudea. Ioseph. 4.
αλ. α. c. ap. 29.

sideration of their common vtility: the Tribunes, Centurions, and common soldier, by labour or licence, by vertues or pleasures, according to their seuerall inclinations, were drawn to the party. Before Titus comming both the armies had sworne allegiance to Otho, the newes of his beeing in state, as the custome is in such great matters, being brought in great post, and ciuill warres ripening by leasure, into which the East, that had a long time beene quiet and peaceable, then first of all began for to enter, for in time past the most mightie and puissant ciuill warres, beginning in Italy and Gallia, were vndertaken with the power and strength of the West; and they which maintained them in the East, as Pompey, Cassius, Brutus, Antonius, ended alwaies vnfortunately, and Syria and Iewrie more often heard tell of then saw any Cæsars: the Legions had neuer mutined, onely sometimes were led out to braue the Parthian, speeding not alwaies alike: and during the last ciuill warre, when the world was shaken elsewhere, among them was assured tranquillitie; then faith toward Galba. But after it was publickely knowen, that Otho and Vitellius went about with impious armes to pray vpon the Roman estate, the souldiers began to storme, that others⁶ receiued the fauours of Princes, and they serued continually as slaues. from thence they grew to consideration of their owne forces: seuen Legions they saw at hand, and two prouinces, Syria, and Iewrie, with a huge multitude of Aide-souldiers: then AEgypt adioyning with two Legions, and on the other side Cappadocia and Pontus, and the strength which lay encamped against the Armenians: Asia and the rest of the prouinces, plentifull of money, and of men not vnfurnished: all the islands of that sea, and the sea it selfe^m shut vp and yeelding security in the meane season to prepare for the warre. The forwardnesse of the souldiers was not vnknown to the Generals: neuerthelesse it was thought expedient to attende the issue of the other warre then being on foote, sith doubtlesse mutuall ielousies, betweene the conquering and conquered party, would neuer suffer any sound and perfect intelligence betweene them: neither mattered it much whom fortune should fauour, Vitellius or Otho: euen singular commanders by prosperity would grow insolent, much lesse might good prooffe be expected of these, whom discord, sluggishnesse and riot would ruine; whereof the warre would ouerthrow the one, and the victorie the other, both of them through their owne vices and faults. So till occasion should serue, the open taking of armes was differred by Vespasian and Mucianus, hauing entred but lately into these communications, whereas the rest had conferred thereof long before; the better sort vpon loue to the common wealth, the rest, some allured with the sweetnes of spoile, some pricked thereto by reason of their doubtfull and decayed estate at home: so the good and the bad, vpon causes vnlike, with like affection ardently all desired the warre.

^m Or lying out of the way from Vitellius & Otho's strength, & elusum.

¹ By the maine sea, *Audensioribus spaciū*] i. per alium, in opposition to *litus* & *oram legere*, seu *præterueni*. So that the meaning of the place is, that Titus from Corinth to Cypres went along by the coast, and from Cypres into Syria by the maine sea.

² The temple of Venus at Paphos] *Strabo lib. 14. εἴτα πάλαι παφὸς ὅσον ἐνδεκά σταδίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάσσης ἰδρυμένην, ὑφορμὸν ἔχουσα καὶ ἱερὸν ἀρχαῖον τῆς παρίας ἀφροδίτης.* That is, Next to old Paphos situate about eleven stadia from the sea, there is an harborow for ships, and an ancient temple of Venus, surnamed of the place Paphia. *Homerus Odyss. 8.*

*Ἡ δ' ὅρα Κύπρον ἔχοντι φιλομένης Ἀφροδίτης
Εἰς Πάφον, ἐνθα δὲ οἱ τέμενος βαμὺς τε θυῖεν.*

Dionysius Afer calleth the whole Iland *ἡ πᾶσιον ἀνὰ Διωνείας Ἀφροδίτης.*

³ The site of the temple] A point proposed, but forgotten to be handled, vnlesse we will take those wordes, *quantum in aperto*, as a sufficient discharge thereof, which were somewhat hard, being spoken particularly of the altars, whereas Homer maketh distinct and expresse mention, both of *τέμενος* and *βαμὺς*. That is, The temple and altar.

⁴ Praiers and pure fire] If it were an vnbloudy sacrifice, as by these wordes it should seeme, it may reasonable be

be doubted wherefore mention is made before of the choise of beaſts, of the fibres of kids, and anone *Cæſis complu-ribus hoſtiis*. But perhaps there might be bloudie ſacrifices before the Altar, although vpon it none but vnbloudie.

A figure riſing continually round] The figure which Tacitus deſcribeth is a *Conus*. Maximus Tyrius termeth it *πυραμίδα*, which is a ſomewhat different thing in ſtrictnes of termes. his wordes be theſe, *διαλέξει. λη. Κέλτε σίβουσι μὲν δια, ἀγάλμα δὲ Διὸς Κελπιδόν, ὑψηλὴ δρυὶς. Ἀρεῖσι σίβουσι μὲν, ὄππῃ δὲ ἔκ δὲ δὲ. πὶ δὲ ἀγάλμα δὲ εἶδον, λίδος ἢν τετρεῖς ἡνός. Παρίοις ἢ μὲν Ἀρεσδῖτι τὴν πῆλιν ἔχει, τὸ δὲ ἀγάλμα ἐκ αὐτῆς ἐκδοῦναι αὐτῶν τὸ ἢ πυραμίδι λιδῶν. That is, In his 38. diſcourſe. The Celts worſhip Iupiter: his image with them is nothing but an high oake, the Arabians adore, but whom I know not; the image which I ſawe amongſt them is a ſquare ſtone. In Paphos Venus haſh the chiefeſt honour, howbeit hir image you can liken to nothing ſo well as to a white Pyramis, or rather a triangular Pyramis. or peraduenture it was written *πυραμίδι Δαῖς*, that is, *τετραγωνικῇ*.*

Received the fauours of Princes] He ſeemeth to haue expreſſed the very wordes of Iosephus 4. *ἀλώσεως. c. 36. σωζόντες δὲ οἷτε ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται κατὰ ἐταίρειαν φανερώς ἢ δὴ μεταβολὴν ἐβαλδύοντο, καὶ διαθανάτου-τες ἐβλῶν, οἱ μὲν δὲ τῆς Ρώμης στρατιῶται πρυθῶντες, καὶ μὴ δὲ εὐκρίν πολλὰς φήμιν καταμένοντες διαχειρ-τοῦσιν οἷς βέλονται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ πρὸς ἐλπίδα λημμάτων ἀποδεικνύουσιν αὐτοκράτορας. αὐτοὶ δὲ διὰ πού-των καὶ χωρικοῦτες πόρον καὶ γηράντες ὑπὸ τοῖς κερμασίν ἐτέρους χαλίζονται τὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ ταῦτα τὸν ἀξιώτι-ρον ἀρχειν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες. That is, The leaders and ſoldiers banded themſelves together, and openly ſought to make a change, furiously crying; Theſe ſoldiers which line in Rome at their eaſe, which neuer could abide to heare ſo much as the ru-mour of warre, choſe whom they liſt to the Empire, and vpon hope of gaine pronounce Princes. Whereas they who had paſſed through ſo many paines, and were now waxen old vnder their helmeſs, muſt yeelde that authority to others, and theſe hauing in their owne campe a man ſiſteſt of all other for gouernment. & paulo poſt: *χορηγήσει δὲ ὁ μόνον αὐτῶν τότε τὴν ἰσχυρὰ τοῖς ἀποδείχθεισιν, ὥς τε τεία τῶν ματα, καὶ τὰς πρὸς τῆς βασιλείας συμμαχίας ἐχόντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεργήσειν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν πάντα, καὶ τῆς Ευρώπης ὅσα τὸν ἀπὸ Οὐιτελλῆς φόβων κατέχειται. That is, That not onely they would employ their forces to the eſta bliſhing of ſuch as ſhould be agreed vpon there, hauing preſently with them three Legions and Auxiliarie forces from the kings; but that the whole Eaſt would conſpire, and ſo much of Europe as ſtoode out of feare of Viſellius.**

II. A counterſaite Nero oppreſſed in the ile of Cythnus.

ABOUT the ſame time a falſe alarme was giuen to Achaia and Asia, as if Nero were approaching: for the report going diuerſly concerning his death, many gaue out vntruly that he was aliue, and many beleeued it. The aduentures and attempts of the reſt of thoſe counterſaits we ſhall hereafter declare, in the proceſſe of this worke. Now at that time a bondman of Pontus, or, as others haue written, a * *libertine* of Italie, ſkilfull in instrument and voice, and thereupon, beſide ſome reſemblance in countenance, being more fit to deceiue, adioining vnto him certaine fugitiue and beggerly vacabond perſons induced by great promiſes, taketh the ſea: and being by violence of weather driuen into the ile of Cythnus, he associated to him certaine ſoldiers which paſſed that way out of the Eaſt, commanding the reſt to be ſlaine which reſuſed; and ſpoiling the marchants armed thoſe of the ſlaues which ſeemed moſt puiſſant of body. Moreouer he aſſayed by ſundry deuifes to practiſe the Centurion Siſenna, who caried in the name of the Syrian army to the ſouldiers of the Garde, Right-Hands in token of concord: vntill ſuch time as Siſenna for feare, and ſuſpecting violence, left the iland and fled ſecretly away. Thereupon the terrour was diſperſed abroad, and the matter growing famous, many lent their eares willingly thereto, vpon deſire of change, and diſlike of the preſent. Thus reputation dayly growing to the cauſe, it was by a matter of meere chance wholly ouerthrowen. Galba had granted the gouernment of the prouinces of Galatia and Pamphylia to Calpurnius Aſprenas: to waſt him were allotted two galleyes out of the nauy at Miſenum, with the which hee arriued at the ile of Cythnus. Vpon his arriual the maſters of the galleyes were ſummoned to come vnto Nero: who at their comming compoſing himſelfe to heauineſſe, and requiring, as their late maſter at his ſoldiers hands, their faithfull aſſiſtance and ſeruice, prayed them to ſet him aland in Syria or AEgypt. The maſters, partly perſuaded, or els fraudulently, answered that firſt they would talke with the ſouldiers, and ſo hauing prepared their mindes would returne: but the whole was truly reported to Aſpre-nas, by whoſe perſwaſion his ſhip was forced and taken, and he, whatſoeuer he were,

* *libertinus.*

flaine. His body was caryed into Asia, and thence brought to Rome, wondred at for the eyes, and haire, and sternnesse of countenance.

III. *Annius Faustus, after much adoe and some sturre in the Senate, condemned of promoting.*

IN a dissentious state, and through the often changings of Princes, wauing betweene licence and liberty, euen small matters were not shut vp, without great ado. Vibius Crispus, a man for money, might, and wit, accounted rather among the great men then the good, called to his aunswere in Senate Annus Faustus a Gentleman, who had made profession in Neroes time of accusing: for immediately vpon the election of Galba the Senatours had ordered, that the causes of the accusers should be heard and examined; an order diuerfly construed and drawen, and as against a weake defendant in force, so against a mighty too weake. Beside Crispus employed the terrour of his greatnes, and the vttermost of his might, particularly to ouerthrow him, as the accuser of his brother, and had drawen a great part of the Senate into that opinion, to require him to be executed, being neither defended nor heard: contrariwise others fauouring the defendant, so much the more because the plaintife seemed too mightie, were of opinion, that a time should be graunted, the crimes specified, and the man, though culpable and odious, should notwithstanding not be excluded from common right of being heard in his iustifications. Which opinion preuailed at the first, and so the hearing of the matter was some few dayes put ouer: but in the end Faustus was condemned, albeit not with that generall assent of all partes that his lewde conditions deserued: some men disliking, not that the crime was so punished, but that it was done at his suite, ^a whom they well remembered to haue exercised himselfe the same profession with gaine.

IIII. *The power of Otho by land.*

THE ¹ beginning of the warre was prosperous on Othoes side, for at his commaundement the Legions marched ^a out of Dalmatia and Pannonia, being in number fower, out of which two thousand men were sent before, the Legions followed after with competent iourneyes; the seuenth lately gathered by Galba, the rest ancient, the eleuenth and thirteenth, and the fourteenth greatly renowned for their seruice in repressing ^b the Brittish rebellion; and Nero had encreased their glory, ^c chusing them out as the most speciall men: whereupon they remained long faithfull to Nero, and were great fauourers of Othoes proceedings. But these Legions the more strength and forces they caried with them, the more confident they were, and consequently the slower in comming forward: the ^d Auxiliary cohorts and wings came before, the corps of the Legions followed after. Moreouer the city it selfe furnished good store of soldiers: fise Prætorian cohorts, and certaine cornets of horsemen, the first Legion, and beside two thousand ^e fencers; ^a a base supply, but in ^e ciuill warres vsed euen by seuerer commanders. Annus Gallus with ^f Vestricius Spurinna were appointed to leade this power, and sent before hand to put themselues in possession of the ^g bankes of the Po: because their first determination had failed, seeing Cæcina had already passed the Alpes, whom they hoped might haue been kept within Gallia. Vpon Othoes person a choice company of ^h spearemen attended, accompanied with the rest of the Prætorian cohorts, and the old soldiers of the Garde, beside an excessiue number of those which

^a Tac. 4. Hist. in oratione Curtij Momiani, and immediately following, where you shall finde him sorted with Epirus Marcellus.

^a And so out of Mæcia likewise the Legions marched, but came no further then Aquileia. Tacit.

^b The story is at large in Tacitus 14. Ann. and in the life of Agricola.

^c For his intended expedition ad portas Cassias, as I thinke, and vpon the reuolt of Vindex, retaining them still in Italie.

^d Perchaunce meaning of the two thousand mentioned before, perchance and rather of other beside.

^e Gladiatores. ^e Pompey in the ciuill warre against Caesar intended the like: but being aduised by his friends, vsed them not.

Caesar de bello ciuili, lib. 3. ca. 4.

^f Of Vestricius Spurinna see Pliny, lib. 4. ep. 1. & 10. & 2. ep. 7.

^g Howfoeuer it was in the determination, in the execution we finde none guarding the river, but the gladiatores.

^h Spiculatores.

which had serued at sea. His vyage was with diligence and speede as appertained, not wastfully spent in riot and pleasures: himselfe with his iron brigandine, marching before the ensignes on foote, not decked, not trimmed, but soldierlike, and vnlike the name that went of him.

^a The beginning of the warre] in declaring of this great and important action betweene Vitellius and Otho, I finde Tacitus, at least in my conceit, much inferiour to himselfe otherwhere; omitting many necessarie circumstances, confounding things together, affirming contrarieties in apparence, and generally leauing his reader not so fully satisfied, as in a historie is to be looked for. As first in the circumstances of Otho the principall person, whose paces and footesteps would haue bene numbred, Tacitus bringeth him out of the citie accompanied in a maner with all the Senate toward the later end of March, and as we found by collection out of ^a other writers vpon the seauen and twentieth day. Then heere shewing his souldierlike maner of marching before his souldiers on foot, in the end he bestoweth him and his company no where: whereas indeed the Senate was left at Mutina, and himselfe marched toward the enimie, as farre as Brixellum a citie vpon the Po, and there sending out his captaines staied behind, as it appeareth in Plutarch, & Tac. elsewhere; circumstances, in mine opinion, not so lightly to haue bene passed ouer. From Brixellum, saith Plutarch, were dispatched away Celsus, Paullinus, Gallus and Spurrinna. Tacitus seemeth to say, that Gallus and Spurrinna were dispatched at Rome, and sent before hand ^b *ad occupandas Padi ripas*. Which if it were ment to garde the south side of the Po, and so to stay the Vitellianists at least from passing the riuer, since they could not stop them in the mountaines, a few being able to keepe such a passage against a great armie, it hath good reason. but Gallus did not so obserue it. If to put himselfe in possession of both sides of the Po, and so to haue the whole riuer at commandement, how could he with a few withstand Cæcinaes whole armie, hauing no aduantage of the place? Now to the leading of Gallus and Spurrinna sent before, from what place soeuer, *ad occupandas Padi ripas*, Tacitus assigneth fise Prætorian Cohorts, *equitum vexilla*, *legio prima Adiutrix*, and two thousand *gladiatores*: in the procelle of the worke, assigning the *gladiatores* to the government onely of Marcus Macer a third man, and after him to Flavius Sabinus, and setting the other two far enough asunder, Spurrinna at Placentia with three Prætorian cohorts, one thousand *Vexillarij* not named before in the survey of their whole power, and a few horse, and Gallus with *Prima adiutrix*, I cannot tell where, nor where, and vpon what occasion they diuided themselves; but wheresoeuer he was, taking Bebriacum in his way to Placentia, he was in all reason of the north side of the Po. Then for his other three captaines Paullinus, Celsus, and Proculus, whereof mention is made in the preparation of the warre, heere in the setting out they haue no charge at all assigned them (and to say the truth, I cannot see any great masse of men they could haue, leauing Otho sufficiently garded) nay they are not so much as once named. By way of probable coniecture we may suppose, that Proculus, as being Captaine of the Garde, staied at Brixellum, and attended vpon Othoes person. But Celsus and Paullinus are not named before in the battaile *ad Castoris*, where sodainly within twelue miles of Cremona they appeere, and not faire from Bebriacum (where Gallus was left) neuer mentioned before, besides many other with *prima legio* vnder their leading, being the peculiar charge of Gallus. So that to roue at that which it was our autours fault not to set downe plainly, we may imagine, that Paullinus and Celsus were sent afterward from Brixellum to the campe at Bebriacum, either to take ioint-charge with Gallus, or else charge in his place, as it is more likely, and that thereupon Gallus withdrew himselfe, perchance to recouer his fall mentioned 2. Hist. seeing there is no mention of him in the action *ad Castoris*; and in an action which passed at Bebriacum, we shall find him by & by away, where notwithstanding Tacitus last left him. Now whereas Tacitus vpon not prosecuting a little skirmish of the *gladiatores* against the Vitellianists, maketh Otho to send for his brother Titianus, whom he had left at Rome, to make him Lieutenant generall, Plutarch with greater reason & probabilitie, saith it was done after the battaile *ad Castoris*, vpon dislike of Paullinus slowe proceedings; and that Proculus Captain of the Garde was sent withall; but when they came to Bebriacum I cannot determine. Now if Otho were at Brixellum, Paullinus and Celsus at Bebriacum, where shall we say the great consultation was holden, where Otho, Titianus, Proculus, Paullinus & Celsus were present, and Gallus absent? Heere Tacitus faileth vs againe, and Plutarch relieueth vs, shewing that Otho remooued from Brixellum to Bebriacum to consult with his captaines of the manner of proceeding in the warre. Thus much of Otho, and his captaines, it followeth of their power, which was of two sorts. brought from Rome, and sent for from abroad. From Rome of sixe sorts. *Quinque* ¹ *Prætorie cohortes*: ² *Equitum vexilla*: ³ *legio prima Adiutrix*: ⁴ *Gladiatores*: ⁵ *Cætere Prætorie cohortes*: and ⁶ *Classici*, with Gallus and Spurrinna ¹ *Quinque prætorie cohortes*: whereof three were with Spurrinna in Placentia, the other two belike with Gallus. ² *equitum vexilla* without number; ³ *legio prima Adiutrix Classica ex reliquis cætorum à Galbâ ad pontem Miluium*: ⁴ two thousand *gladiatores*: in the siege of Placentia we finde mention of a thousand *vexillarij*: whether differing from all these, or portion of any, I know not. Then in Othoes traine *Spiculatorum lecta corpora*, as I thinke *è Prætorianis*. ⁵ *Cætere prætorie cohortes*, beside the fise sent with Gallus: and yet many Prætorian souldiers were sent with the nauy into Narbonensis, so that surely all the rest were not heere. *Classici* from whence soeuer they came, haue ministred vs, and will minister many men. seauen thousand were slaine by Galba *ad pontem Miluium*, & the rest decimated, *è reliquis prima legio Adiutrix* was composed. In the fleet to Narbon there serued also many as souldiers. heere we haue *classicorum ingens numerus*: with Otho a thousand *Classici inter Placentiam & Ticinum intercepti*, which by all circumstances were none of this companie. And Turullius Cerealis had many *Classici*: but whence he had them, and how he became their captaine is not set downe. and beside all these we haue in the third booke another whole legion *è Classicis* differing from *prima Adiutrix*, which then was in Spaine. The power sent for by Otho from abroad was out of Illyricum onely, where at that present were seauen Legions, to wit, two in Dalmatia, Vndecima Claudiana & quartadecima Gemina; two in Pannonia; septima Galbiana, and tertiadecima Gemina: in Mœsia three, tertia Gallica, septima Claudiana, and octaua Augusta, as it is declared elsewhere. Now all these being sent for by Otho, there marched at Othoes commandement, saith Tacitus, the Legions of

^a Suetonius and Marcellinus.

^b Perchance the meaning of these wordes *ad occupandas Padi ripas* is to put themselves in possession of the townes vpon the riuer.

* A base supply] being bondslaues of the worst sort, and besides the dishonourableness of the thing Tacitus noteth their vnfitness to seruice, *neque ea constantia gladiatoribus ad praelia quæ militibus, &c.* and yet we finde, that Spartacus with a fewe of his companions breaking out of their schoole put Prætors and Consuls to flight, and troubled the whole Roman state in the greatest height. and P. Rutilius being Consul, as Valerius Maximus reporteth in his second booke, sent for certaine masters of fence out of the schoole of C. Aurelius Scaurus, and so setting them to teach his soldiers, *vitandi atque inferendi ictus subtiliorem rationem legionibus ingenerauit*, vnlesse peraduenture it be true, that such men haue better cunning then valour.

V. *The actions of Othoes fleet.*

NOW fortune seemed to smile vpon Otho and fauour his proceedings; for the greater part of Italie, by reason of his navy at sea, was possessed in his name, euen to the entry of the*sea-Alpes. to the taking in whereof and in-
* Alpes maritime.
 uading the prouince of Narbon, Suedius Clemens, Antonius Nouellus, and AEmylius Pacensis were appointed captaines by Otho: but Pacensis was ouerweake to gouerne the licentious soldiers; Antonius Nouellus had no reputation; Suedius Clemens in gouernment too popular and plausible, both corrupting the rigour of discipline, and yet greatly desirous to fight. It seemed they entred not into Italie, their owne natiue countrey and soile: as if it had been forraine coasts, and citties of enemies, they burned, wasted and spoiled, with so much the more outrage and harme, because no such inuasion was feared, and therefore nothing prouided against it: the fields lay full of commodities; the houses wide open; the masters meeting them with their wiues and their children, through the security of peace, were ouertaken with the misery of warre. Marius Maturus the Procuratour was President of the sea Alpes at that time, who mustering the countrey, which yeelded store of seruiceable men, purposed to withhold the Othonians from entring into his gouernment: but at the first push these mountaine-people were flaine, and dispersed, as being assembled at auentures, without knowledge of campe or of captaine, and therefore reposing no honour in the victory, nor shame in the flight. The soldiers of Otho being exasperated with that battell, wreaked their anger vpon the freetowne of Albium Intemelium; for in the late conflict they had gotten no booty: the pezants were beggerly, their armour not worth taking vp; and beside, being swift of foote, and skilfull in the countrey, they could not be taken: but the sacke of the poore innocent towne paid the reckening, and contented the couetous soldier. The odiousnes of which fact was greatly encreased by a notable example, which happened there of a Ligurian woman: who hauing hid her sonne, the soldiers supposing she had hid her money withall, and thereupon by torture examining hir, where she had hid him, shewing hir belly answered that there he was hid: neyther could she by any maner of torment afterward, or death at the length, be induced to change that worthy answer.

VI. *Certaine skirmishes betweene the Othonians and Vitellianists in Gallia Narbonensis.*

NOW word was brought in hast & great feare to Fabius Valens, that the fleet of Otho lay houering and ready to assaile the prouince of Narbon, which had sided it selfe and sworne to Vitellius; and the colonies sent their Embassadors to him, desiring helpe and assistance. whereupon he dispatched away to that seruice two cohorts of Tungrians, fower *troupes of horsemen, and the whole
 * wing of the Treueri with Iulius Classicus their captaine: part of which power was retained

* turma.
 * Ala, a wing, as we haue determined elsewhere, containeth x. turmae, or troupes: so that 4. troupes & a wing yeeld 14. troupes of Horsemen, where of 12. were sent against the enemy, the rest remained to garde Forum Iulij.

retained for defence of the colonic of Forum Iulij, least if all were imployed in the land-seruice, the fleete finding free passage by sea should sodainly surprize the city: twelue troupes of horsemen, and the choise of the cohortes, went against the enemy, beside a cohort of Ligurians being the Aide anciently belonging to that place, and fūe hundred Pannonians, which were not as yet marshalled into companies. Neither was it long ere they met together, ¹ the battell on both sides standing thus. part of the Mariners with pezants among were placed aboue in the hils, which were not farre off from the sea: the euenground, betweene the hils and the sea, was filled by the Gard-souldiers: fast by them in the sea it selfe stode the fleete prepared to fight, turning against the enemy a terrible and threatning front. The Vitellianists, whose strength consisted in horse rather then foote, placed their horsemen against the Gard-souldier, and behinde the horse the cohorts in thicke and close ranckes, marshalling the Pannonians in the hils adioyning. The troupes of the Treueri charged vnaduisedly, which charge the olde souldier receiued with courage: and withall the pezants in flank gallied them with stones, men fit inough for that kinde of seruice, and such as being mingled with souldiers, though otherwise dastards, yet nowe in the victory dared as farre as the best. As the Vitellianists were thus distressed, a greater discomfort was added by the fleete, which in the meane season fetching about assailed their backes as they fought: so being enclosed on euery side they had all beene doubtlesse destroyed, had not the darkenesse of the night fauoured their flight, withholding the winners from following the chase. The Vitellianists, albeit they had lost a battell, would not so be contented: but sending for new supply gaue a fresh assault vpon the enemy, which by reason of the former successe was growen secure and lesse vigilant, slew the watch, entred the trenches, and gaue the alarme to the ships; till such time as the feare, which at first is most terrible, settling by little and little, the Othonians drew themselues in safety to a hill there adioyning, and then charged courageously vpon them. Much blood was there shed, and the captaines of the Tungrian cohortes, hauing long maintained the skirmish, were forced at length to yeeld vp their liues: euē to Othoes men the victory cost blood, of whom diuerse vnaduisedly following were intercepted by the horsemen turning vpon them. And so, as if a mutuall suspension of armes had beene concluded vpon, with couenant on the one side that the fleete, on the other that the horsemen should not attempt any sodaine inuasion, the Vitellianists retired to Antipolis a freetowne of Gallia Narbonensis; the Othonians to Albingaunum a colonic of Liguria interior.

¹ The battaile on both sides] In this conflict we haue of Othoes side mention distinctly of Classici, Pagani, Prætoriani, and the navy. for Vitellius of twelue turnæ of horsemen, a cohort of Ligurians, the choise of the two Tungrian cohorts, fūe hundred Pannonians, and a little afterwarde Alpini beside: vnlesse peraduenture it should be redde Alpini in both places, and ment perchance of the Ligures: for what Pannonians should do heere I cannot imagine. or if it were true, yet being strange, at the least Tacitus should haue done well to haue told vs how they came thither.

VII. *The estate of Corsica and Sardinia, and the rest of the Ilands there about.*

THE reputation of Othoes Victorious fleete easily held Corsica, Sardinia, and the rest of the ilands thereabout in Othoes obedience. But Corsica almost was ruined by the rashnes of Decimus Pacarius the Procurator; who entred into an action, which in so great a preparation for warre, could nothing auaille to effecting the principall purpose, and yet serued well inough to worke his destruction.

For

For vpon hatred against Otho, he determined with the strength of the iland, to aide Vitellius; an aide vaine and to no purpose euen if it had succeeded. Whereupon calling the principall men of the ilande, he declareth his meaning, and commaundeth Claudius Phirrhicus master of the galleyes there, and Quinctius Certus a gentleman of Rome, to be slaine, who opposed themselues against his proceedings: by the death of whom the rest that were present being terrified sware allegeaunce to Vitellius, & consequently the inferiour sort partly vpon ignorance, & partly to beare them company which did it for feare. But when as Pacarius began to take muster, to tire those rude people in training & other militare duties, they waxing weary of that vnwonted labour fell to recount their owne weakenesse: that it was but an ilande, which they inhabited: that Germanie and the Legionary power was far off: and that euen they were wasted and spoiled by the fleete, whom both cohorts & wings did protect. Whereupon their mindes sodainly fell away, and so they conspired against him, not by way of open rebellion, but by priuy attempt against his person. for which purpose chusing out a fit opportunity, as he was in the bath naked and without helpe, the multitude that followed him being departed away, they slew him and his company, and carried the heads of them, as of traitours, to Otho: by whom notwithstanding they were not rewarded, as also not punished by Vitellius, in so great confusion and disorder of the state, passing among greater crimes; and shadowed with other more hainous offences.

VIII. *Certaine small actions of the Syllan wing in Italie before Cæcinaes entrie.*

NOW the Syllan wing, as before we haue shewed, had opened the passage into Italie, and drawen the warre ouer the mountaines, the countrey fauouring not Otho, neither yet vpon any speciall fancy to Vitellius; but as men whom long peace had broken to all kind of slavery, they were easily possessed by the first commer, and not curious to side with the better. The whole countrey and cities ¹ lying betweene the Po and the Alpes, the most flourishing part of all Italie, was held by Vitellius soldiers: for the ² cohorts which Cæcina had sent before him were now already come in. At Cremona a cohort of Pannonians was taken, and betweene Placentia and Ticinum an hundreth horse intercepted, and a thousand sea-souldiers: by which successe Vitellius men being animated could now not be stopped by bancke nor by riuer. Moreouer the inhabitants of Batauia and beyond the Rhene were enflamed the more euen by the verie ^b sight of the Po; which they passed ouer against Placentia, and taking some of the enemies spies so terrified the rest, that being afraide they falsely reported Cæcina was come with his whole armie. Spurrinna, who then was within Placentia, certainly knew that Cæcina was not yet come, and if he did come, was certainly resolved to keepe his men within their defences, and not to hazard three Prætorian cohorts, and a thousand Vexillaries, with a few horse, against an army of old and approued warriors: but ^c the vn-ruly soldiers and vnskilfull of seruice snatching vp their enseignes and banners rushed forward, and as the captaine endeouored to stay them they bent their weapons vpon him, not respecting their Centurions and Tribunes, who commended the captaines circumspectnes, but the souldiers cried FOR OTHO, and stucke not moreouer to affirme that Cæcina was sent for vnderhand. Spurrinna yeelded to follow their follie, by force at the first, afterward making shew as if he were willing that his counsailes might cary more credit, if it happened hereafter the sedition to

coole.

^a 1. Hist. quia presidio ale vnus latissima pars Italia defendi nequibat, premisse Gallorum, Lusitanorum, Britannorumq; cohortes, & Germaniarum vexilla.

^b Disclayning that the Po should stay them who were accustomed to swimme, horse and man, ouer the great riuer of Rhene, and others at home in their countrey.

Tac. 4. Hist. Batavi precipuanda studio arma equosq; retinentes integram armis Rhenum perturbare.

^c Plutarch writeth, that the souldiers had almost slaine Spurrinna: but spared no manner of rayling and contumelious speech, calling him traytour, and a manifest traitor of his Princes affaires. Some also beeing drunke went in the night to his pavilion, demanding to furnish them with money for their iourney, which they ment to vnder-take to the Prince at Brixellum to preferre accusation against him for his trayterous dealing.

coole. When they were in the sight of the Po, and the night approched, order was giuen, that the camp should be entrenched and staked. That labour strange and vnusuall to the city-soldier, abated their fiercenesse. Then they of the elder sort began to see their owne errour, and correct their credulity; to lay open the feare, and the danger, if in those champion countries Cæcina should with his army enuiron them being as it were but an handfull: and now they began throughout all the whole campe to vse modest and dutifull speeches, and by meanes of the Centurions and Tribunes, who insinuated themselues into their companies, to commend the wisdome of the captaine, in that he had chosen out, for the strength and seate of the warre, a colonie of that power and that wealth; and lastly Spurrinna himselve, not by vntimely exprobrating their fault, but by reason conuincing it, wanne them to his opinion, and leauing some behinde for scouts brought backe the rest into Placentia lesse mutinous then before, and more at commandement. The walles were made stronger, the number of bulwarkes and towers encreased, and prouision made not only of armour, but of subiection and loue of obeying; the onely point which lacked in that side, when as otherwise they had of valour sufficient.

^{*} Lying betweene the Po and the Alpes] of Milan, Nouara, Eporedia and Vercellæ we haue mention before lib. i. of the rest being many, and great townes, how they were at this time come to Vitellius side, nothing is set downe in Tacitus: matters in my opinion not to haue beene omitted, especially concerning Cremona. Plutarch seemeth to make Cremona, being one of the townes betweene the Alpes and the Po, to haue beene kept and possessed a great while by the Othonians. and Tacitus heere writeth, *capta Pannoniorum cohors apud Cremonam* by the Vitellianists, which cohort of Pannonians, whatsoever they were, and from whence soeuer they came thither (for Tacitus leaueth vs to our gesses) may seeme to haue been put in the towne by Otho for a garrison, and heere taken by the Vitellianists with the towne, although the circumstances in Plutarch do not fully agree with it by reason of the time there.

IX. *Cæcina commeth into Italie, and lyeth before Placentia in vaine.*

BVt Cæcina, as if he had left on the other side of the mountaines cruelty and licentiousnes behinde him, marched thorow Italie with all modesty, he and his companies. His kinde of attire the free cities and colonies construed as a signe of pride, because he gaue audience to men which came gowned, himselve being in his short souldiers cote of changeable colour, and wearing withall breeches after the French barbarous fashion: and as though they had been interessed thereby, they were greeued also to see his wife Salonina riding vppon a goodly palfray with a rich furniture of purple, albeit no man were wronged therein: such is the nature of man, and so deeply is the quality rooted in vs, straitly to looke into the late prosperiry of others with an enuious eye, and to require a moderation of fortune, no where so much, as in those we haue seene in an equall degree with our selues. Cæcina hauing passed the Po, and assayed by parlees, and promises to weaken the loyaltie of Othoes men, being quit with the like on their part, seeing that the plausible names of peace and concord had often beene spent betweene them in vaine, conuerted his counsailes and cares to the besieging of Placentia in most terrible maner; knowing right well, that as the beginning of the warre should succede, so for the rest reputation would follow. But the first daies worke was conducted rather by fury, then according to skill meete for men of so long experience in seruice: without couer or defence they ventured rashly vnder the walles, their bodies surcharged with meate and with wine. In that assault the Amphitheatre, a piece of most curious workmanship standing without the walles, was burned, set on fire either by the besiégers as they hurled brands and balles of wildefire against the besiéged:

besieged: or by the besieged as they hurled againe. The townesmen being ielous, and prone to suspicions, beleueed that matter was ministred to the fire vppon malice, by certaine neighbour colonies, vpon emulation and enuy, because no piece of worke in all Italie was of that capacity beside: by what chance soeuer it happened, whilest further daunger was feared, it passed not greatly regarded; when all perill was past, as if no greater misfortune could haue befallen, then it was much sorrowed for and lamented: but in the end Cæcina was repulsed with losse of many of his men, and the night following was spent on both sides in new preparations. The Vitellianists make prouision of ^a plutei, crates, and vineæ, instruments to vndermine the walles, and protect those which were to giue the assault: the Othonians of timber logges and great waights of stones, and lead, and brasse, to breake thorow the workes and ouerwhelme the aduersaries. Both parties were pricked ^a with shame, and with glory, and seuerall encouragements were vsed; the one side exalting the Legions and strength of the German army, the other magnifying the honour of the cittie-seruice, and of the Prætorian cohorts: the one reuiling the soldier within as sluggish, and resty, and effeminated in the Race and Theatres, and the other rebuking the enemy without as a forrainer and stranger: assuming withall into part of the praise and dispraise the persons of Otho and Vitellius, asoording indeede more plentifully matter of reproch then of iust commendation. The day was scarcely yet sprung, when as the walles were replenished with men at defence, the fields did glister with armour and soldiers; the Legionary ^{*} with their thicke and close ranckes, the Auxiliary loose and dispersed, they attempt with arrowes and stones a farre off to diffurnish the highest parts of the walles, if any place were neglected or decayed by age thither they make nearer approches: Othoes men from aboue, with more peyze and certainty, hurle darts vpon the German cohorts, which rashly came vnder with a hideous note, and according to their cuntrey maner, with bodies naked, shaking their targets ouer their shoulders. The Legionary soldier, couered with plutei and crates, vndermineth the walles, raiseth vp mounts, and endeoureth to wrest open the gates: of the contrary side the Prætorian soldiers hauing milstones of huge waight placed for the purpose, with fearefull noyse rowle them downe vpon the enemy: part which came vnder were ouerwhelmed, part wounded with dartes, and slaine or mangled: and so as in a confusion and feare, the slaughter encreasing below, and consequently their fiercenes aboue, the Vitellianists retired with decay of reputation to the side; and Cæcina vpon the infamy and shame of this siege so rashly attempted, lest he should seeme to sit still in the same ground skorned and to no purpose, passeth the Po backe againe with purpose to go to Cremona. As he departed away Turullius ^b Cerealis with many of the mariners reuolted vnto him, and Iulius Briganticus with a few horse: Iulius was by birth a Batauian and captaine of a wing, the other, hauing serued as a principall Centurion in Germanie, was easily wunne to Cæcinaes side. Spurrinna, vpon knowledge had what way the enemy tooke, certifieth Annius Gallus by letters, that Placentia was defended, what had passed, and what Cæcina intended to do. Gallus, mistrusting lest those few cohorts within could not endure a long siege, and the force of the German army, was bringing the first Legion to succour the towne: but when he receiued aduise, that Cæcina was repulsed, and going to Cremona, he staieth the Legion ^c at Bebricum being hardly withholden from mutining, because he would not leade them to fight. ^d Bebricum is a village betweene Verona and Cremona, ^a notorious and infortunate for two Roman calamities.

^a With shame to be overcome, and glory of overcoming.

^{*} *densam legionem agmen:* and yet Cæcina had but one Legion, namely *vnacicesima Rapax*, as I take it.

^b For the fuller satisfaction of the reader, it had been convenient to haue declared whether they fled from *Spurrinna*, or *Gallus*, or some other, and by what occasion they were then in that place.

^c Perhaps to receiue the Legions coming out of *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*, which, if any where at all, came and ioined themselves with *Gallus*, conducted perchance by *Paulinus* and *Celsus*.

^d *Bebricum* (saith the scholiast vpon *Iuuenal*: for so he writeth it) *vicius est à Cremona vicefimo lapide.*

^a Plutei,

¹ Plutei, crates and vineæ] *Pluteus*, faieith Vegetius lib. 4. cap. 15. is a certaine moouable engine *contexta ad similitudinem absidis*, & cilijs vel corijs tecta, quam obsidentes applicant muris, eisque munitione prosecti sagittis sine fundis vel missilibus defensores de propugnaculis exturbant, vs scalis ascendendi facilius præstetur occasio. Vineæ according to Vegetius in the same place, and Lucan lib. 3. was a frame of wood, or hurdles, covered with earth, *sub quo subsidens tui ad subruenda murorum penetrans fundamenta*. Crates the same with the one or the other of them, or at least to the same purpose.

² Notorious and infortunate] the two calamities heere ment are the two great battailes, the first between the Othonians and Vitellianists described in this booke: the other between the Vitellianists and Flavianists set down in the next, more commonly known by the name of *prelium Cremonense*, & with greater reason, being fought vnder the wals of Cremona, and twentymiles from Bebriacum, albeit then the first skirmish indeede began not aboute eight miles from Bebriacum. 3. Hist. and this former battaile also was fought a great way from Bebriacum, *immemsum id spatium*, faieith Tacitus, and by all probabilitie, many miles, as shall be declared elsewhere.

X. *Macer skirmisheth with the Vitellianists. Otho, suspecting the rest of his captaines, committeth the conduct of the war to Titianus his brother.*

“ Gladiatores.

ABOUT the same time, not farre from Cremona, Martius Macer had a luckily day against the Vitellianists. For Macer being a man of courage and forward, put the “ fencers in boates and landed them sodainly on the other side of the Po. There the Auxiliaries of the Vitellianists were distressed, and the rest fleeing to Cremona, those which remained behinde slaine: but the winners were not permitted further to follow the chace, lest the enemies strengthened with new supply should turne head against them, and alter the fortune of the battaile. That fact bred ielosie in Othoes men misinterpreting all that was done howsoeuer sinisterly, who egerly as ech was in courage most dastard, most lauish in tongue, so fought they by diuers misconstruing criminations to put in disgrace Annius Gallus, and Suetonius Paullinus, and Marius Celsus, for them also had Otho made Commaunders. The principall firebrands of sedition and discord were the murderers of Galba, who being transported by feare, and the guiltines of their owne conscience, disturbed and troubled all good course of proceeding; sometimes breaking openly out into mutinous speeches, and sometimes by secret aduertisements to Otho: who giuing credit lightly to euery base person, and standing in feare of the good, trembled and quaked, a man in prosperity vncertainely caried, and gouerning himselfe in aduersity better. ¹ So he sent for Titianus his brother, and made him his Lieutenant generall in the war.

¹ So he sent for Titianus] This change of captaines Plutarch with more reason putteth after the battaile *ad Castroris*; ² *νίκης* (speaking of the victorie *ad Castroris*) *ἐν ᾧ τῶν περὶ τὴν μάχην καὶ τὴν στρατιάν, ἐπεμύεν ὁ θὼν πτανοὶν ἐπὶ τὰ στρατεύματα, καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῶν ἐπαρχῶν. That is, The victorie being not fully prosecuted thorough the leaders fault Otho sent to the army Titianus, and Proculus captaine of the Garde. and indeede the alteration is too great to be induced vpon the slacknes of a pettie companion, especially seeing we finde Macer, who committed the fault, still retained in his charge, & Paullinus & Celsus, two of the greatest men in the state, in a maner disgraced for the fault of another, according to Tacitus. Now vpon this fault whensoeuer committed, to sende from Brixellum for Titianus at Rome so many miles distant, (for there we left him in the last words of the first booke) and bring him to Bebriacum to the consultation, may perchance seeme strange to him that considereth how that from Othoes going out of Rome with his armie till his death were not aboute twenty fower daies in all, and perchance not so much.*

XI. *Paullinus and Celsus giue Cæcina an ouerthrow.*

IN the meane season vnder the conduct of Paullinus and Celsus a notable ouerthrow was giuen. Cæcinaes attempts all falling to nothing, and the reputation of his armie now waning, much greued his minde: he had beene repulsed from Placentia; his Auxiliaries lately slaine; and when as the discouersers met one another,

ther, in those ordinary bickerings rather then materiall he commonly went to the worse: whereupon when Fabius Valens approched, lest the whole honor of the war should fall vpon him, he hasted with greater speede then good counsell, to recouer his glory. About¹ twelue miles from Cremona, at a place called Castores, he placeth secretly in the woods, ioyning vpon the hie way, of his best Auxiliary soldiers, commanding the horsemen to go out further, and so hauing begun the skirmish to giue backe and retire, drawing on the enemy to follow in the heat of the chace, vntill the ambush should rise: that purpose was bewrayed to Othoes commaunders, Paullinus was generall of the foote, and Celsus of the horse. The Vexillaries of the thirteenth Legion, fower Auxiliary cohorts, and fife hundreth horse were placed in the left battell; in the middle² three Prætorian cohortes, ranked straitly together, kept their standing vpon the hie way: in the right battell the first Legion marched, accompanied with two Vexillary cohorts, and fife hundreth horse: and out of the Prætorian and Auxiliaries were lead a thousand horse, for an ouer measure if fortune hapned to go on their side, or otherwise a supply, if they should be distressed. Before the ioining the Vitellianists turned their backs, and Celsus, vnderstanding the fraud, repressed his men. The ambush rising vp rashly, as Celsus gaue ground, followed so farre till they were circumuented themselves: for on the sides were the cohorts, and the Legion to meete them in face, and the horsemen sodainly ranging out had enclosed their backs. Suetonius Paullinus at the first delayed sometime to giue to his foote-men the signe of the battaile: for being a person naturally slowe, and one who liked much better wary courses with reason, then happie by chance, he commanded the ditches first to be filled, the fiede to be made open and easie of passage, the battalions to be displayed, supposing it seasonable enough to beginne then to ouercome others, when as order was taken they could not be ouercome themselves. By meanes of that delay space was given to Vitellius men to flee into the vines, where, by reason of the branches wrapped and knit one in another, it was troublesome to follow: and a little wood adioyned which couered them; out of which they issued eftsoones and slew the formost of the Prætorian horsemen. there³ a king Epiphanes, fighting valiantly on Othoes side, was wounded. By that time Othoes footmen pressed forward, and bare downe by maine force the enemies host, turning to flight euen those also which came for to succour. for Cæcina sent not for his cohortes together, but one after another: which thing in the fight augmented the terrour: for the feare of them that fled carried away the succours, which came disperfedly, and neuer so many at once, as to restore the battell. In the campe also a mutinee arose, because they were fetched so scatteringly, and Iulius Gratus the Camp-master was put in prison, as though in fauour of his brother, who serued vnder Otho, he intended some treason; where as the Othonians had, on the other side, committed to ward Iulius Fronto his brother, a Tribune, vpon colour of the same crime. But in truth every where the feare was so great, in those which fled, in those which met them, in the field and at the campe, that vnlesse Suetonius Paullinus had founded the retrait, not suffering his men to follow the victory, it was commonly talked on both sides, that Cæcina might haue beene destroyed with his whole army. Paullinus pretended that he was afeard, lest, beside so much trauaile and so great a journey, the Vitellian souldier should haue issued forth of their campe fresh against his men being tired, no supply remaining behind, if it fortuneth them to haue beene defeated. Some few approoued that reason of the Generall, but most men condemned the fact, and blamed him for it.

¹ King of what country? and how came he thither? and what became of him afterword? great persons in a story require, in my opinion, a more exact and particular description.

* Twelue miles from Cremona at a place called Castor.] This place *ad Castoris* is twelue miles (saith our author) from Cremona, where the maine campe, I thinke, of Cæcina lay, and eight miles at the least from Bebricum, where Paullinus and Celsus were encamped, howsoever they are heere met in the middle way. Gallus, as it should seeme, was retired to cure himselfe of his fall, or at least, seeing heere is no mention of him in the fiede, left to garde the campe: as it seemeth also he was the time of the great maine battaile described in the sixteenth chapter.

* Three Prætorian cohorts] Fiue Prætorian cohorts were vnder the charge of Gallus and Spurrina. Tacitus, whereof three were at this time in Placentia with Spurrina, and three more we haue heere now in Gallus campe: one too many: but Otho, we must say, was not farre off to supply it out of the rest of the Prætorian cohorts.

XII. *The description of a mutinee which happened in Valens campe.
Valens commeth into Italie and ioyneth his power
with Cæcinaes.*

THIS ouerthrow did not so much daunt the Vitellianists, as it reduced them to a more modest behauiour, not onely in Cæcinaes campe, who cast the fault on the souldier more ready to mutin then fight; but the army of Fabius Valens also (for now he was come to Ticinum) laying aside contempt of the enemy, and desirous to recouer their glory, began to shew to their Generall a more reuerent and orderly obedience. For before a great and hoate mutinee had happened out, which I will now set downe from the beginning, albeit not in his proper time, because it was not conuenient to interrupt the course of Cæcinaes actions. The cohortes of Batauians, which in the warre of Nero were departed from the fourteenth Legion, and in their returne towarde Britannie, hearing of Vitellius attempt in the countrey of Lingones, had ioyned themselves, * as before we haue shewed, to Fabius Valens, began to waxe proud and insolent, vinting and brauing as they came to the tentes of any of the Legions, that they were the men which had ouerruled the fourteenth Legion, bereaued Nero of Italy: that in their hands alone lay all the fortune and whole successe of this warre. That seemed contumelious to the souldier, and highly displeased the Generall, the discipline being by their wranglings and brawlings corrupted. At the last Valens, by their insolent behauiour suspecting perfidioufnes also, receiuing aduise, that the wing of the Treueri and Tungrians were beaten by Othoes fleete, and that the prouince of Narbon was in some danger of inuasion, partly vpon a care to defend his friends, and allies, and partly vpon militare pollicie to disperse these Batauians so mutinously affected, and of so great strength if they remained together, commanded part of the cohorts to goe and relieue them. Which thing when it was heard and noysed abroad, the Auxiliaries mourned, the ^b Legions stomached, lamenting they should be deprived in such a time of so maine an assistance of such valiant men: what? should those so experienced, and conquerours in so many warres, when as the enemies were within viewe, be sent away, as it were, out of the field? if the prouince were a matter of more consequence then the citty of Rome and safety of the state, why did they not all follow thither? but if the accomplishment of the victory, the strength and stay of the cause consisted in Italie, what reason then to breake off, as it were, the soundest and strongest limmes from the bodie? vpon these and the like presumptuous speeches, when as Valens by sending his sergeants among them, went about to correct their seditious behauiour, they offred violence to himselfe, threw stones, and forcing him to flee, followed after; and crying, that the spoile of France, the gold of Vienna, and the price of their labours was by him embezeled, and hid, they spoiled his cariage, they pearced and searched his paulions, and the very ground it selfe with their launces and dartes: for Valens himselfe in a bondmans apparell lay vnknownen in the tent of an vnder-cap-
taine

* 1. Hist.

^b It seemeth strange, that the Legions should be displeased with the departure of those, whose insolent and contumelious behauiour they could not abide, if Tacitus say true not past fixe lines before.

raine of horsemen. Then Alphenus Varus the Camp-master, perceiuing the heat of the mutinee past, & the soldiers by little & litle to grow colder, adioineth a pollicy thereunto: ¹ forbidding the Centurions to meddle with searching and perusing the watch, and omitting to sound the trumpet, by which the souldier is called to his charge. Whereupon they stood all amazed, looking one on another, astonished and dismayed to see themselves thus without head, or direction: and so with silence and patience, and lastly with teares and intreatie besought pardon of their offence. But when as Valens came forth about all expectation aliue, weeping and badly attired, then was there ioy and compassion, and a generall fauouring of the man: and chaunging their former affections into gladnesse, as the common sort is in both without measure, they caried him in the midst of the Standerds and ensignes, with praises and gratulations, to the Tribunall. Valens, vsing a profitable and discrete moderation, required not any one to be executed for this transgression; onely in words reprooued some few, lest if he dissembled the whole, he should be suspected the more: knowing right well that in ciuill warres the souldiers haue a vantage ouer the Generall, and are more bold to commit disorders, then the Generall may be to correct them. As they were entrenching at Ticinum, woorde was brought of Cæcinaes ouerthrow, and the sedition was almost renewed againe, as though by fraude and delays of Valens they had beene kept backe, and come short of the battell. Whereupon refusing to rest any longer, without staying for their Generall they march forward, running before their ensignes, and hastening the ensigne-bearers: and so in all speede ioyne with Cæcina. Valens was also disliked and generally blamed in the armie of Cæcina: who pretended themselves to be aggrieved, that they were left, being so farre inferiour in number, as a pray to the whole power of the enemies; highly extolling withall the strength of the other army, partly to excuse themselves, and partly to flatter their fellowes, lest as conquered and cowardly persons they should be despised of them: and albeit Valens had more forces, almost double number of Legions and aides to the other, yet were the good wils of the soldiers more inclining to Cæcina, beside curtesie, wherein he excelled the other, by reason also of his flourishing age, and talnesse of stature, and vpon a certaine vaine fauour of men. Hereupon there grew emulation betweene the two generals. Cæcina contemned the other, as a lewde person of life and criminally noted: Valens scoffed at him as being proude and vaine glorious: but reseruing their hatred in secret they ioyned openly both in the common cause, by many letters, without respect of pardon, obiecing to Otho his infamous life; whereas the Generals of Othoes side, notwithstanding the argument yeelded that way most plentiful matter, abstained from all reuiling speeches against Vitellius: and in truth before their ends, which on Othoes side was most commendable, of Vitellius most ignominious, the drowsie pleasures of Vitellius were feared lesse, then the hot burning lustes of Otho: and beside, the death of Galba had made Otho more terrible, and more odious: contrarily no man charged Vitellius with beginning the warre. Vitellius in excesse and bellicheere was an enemy to himselfe: Otho in riot, cruelty, audaciousnes, reputed more dangerous to the state.

¹ Forbidding the Centurions] *Vesitis vigilias obire centurionibus*. The Centurions charge was not *obire vigilias*, but *secundū, sub inflatu vigilias distinguere*. Whereupon they whose charge it was (in Polybius, some of the horsemen, in Vegetius, Circitores) went about. so that the Centurions not sounding, the Round was not gone.

XIII. *Otho determineth to commit the matter to the hazard of a battell, and retireth himselfe to Brixellum.*

THE forces of Cæcina and Valens being ioyned together, the Vitellianists refused not any longer to end the cause in a maine battell. Otho proposed the matter in councell, whether way were more expedient, to prolong the warre, or els to put it by and by to the fortune of a field. Then Suetonius Paullinus, esteemed the most expert man of that age in militare affayres, supposing it agreeable to his fame and renowne, to discourse of the whole maner of proceeding in this warre, stoode vp, and declared his opinion to be; that making of haste was profitable for the enemy, and delaying for them. that all the host of Vitellius was come, certaine small forces remaining behinde, which could not conueniently be removed from the banke of the Rhene, for feare of inuasion of those fierce nations: especially Fraunce standing also in some tearmes of rebellion: the souldier in Britannie had his hands full of the enemy there, and was also stopped by the sea: that Spaine had no great store of souldiers: the prouince of Narbon was frighted, by reason of the late inuasion by sea, and the ouerthrow which they receiued; and that portion of Italie beyond the Po, now in the possession of the enemy, was wasted with the passage of their army, and hauing no helpe by sea, and by land shut in with the Alpes, could not be relieued from abroad: so that they could no-where haue come for their men, and an host without prouision could not be entertained. Now the Germans, which of all the enemies were most terrible, hauing foggy and waterish bodies, would not, if the warre were prolonged to the sommer, be able to endure the change of the soile, and the ayre. that many armies whose fury at the first rush could not be resisted, by delayes and wearying out were brought vnto nothing. Contrariwise they had all things themselves, well stored and well assured vnto them: Pannonia, Moesia, Dalmatia, the Easte, with their armies, whole and vntouched; Italie, and Rome the queene of the world, the Senate and people, titles neuer darkened, though sometimes ouershadowed: wealth priuate and publicke, and infinite masses of money, which in ciuill dissensions is of greater force then the sword: the bodies of their souldiers were accustomed to Italie, or to other hoat countreies: the riuer of Po lay^a before them as a defence: their cities were safely manned and walled: and by the holding out of Placentia it was cleere to be seene, that none through distresse or despaire would yeeld to the enemy: and therefore in his opinion he was to protract the warre. That within fewe daies the fourteenth Legion would be come, a Legion of great reputation, with the forces of Moesia: then might he deliberate againe, and, if it were liked to hazard the battell, fight with more power and greater aduantage. Marius Celsus approued the opinion of Paullinus, and certaine which were sent to Annius Gallus (who was hurt with a fall of his horse a few daies before) to demaunde his aduise, brought word that he also was of the same iudgement. But Otho was willing to bring it to a battell: his brother Titianus and Proculus captaine of the Gard, hastening vpon ignorance and lacke of skill, protested that fortune and all the gods, with the godhead of Otho, fauoured the counsailes, and would without question prosper the enterprise: descending to this grosse kinde of flattery, lest any should dare to crosse their opinion. After they had concluded to fight, a new doubt arose, whether it were better, that the Emperour should withdrawe himselfe, or else be present in the field in person: the selfesame men taking also herein a wrong course, without any more opposition of Paullinus

^a Not at *Bebriacum*, where the consultation was holden, but he meaneth if they should, as he wished, retire with their power in *Cispadana*, and there stand vpon their defence.

Paullinus and Celsus, lest they should seeme to hazard their Prince too venturously, perswaded him to retire to Brixellum; and so being exempt from the doubtfull e- uents of the field, to reserue himselfe for the maine chance of the state. That day was the beginning of ruine to Othoes side. For with him a valiant companie of Præto- rian cohorts, of "spearmen and horse departed away: and the rest which remained ^{"Spicilatores.} behinde were quite out of hart, as hauing no confidence in their Generals; and Otho, whom only the souldiers trusted, because he trusted none els but the soul- diers, had not perfetely setled the Generals in their charges, but left their authorities at large and vncertaine.

XIIII. *A skirmish betweene the Vitellianists and Macer with his fencers vpon the Po.*

ALl that was said or done was caried by and by to the Vitellian side, fugitiues swarming as in ciuill warres, and the spyes, vpon desire to search out and dis- couer other mens counsailes, disclosing their owne. Cæcina and Valens lay still, quietly attending while the enemy should by his owne rashnesse miscary, mea- ning in lieu of wisdom to vse the vantage of other mens folly. And so beginning a bridge, lest their soldiers should be made worse with too much idlenesse and ease, as if they had ment to haue passed the Po, and forced a band of "fencers encamped ^{"Gladiatores.} on the other side, they commanded boats to be placed crosse the riuer, with their heads vp the streame, in equall and conuenient distances, and ioined them strongly together with plancks, casting anckers also to make the bridge steady and firme: but the cable ropes were not tied short, but plaied at length, that when the riuer should rise, the whole frame likewise might rise without hurting. Vpon the end of the bridge a tower was planted, reaching to the vttermost boate, that out of it they might with their engines and shot displace, and driue away the enemies: the Otho- nians also vpon the bancke had builded a tower, and did hurle stones and fire. In the middle of the riuer there was an iland, into possession whereof the fencers sought to put themselues by boate, but the Germans by swimming preuented them; and when Macer saw a competent number of them arriued there, embarking of his best fencers, he putteth ouer to assaile them: but neither were the fencers of the like courage in fight to the souldiers, neither could they, tottering out of their boats, ayme so certaine a blow, as the other steadily standing did from the land: and when as through sundry steppings aside vpon feare the rowers and souldiers, which stooode at defence, were confusedly mingled together and put in disorder, the German soul- diers leaping couragiously into the shallow, and hanging at the tails of the boats, either clambered vp to the hatches, or by maine strength ouerturned the boats into the water. All which things passing after this sort in the view ^a of both the armies, as they were matter of great ioy to the Vitellianists, so to the contrary side they gaue occasion to hate and detest him, who was author and cause of the losse. And the skirmish was ended indeede by flight and the breaking away of the boats which remained; but Macer was required to the slaughter: and when they had wounded him with a dart a farre off, they ranne in with their swords drawn to dispatch him, had not the Tribunes and Centurions come in to protect him. A little afterward Vestricius Spurinna by Othoes commaundement, leauing a small garrison at Pla- centia, with his cohorts came to succour them: and anone Otho sent Flavius Sabinus Consull elect to commaunde Macers companies, the souldiers being glad at

^a The one lay at *Bebriacum*, and the other by all coniecture at *Cremona*, twenty miles asunder.

the change of captaines, and the captaines, by reason of so many mutinees, vnwilling to enter into so dangerous a seruice.

XV. *That it is nothing probable, that in so corrupt an age, the soldiers would of their owne accord haue surceased from ciuill war, and by common consent, and aduise of the Senat, deposing these two bad, haue chosen a third good Prince.*

^a Plutarch attributeth it to Celsus not so probably.

IN some writers I finde it recorded, that the armies, either hauing in horreur the warre, or loathing both Princes, whose shames and dishonours were daily diuulged more notoriously abroad, consulted among themselues to surcease the contention, and that either they by common consent should chuse a new Prince, or refer it ouer to the Senats appointment: and that therefore the Generals of Othoes side, namely Paullinus, had counsailed to delay and protract, hoping it would fall vpon him, as being the most auncient Consulare, a famous commander, and one that in the warres of Britanny had won great glory and name. For my part, although I could be induced to graunt that some few peraduenture secretly wished quietnesse in steed of discord, and for two most lewd and wicked, one good & innocent Prince; so I cannot be brought to beleue, that Paullinus being so wise a man would euer hope in a most corrupt age for such moderation in the common sort, that when as for desire of warre they had troubled the peace of the state, now for loue of peace they would abandon the warre: or that armies in tongue and conditions so different, could condescend to so great an agreement: or that the Lieutenants and Generals, which for the most part were persons drowned in riot, beggerly and guilty of most hainous crimes, would euer haue suffered any Prince but one polluted with the like vices, and of their owne creation, and therefore wholly obnoxious to them. That ancient desire of dominion and rule ingrafted now long agoe in mens hartes, grew vp and shot out with the greatnes of the Empire. For whilest our dominions were strait, an equalitie was easily maintained: but after we had subdued the world, destroyed all citties, or kings which stoode in our light, or might worke our annoyance; when as we had leysure to seeke after wealth void of perill, there arose first hoar contentions betweene the nobility and commons: sometimes factious Tribunes carried it away: sometimes the Consuls held a hard hand and preuailed: and in the city and Place of assembly, some little skirmishes, and commencements as it were of ciuill warres, were attempted. Anone after Caius Marius one of the meaneest of the comminalty, and Lucius Sulla the cruellest of all the nobility, by force of armes ouerthrowing the free estate, induced an absolute gouernment. After whom Cneius Pompeius succeeded, somewhat ^b secrete, but nothing better: and after that time neuer was other question debated by armes, but who should be soueraigne Prince of the state. The Legions in Pharsalia and Philippi, consisting of citizens, were not so moderately minded: much lesse may we thinke the armies of Otho and Vitellius would, of their owne accord, haue layde downe their weapons. The gods were no lesse incensed against vs: men were no lesse mad and furiously minded: the same vices raining amongst vs haue induced the like dissensions and discords. That the warres were decided, and ended as it were ech at one stroke, we are to attribute it to the cowardlines and faint-hartednes of the Princes, and not to the peaceableness of the armies. But the recounting of the dispositions & maners, of present & ancient times, hath caried me out of the way. Now I returne to the order of the story.

^b Salustius apud Suetonium lib. de claris Grammaticis. Pompeius oris probi, animiq; inmercundi.

XVI. The

XVI. *The great battell at Bebriacum: vvherein Othoes side vvas ouerthrowen.*

WHen ¹Otho was gone to Brixellum, Titianus his brother caried the countenance and title of Generall; Proculus captaine of the Gard the power and authority: Paullinus and Celsus, when as no man employed their wisedome and skill, were captaines onely for name sake and to be entitled to other mens faults: the Tribunes and Centurions, seeing the better contemned, and the worst sort in credit, were doubtfull of the euent: the souldier notwithstanding was full of courage and heart, yet such as had rather construe then execute his Generals commaundements. It was resolu'd, that the campe should remooue forward, and sit downe in a place fower miles of from Bebriacum, so without reason and skill, that although it was spring time of the yeare, and so many riuers about them, yet were they distressed for water. There it was disputed whether the battell were to bee giuen or not. For Otho by letters required to hasten the matter: the souldiers desired their Princes presence in fielde: many were of opinion to send for the companies which lay on the other side of the Po. Neither can it so easily be discerned what had beene best to haue done, as that it was the worst which they did: vndertaking to goe to the confluence of the riuers of Po and Olius, full sixteene miles from that place (a competent iourney for an army to march, and much too great for them which went to a battell) directly against the aduise of Paullinus and Celsus; who held it vn safe to hazard the souldier, tired with the iourney, and heavy laden with cariage, against an enemy, that would not faile, beeing lightly appointed, and hauing come scarce fower miles, to charge vpon them either as they marched in disarray, or else at their sitting downe as they disperfed themselves to fortifie the campe. But Titianus and Proculus, when as they were overcome by reason fled to authority, by vertue of their office commanding the contrary: and indeed there was come a ² Numidian horseman in post from Otho with a sharp message, in the which, as one that could not abide delayes, and impatient to linger in hope, he checked the Generals for their slacknesse, commanding them forthwith to put it to a field. The same day as Cæcina was busily occupied about making the bridge, two Tribunes of Prætorian cohorts came thither, demanding to speake with him: and being vpon the point to giue audience, and make answer vnto them, the skowts came running in haste, signifying the enemy was at hand: whereupon the parlee brake off, and so it remained vncertaine what they intended, whether to lay a trayne for Cæcina, or to betray their owne fellowes, or els some other honest deuise. Cæcina hauing dismissed the Tribunes, riding backe to the campe, found the signe of the battell already giuen by Valens commaundement, and the souldiers in armes. Whilest the Legions cast lots concerning their order in marching to the field, the horsemen issuing out charged, and were beaten backe very strangely, by Othoes men being fewer in number, euen into the trenches, had not the Italian Legion manfully drawen their swords, and by feare forced them to returne and make head vpon the enemy againe. The Vitellian Legions were ordered and put in array without tumult or feare: for the bushes and thickets rooke a way the sight of the enemy, albeit he were neare. Contrarily in Othoes army the Generals with feare were put out of their skill; the souldiers neither loued nor trusted their Generals; the wagons and idle followers of the camp troubled the works of the soldiers, being confus'dly mingled amongst them; and the hye way deeply ditched

¹ Great personages in those daies had usually certaine African or Numidian horsemen to leade their traine, or for other sodaine dispatches: Seneca epist. 124. Omnes iam sic peregrinantur, ut illos Numidarum præcurrat equitatus, ut agmen, cursorum antecedit, turpe est nullos esse qui occurrentes via desiciant, qui honestum hominem venire magno puluere ostendat. Item epist. 88. Martial. lib. 12. Epigram. 24. Non vector Lybici niger caballi, Succincti neq. cursor antecedit.

ditched on both sides was too narrow for an army, though marching without feare of the enemy: some stode about, some sought their ensignes, on euery side there was a confused noise of men running and crying: and as ech was guided by boldnes or feare, so pressed he forward into the first ranckes, or retired into the last. Their mindes being in this sort stricken with a sodaine terrour, a falsely surmised ioy abated their fiercenesse: for some there were which vntruly gaue out, that the army was reuolted from Vitellius. That rumour whether it was dispersed abroad by Vitellius spyes, or rose otherwise among Othoes men, whether by fraude or chaunce, it is not certainly knowen: but howsoeuer, thereupon the Othonians laying aside all edge to fight, in steed thereof profered after a friendly sort to salute them, but were with vnfriendly murmure intertained againe: which salutation gaue cause to many of their owne side, that were ignorant of the rumour, to feare treason. Then the host of the enemies in good array, superiour both in number and strength, charged vpon them: the Othonians, although in disarray, fewer and weary, yet valiantly receiued the charge. And as in places troubled with trees and vines the fight was not euery where after one maner: but heere neare at hand, and there a farre off: sometime in squadron, sometime in triangle figure: vpon the height of the way ioyning foote to foot, and bearing downe with body to body, and buckler to buckler: omitting the vse of the darte, and with swords and hatchets vn-buckeling and breaking helmets and corcelets: and the parties knowing one another, and beeing seene of their companions, ech contended to shew vertue and valour, as if vpon their manhood had depended the euent of the whole warre. It fortuned, that in open field betweene the Po and the high way, two Legions met and fought together; for Vitellius the one and twentieth surnamed Rapax, a Legion anciently renowned, of Othoes part the first called Adiutrix, one neuer befor brought to the battell, but presuming greatly of hir selfe, and greedy, as in hir first seruice, of honour. They of the first Legion, beating to ground the * ensignes of the one and twentieth, tooke away the stander by force: whereupon the Legion incensed with griefe both put them of the first in branle slaying Orphidius Benignus the Lieutenant, and also tooke many ensignes and banners from them. On the other side the thirteenth Legion was forced by them of the fifth: and certaine of the fourteenth hemmed in with multitudes of enemies that came in vpon them. And whereas the Generals of Othoes side had left the field and were fled already away, Cæcina and Valens yet strengthened their side with fresh supply: and beside a new succour came in of ^b Alphenus Varus with his Batauians, after he had discomfited the band of the fencers, who passing the water by boates were slaine by the aduersary cohorts in the very riuer it selfe. So being victorious they inuaded the flank of the enemies: and when once the middle battell was forced, the Othonians brake and fled ^c towarde Bebriacum. The way was long and almost stopped vp with dead carcases, the slaughter being the greater for that in ciuill warres there is no profit to be made of the prisoners. Suetonius Paullinus and Licinius Proculus tooke sundry waies and shunned the campe: Vedius Aquila Lieutenant of the thirteenth Legion, supposing all other waies vn safe, through vnaduised feare put himselfe into the danger of the furious souldier. For entring into the campe a ^d great while before it was night, he was exclaimed vpon and railed at on euery side, with clamors of the most seditious and cowardly persons: who forbearing to vse neither tongues nor hands, reuiled him as a fugitiue and traitour, not vpon any specialty they could charge him withall, but after the maner of the common sort, ech man laying his owne shames vpon others. Titianus and Celsus returned not before night, which serued them to good purpose.

for

* *Stratū vnaeui-
cesimanorū prin-
cipis. Plus. in this
place taketh
principia for the
foreward. nūc
quā nūc des-
pūxus dūm nūc
vāvis.*

^b Camp-master
in Valens host, &
now vpon Cæci-
naes calling away
left to keepe play
with the gladi-
ators of Othoes
side, as it seemeth
^c Being twenty
miles of by our
reckning, or ac-
cording to Plus.
150 stadia, which
is about 19 miles
^d It is very que-
stionable how in
one day an army
could goe 16
miles, to in bat-
tell, breake, and
fleeing away 20
miles of could
come thither a
great while be-
fore night about
mid-Aprill.

for the watch was now set, and the souldiers fury appeased by the helpe of ² Annius Gallus: who partly by intreaty and aduise, partly by his credit and authority, perswaded them not to heape misery vpon miserie, and beside the losse of the battell to seeke the spoile one of another: that whether the warre were now at an ende, or else it would please them to resume it, the onely meanes to releue the conquered side consisted in their agreeing together. And indeed the rest were out of courage and comfort: onely the Gard-souldiers stormed, affirming they were ouercome not by manhood but treason: and that the Vitellian side had bought the victory dearly with their blood, their horsemen being repulsed, and the stander of a Legion taken away, that there yet remained in store many souldiers beyond the Po attending on Otho: the Legions of Moesia were comming at hand, and that a great part of the army had stayed behinde at Bebriacum and neuer presented themselues to the battell: that surely these at the last had not beene ouercome: and if so needes it must bee, they should with more honour dye in the field. Vpon these and the like cogitations sometimes growing desperate, and sometimes yeelding to feare, through consideration of their owne forlorne estate, they were incited more often to rage then to relent. The Vitellian army lodged fīue miles from Bebriacum, the Generals not daring that day to attempt the enemies campe: and beside a voluntary yeelding was hoped for: where albeit they could not entrench, as men that went out lightly appointed and onely to fight, yet their weapons in hand, and the victory they lately obtained, was a sufficient defence. The day following those of Othoes men which had made shew of most courage, repenting and yeelding, the whole army with one accord sent an Embassage to the Vitellianists. The Vitellian Generals without any question graunted them peace: onely the Embassadors were stayed there for a season, which bred a scruple in the minds of the other, not knowing whether they had obtained as yet or not their request: but anone the Embassage returning, the campe was set open. Then both the conquered and conquerers, breaking out into weeping, with a wofull ioyfulness, detested the misery of ciuill dissensions: and meeting in the same tentes, some comforted their brethren, some their friendes which were wounded. Hopes and rewards were doubtfull and in expectation alone: burials and mournings were certaine and sure before hand: neither was there any so void of mischaunce, that had not to mourne for some bodies death. The body of Orphidius the Lieutenant was sought out, and buried with accustomed solemnity, & some few beside by their friends: the rest of the common sort were left on the ground.

² When Otho was gone to Brixellum] In the description of this great battaile, in my conceit, are many great imperfections. And first to settle the reading, where in some printed copies it is by correction *confluentes Padus & Addue fluminum petebant*, whereas *Padus & Aegle* was found in olde written copies, is a mistaking of the correctour. Padus and Addua meete above Cremona: Bebriacum standeth twenty miles below. so that the Othonians, removing from Bebriacum, with intention to fight with the Vitellianists being about Cremona, had no reason to goe to the confluence of Padus and Addua. Then the distance cannot agree, for the straight way, betweene Bebriacum and the confluence of Addua, must be more then here is limited. so that we must finde a riuer meeting with the Po, some ² foure miles, or thereabout, beneath Cremona: Ollius perchance, or some other, whose confluence the Othonians went to, and whereabout the battell began. Now where the Vitellianists were encamped, Tacitus very strangely omitteth to set downe. Macer, with his Gladiatores, was *haud procul Cremona*, against whom Cæcina made a bridge, which bridge, as it appeareth by the circumstances was not far from their maine campe. Then the Vitellianists which fled away, flie to Cremona, as to their strength, and place of retraite. Lastly Tacitus himselfe, ³ Hist. talking of Cremona, *eadem rursus belli sedes*. and in the same booke, *Othoniano bello Germanicus miles manibus Cremonensium castra sua, castris vallum circumcicerat*: a notable particularitie, and more agreeable to haue been declared here. But by all these places, we may, I suppose, safely presume, that at Cremona, howsoever they came by it (for of that also may be a question, as is touched before) was alwaies afterward the Vitellianists maine campe. Now the Othonians, saith Tacitus, removed foure miles forward, leauing notwithstanding at Bebriacum the campe standing and furnished with many men for the defence. so that this campe foure miles from Bebriacum was but only for a nights lodging: for to Bebriacum only did the Othonian souldiers retire when they

*Vitellianus vix
quatuor millia
passuum pro-
gressus.*

^b According to Plutarch, from Bebricum they went 50 stadia to that dry place, the day after they minded to goe an hundred stadia, but Paullinus dissuaded, till the message of the Numidian horsemen tooke up the matter betweene them, and so they marched directly toward the enemy.

^c Othonomi quamquam dispersi, pauciores, fessi.

^d Vitelliani equites quo minus a paucioribus in vadum impingerentur, Italica legionis virtute certius sunt.

they were in rowte. from ^b that lodging they remooued sixteene miles further, not directly, as it may be supposed, but declining on the left hand toward the Po, about foure miles beneath Cremona, at the confluence of the Po, and Oglio as they now call it, or Agele, or whatsoeuer. and yet it ^e seemeth they fate not downe there, but went straight to finde the enemy in his owne strength at Cremona. for (saith Tacitus) they had almost driuen the Vitellian horsemen ^d into their owne trenches. so that, in my fantasie, the poore innocent village of Bebricum, neuer heard of before, nor since, insomuch that no man knoweth where it stood, had little right to cary the name of this field, rather then Cremona, and yet all writers denominate it so, vnlesse it were because the Othomians, being broken, fled thither: for surely the battell was begun twenty miles off, and hard vnder Cremona. For the time of this battell, according to Iosephus and Egesippus, it should seeme to haue beene fought the very next day after that *ad Castris*: but by Tacitus, in this case a more credible authour, as in a matter done in Italie, it appeareth to haue beene far otherwise. Suetonius Othone, cap. 9. describeth the meeting of the two armies in far other maner. *Apud Bebricum fraude superati quum spe colloquij facta quasi ad conditionem pacis milibus eductis, ex improviso atque in ipsa consulatione dimicandum fuisset.*

^a Annus Gallus] In the consultation at Bebricum he was absent. when he returned againe thither, and wherefore he staid there when all the rest went out to fight, is not declared by Tacitus: like as also many particularities concerning Celsus, Gallus, Titianus &c. woorthy the remembrance in the yeelding of the Othomians to Valens & Cæcina, which are well recorded by Plutarch, and ill left out by our autour, who, to confesse a trueth, in this whole historie hath behaued himselfe so well, that the onely thing we may perfectly vnderstand, is, that he vnderstood not the matter fully himselfe: and indeede for the particularities Plutarch writeth, that they which were present at the battell professed not to knowe them themselves, *ὅτι τὸ ἀπελθὼν, καὶ τὴν ἀνομαλίαν.* That is, *For the disorder and confusednesse.* but yet surely Tacitus is not excusable, seeing that Plutarch, who was lesse skilled in the Roman affaires, and had lesse occasion to knowe so much, of two bad hath set it downe more intelligibly, being a man otherwise not to be named the same day with Tacitus.

XVII. *Otho vnderstanding of the ouerthrow at Bebricum killeth himselfe. The souldiers about him, when they could not induce Verginius to undertake the place, yeeld themselves to the Vitellianists.*

IN the meane while Otho at Brixellum waited for the newes of the battell without all passion of feare, and certainly resolued what he would doe. And first an vncertaine report of ill tidings was muttered without head or aduow; then they which fled out of the battell came and declared that all was certainly lost. The souldiers ardent affection was such, that they staid not for any comfort or encouragement from their Emperour, but contrariwise they comforted him, bidding him to be of good cheere: that there was yet new forces remaining, and that they would hazard all perils and suffer all extremities for his sake: neither was it flattery; but in vnfeined good meaning, vpon a certaine instinct and fury, they mightily desired to goe to the fiede, to set vp the side and recouer their losses againe. They which stoode a farre off helde vp their hands and besought him: the nearest embraced his knees, especially Plotius Firmus captaine of the Garde, who besought him often and instantly not to forsake his so well deseruing souldiers, so louing and faithfull an army; auerring that it was greater magnanimity to endure then to relinquish when fortune doth crosse: that stout men and valiant euen against fortune do relye vpon hope, whereas the cowardly dastards are hastily drawn by feare to despaire. As Otho seemed by his countenance to yeelde to these speeches, or els to reiect them, so were there diuersely shewtings for ioy, or ^a gronings for sorrow. And not onely the Prætorians, the most addicted and partiall souldiers to Otho, but those also which were sent before out of Mœsia affirmed, that the army which was expected would alike obstinately maintaine the quarell: and that the Legions already were come to Aquileia; so that without all question a cruell and bloudy warre might haue beene renewed of doubtfull euent to the one side and to the other.

„ But Otho altogether aliene from any purpose of warre, To hazard, quoth he, this
 „ vertue and valour of yours to needlesse dangers, I account it too deare a price of my
 „ life. The more hope you doe shew, if I list to liue, the more commendation will be

of.

^a ὅτι δὲ τὴν ἀπο-
 ντομένην ἑξ ἑπὶ
 τὴν, saith Plu-
 tarch. ἀπελθὼν
 τὸ εἶπε καὶ εἰπὼν,
 ἵδι καὶ οὐκ ὄντως
 ἔσθ' ὅτι παρὰ τα-
 πταμίαν: ἀπαρ-
 τας, ἀντιπαρὰ
 ἑαυτῶν.

of my death, as being voluntary and not by constraint. Fortune and I haue had good experience the one of the other: and nothing the lesse for that my time hath beene short: I tell you, it is harder to moderate a mans selfe in felicity, the which he looketh not long to enioy. The ciuill warre began on Vitellius party, and thence grew the first occasion to contend with armes for the Empire: but to contend no oftener but once, I for my part am purposed to giue the example. And hereby let posterity iudge and esteeme of Otho. Through my benefit Vitellius shall enioy his brother, his wife, and his children: I seeke no reuenge, I haue no neede of such comforts. others haue kept longer the Empire, but let it be said, that none hath euer so valiantly left it. Shall I suffer so much Roman blood againe to be spilt, and the common welth depriued of so worthy armies? Let this minde accompany me to my graue, and so surely it shall, that you for your parts would haue died for my sake: but tary you and liue, and let not me be any longer a hinderance to your obtaining of pardon, nor you to my determination and purpose. To speake more of dying, or to vse many words in that argument, I take to proceede of a cowardly courage. This take for a principall prooffe of my resolutenesse, that I complaine not of any. For to blame gods or men is their property that gladly would liue. After these words and the like, in courteous language, according to their age or degree, he required the young men, and desired the olde to get them quickly away and goe to the winner; lest by slackening the time they prouoked his further displeasure: rebuking estoones the vnseasonable weepings of those about him, without any shew of alteration in countenance, or signe of feare in his speech. Then hee commaunded those which departed to be furnished of wagons and barges; burned all bookes and letters containing any matter notably in fauour of himselfe or disfauour of Vitellius, and distributed money sparingly, and not as one that should dye. Then he called vnto him Saluius Cocceianus his brothers sonne, being in the prime of his youth, and seeing him sore afraide and weeping, he comforted him, notwithstanding the case touched nearer himselfe, commending his kindnesse and naturall affection, and reprehending his timorousnesse. What? were it possible, that Vitellius should be so hard hearted, and cruelly minded, as not to doe him that one pleasure, whereas he had preserued for him his whole house without harme? that at least by this hasty dispatch of himselfe he deserued that some curtesie should be shewed his kinned: especially hauing forborne, for the loue of his countrey, to seeke his last and vttermost remedy; not vpon extreme despaire, but then, when as his army with instance demaunded to bring it to a battell againe. but, he said, for his part he had gotten renowne enough for himselfe, and nobility for his posterity, after the Iulian, Claudian, and Seruian families; hauing first of all men brought into a house of no great continuance the honor of hauing an Emperour: and therefore he willed him with good courage to liue and go on, neither forgetting at any time that Otho was his vnkle, nor yet too much remembring the same. After these things he willed all to depart and giue place, and gaue himselfe awhile to his rest: but a sodaine tumult interrupted the course of his last cares, word being brought in of the disordered and outrageous behauiour of the soldiers; who threatned to kill all those which went away, but were most egerly bent against Verginius, whose house being shut they beset round about. Whereupon Otho went out, and hauing rebuked the principall mutins, returning againe spent the time in talking and comforting them which departed, vntill they were all safely conueied away. When it grew toward night, he quenched his thirst with a cup of cold water. then two rapiers were brought in: and after he had tried their points he put the one vnder his pillow: and
hauing

hauing certaine knowledge that his friends were already gone, he passed the night in good rest, and as it is said not without sleepe: as soone as it was day he ranne himselfe through the brest with the rapier. vpon his groning, as he was dying his freed and bondmen, with Plotius Firmus captaine of the Garde, entred in, and found but onely one wound. The funerals were hastened with all speede, for he had most earnestly besought and intreated to dispatch them, least his head peradventure should haue beene cut off, and contumeliously vsed: the Prætorian cohorts caried the bier, with praises and teares, kissing his wound and his hands. At the funeral-fire some of the souldiers slew themselves, not vpon crime, nor for feare, but for the great loue they bare to their Prince, and to imitate so honorable an example: and afterwards at Bebricum, Placentia, and in other campes many did the like: a tumbe also they ^b erected for Otho with little cost and solemnity, and therefore the liker to stand. In this maner Otho ended his dayes in the ¹ seuen and thirtieth yeare of his age. He was ^c originally descended from Ferrentium: his father was Consul, his grandfather Prætor: his mothers bloud ^d somewhat disparaging, but yet not base: in his tender age and youth such as we haue shewed: one, that by two actes, the one most detestable, the other most praiseworthy, deserued with posterity ^e good fame, in as great measure as he did ill. As to heape together fabulous matter, and delite the readers mindes with tales deuised at pleasure, I would account a thing little agreeable to the grauity of my purposed worke, so on the other side I dare not to detract all credit, from things which are commonly spoken, and deliuered. The same day that the armies fought at Bebricum, the inhabitants of Regium Lepidi report, that a strange birde was seene sitting in a groue much frequented: and that she could not be feared or driuen away, by the resorting of men to the place, or of birdes flying about hir, vntill such time as Otho slew himselfe: then she vanished out of sight; and that conferring the times, they found the beginning and end of the miracle to agree precisely with Othoes deceale. At his funerals the souldiers through sorrow and grieve raised a new tumult, neither was there now any to stay them. And setting vpon Verginius manacingly they besought him, sometime to take the Empire himselfe, sometime to be their spokesman to Cæcina and Valens: ^f but Verginius, as they were breaking into the house, deceiued them, slipping out priuily at the backe gate. So Rubrius Gallus caried the supplication of the cohorts, which were at Brixellum, and straightwaies obtained their pardon. Flauius Sabinus also came, with the ^g companies which he commaunded, and yeelded himselfe to the winner.

^b At Brixellum.
Plutarch.

^c But borne
at Rome.

^d Suetonius c. 1.
callect his
splendissima
femina.

^e Marcial. lib. 6.
Epigram. 31.

Cum dubitaret
adhuc belli ciuili
Enyo, Forsitan
posset videre
mollis Otho:

Damnauit multo
facturum iam
sanguine Mar-
tem; Et fides
certa pectora
nuda manu.

Sit Cato, dum
vixit, sanè vel
Cæsare maior:

Dum morietur
nuncquid maior
Othone fuit?

^f Plutarch. c. 1.
Cæcina, faict
Plutarch. c. 1.

Plutarch. c. 1.
Cæcina, faict
Plutarch. c. 1.

Plutarch. c. 1.
Cæcina, faict
Plutarch. c. 1.

Plutarch. c. 1.
Cæcina, faict
Plutarch. c. 1.

Plutarch. c. 1.
Cæcina, faict
Plutarch. c. 1.

Plutarch. c. 1.
Cæcina, faict
Plutarch. c. 1.

^g cap. 2.

^b Plutarch. c. 1.
Cæcina, faict
Plutarch. c. 1.

¹ In the seuen and thirtieth yeere] Otho was borne, saith ^a Suetonius, *Capillo & Ahenobarbo Cos.* the 28. of Aprill, *Anno urbis condite 785.* and died in *Anno 822. Galba iterum & Vinio Cos.* The day or moneth of his death Tacitus setteth not downe, as he is that way negligent euen in very great actions. Neuerthelesse beginning his Empire the 15. day of Ianuary, as Tacitus reporteth 1. Hist. if he died, as Suetonius reporteth, ^b *nonagesimo & quinto imperij die*, allowing seuentene daies of Ianuary, twentie eight or twentie nine of February, thirtie one of March, the eighteenth or the nineteenth of Aprill will fall out to be the day of his death. True it is, that the copies of Xiphilin and Zonaras haue onely ninetie daies for the time of his Empire, both taking it out of one erronious fountaine, as I thinke. for Otho went out of Rome, as Suetonius saith cap. 8. *die quo cultores deum maris lamentari & plangere incipiunt*, which is the twentie seuenth of March, as Marcellinus affirmeth. and for so manie great matters as by Tacitus are heere recorded to haue passed betweene that and his death, three or fower and twentie daies may in reason seeme time little enough at all. Now from the twentie eight of Aprill, *Anno 785.* to the eighteenth or nineteenth of Aprill, *Anno 822.* are thirtie seuen yeeres as Tacitus heere saith (to whom Zonaras and Xiphilin do agree, not thirtie eight, as Suetonius, who counteth both the extremes) lacking nine or ten daies, Xiphilin saith lacking eleuen, *ἡμεραι μὴ ἐπὶ τὴν τετακτοντα ἑπτα, ἐνδεκα ἡμεραι δὲ ὀκτώτα.*

XVIII. *The perill vvherein the Senatours stood vvhich vvère
left at Mutina, vpon the newes of the ouer-
throw at Bebricum.*

WHEN the warre was euery where at an end, a great part of the Senate, which accompanied Otho from Rome, and afterward staid by order at Mutina, incurred extreme danger. For when word was brought thither of the ouerthrow, the souldiers reiected the newes as false: and supposing the Senate to be enemy to Otho, they obserued their speeches, interpreting their countenances, and externall behauiour to the worst; not abstaining at the last from reuiling, and contumelious termes, and apparently seeking an occasion to begin a massacre: whereas the Senatours had beside to stand in feare another way, lest they should seeme not forward enough to like of Vitellius victory, with whome now all the world was gone. Thus trembling, and betweene both being doubtfull how to cary themselves, they meete together, none daring to follow any priuate direction, but associating himselfe with the multitude, presuming thereby of greater security. As they were in this perplexity, the ^a councell of Mutina increased their cares, offering them armour and money, and stiling them at euery word, very vnseasonably, Lords of the Senate. In that assembly arose a hoat contention. Licinius Cæcina inueyed against Epius Marcellus, for that he seemed to speake ambiguously concerning the present estate, whereas in trueth neither did the other Senatours plainly open their minds: but Cæcina picked out Marcellus among the rest, as a man exposed to enuy, and odious for his late trade of accusing, to the end that himselfe being lately risen, and newly come into the Senate, might become renowned and known, by entering into enmity with great persons. But by the moderation of the better sort interposing themselves the matter was pacified: and so they went all backe to Bononia, there to deliberate anew, hoping withall in the meane season to receiue more aduertisements. At Bononia they set in seuerall waies seuerall persons to enquire newes of the passengers which latelyest came from those quarters: by whom a freedman of Othoes being demanded the cause of his comming away, he answered, that he had brought with him his masters ^b last charge: that indeede he had left him aliue, but without any care, saue onely of posterity, and hauing renounced all delites of this present life: hereupon they grew into admiration of him, and were ashamed to aske any further: and now all wholly declared themselves for Vitellius. His brother L. Vitellius was present at their consultations, and already offered himselfe to be fawned vpon, when sodainly Cenus, a freedman of Neroes, with a lowde and desperate lye amazed them all, affirming that vpon the arriual of the fourteenth Legion, the forces which were at Brixellum being ioyned thereto, the fortune of the sides was changed, and the conquerours were ouerthrowne. The cause of deuising the rumour was, that ^{*} the commissions of Otho for posts, which began not to be regarded, might through so glad some a message be reuiued againe. And so Cenus passed indeede in post to the citie, but within few daies after by Vitellius commandement was executed. but the perill of the Senatours was augmented thereby. for Othoes soldiers beleueed the newes to be true: and that which made their cause worse was, that they were departed from Mutina, and so the side seemed discountenanced and forsaken, as it were, by the councell of state. Neither did they after that time consult any more in common; euery man sought to prouide for himselfe, yntill such time as letters sent from Fabius Valens, and

^a Ordo Mutinensis. i. Decuriones Mutinensium, as it were the common councell of the towne.

^b After he had dismissed all the Senatours, (saith Suetonius c. 10.) secreto capto binos codicillos exaravit ad forum consolatarios: sed & ad Messalinam Neronis, quam matrimonio destituerat, commendans reliquias suas & memoriam: and some thing to Vitellius also, saith Zonaras, in fauor of his friends.
^{*} Or, passports of Otho.

the death of Otho, the more praise worthy the sooner heard of, put them out of feare.

XIX. *The estate of affaires at Rome: and the insolencies committed by the Vitellian souldiers after the victorie.*

^a Cerealis began the 12. of April, and ended the 19. so that after the death of Otho at Brixellum heard of at Rome Cereales ludi ex more spectabantur, the day of his death, albeit the newes came in post could hardly be so late as the 18. of April, and not possibly so late as the 19.

BVr at Rome all was quiet, without any trouble or feare, the ^a plaies of Ceres were solemnely kept according to the custome: and when certaine word was brought into the Theatre that Otho was dead, and that Flavius Sabinus Prouoost of the city had sworne all the soldiers in the city to Vitellius, in signe of ioy the people clapped their hands and gaue applause vnto Vitellius. Then they caried the images of Galba with boughes of lawrell and flowers about the temples, heaping vp together in maner of a tumble garlands and coronets about Lacus Curtius, which place Galba at his death had embrued with his blood. In the Senate all titles and honours vsually conferred vpon other Princes by occasions, and after they had reigned many yeares, were straightwaies decreed to Vitellius: and withall praises cōcluded vpon for the German armies, with solemne thanks for their good seruice; and an Embassage sent to congratulate. Letters also were read; written by Fabius Valens to the Consuls, in a stile humble inough: yet Cæcinaes modesty was better accepted in that he wrote not at all. But Italy was now more grievously vexed, and cruelly handled then during the warre. The Vitellian soldiers dispersed in the free townes and colonies pilld and spoyled, polluted and rauished without any difference of right or wrong, holy or profane; but only following their rauenous and insolent humor, or els by money bought out to forbear: and some there were that counterfaiting themselves to be soldiers slew their particular enemies. The soldiers also themselves were skilled in the countrey, and designed out the well stoared grounds, and well moneyed masters to pray vpon, or if resistance were made, to destroy them; the Generals being obnoxious and not daring to prohibit it: Cæcina was lesse couetous and more possessed with vainglorie: Valens was for bribery and polling infamous, and therefore a winker also at other mens faultes. so many footemen and horse, so great violences, dammages and iniuries, especially the state of Italy being already greatly empouerished before, were hardly abidden.

XX. *Vitellius voiage from Germanie to Lions, and his actions there.*

IN the meane season Vitellius, ignoraunt of his owne victorie, made preparation as for a warre new to begin, and caried with him beside eight thousand souldiers of Britanny, the strength which remained of the German army: fewe old soldiers were left in the standing camps, but newe men leuied in hast out of Fraunce to vphold the names of the Legions remaining behinde: and the charge of the militare affaires there was committed to Hordeonius Flaccus. When Vitellius had marched some few daies iourney, he vnderstood of the good successe at Bebriacum; then that Otho was dead and the war finished: whereupon calling an assembly he highly extolleth the valiantnesse of the souldiers. ^a After the speech, his army instantly requested him to creat Asiaticus his freedman a gentleman of Rome: which shamefull flatterie he then rebuked; and soone after vpon a ficklenesse of wit, that which he had openly refused, he priuily bestowed in banquet, and honoured with rings Asiaticus, a base abiect slaue, and one seeking to rise by ill meanes. About the same time

^a Primo imperij die, sicut Suetonius, c. 12. contrary to the circumstances of this place.

time message was brought that Albinus Procurator of both Mauretaniae was slain, and the countries had sided themselves with Vitellius. Luceius Albinus was by Nero set ouer Mauretania Cæsariensis, and Galba annexed the administration of Tingitana; so that he had forces of good moment vnder his charge: eightene cohorts, five wings, and an infinite number of Moores not vnfit for the warre, as men that vsually liued of stealing and harrowing their neighbours. When Galba was slaine he followed the party of Otho, and not contenting himselfe with Africk, had a purpose for Spaine, being disioyned from it by a narrow straite. Heereupon Cluius Rufus was afraide, & comanded the tenth Legion to approach to the shore, as if he ment to haue shipped ouer: sending before certaine Centurions to induce the minds of the Moores to fauour Vitellius: neither was it hard to effect. For the fame of the German army was great throughtout all the prouinces, and beside a reporte was spred, that Albinus contemning the name of a Procurator, had vsurped a royall diademe, and the name of ^b Iuba. So their minds being changed, thereupon they went and slew Asinius Pollio captaine of a wing, one of Albinus faithfullest friends, and Festus and Scipio two captaines of cohortes: Albinus himselfe as hee went by sea from Tingitana to Mauretania Cæsariensis was slaine as he landed, and his wife withall, who voluntarily offred hir selfe to the slaughter. These things and all else that was done Vitellius passed ouer without due examination, as his maner was with a short audience to turne ouer matters of greatest importance; a man far vnmeet to welde weighty affaires. When they came to Araris Vitellius willed the army to march by lande, and went himselfe downe by the riuer, without any furniture fit for a Prince, but in his old beggerly array, till Iunius Bloesus gouernour of Gallia Lugdunensis, a man of high parentage, of a francke minde and wealth answerable thereto, furnished him of prouision and seruitours, and accompanied him honorably according to his estate: a thanklesse office and displeasing, albeit Vitellius sought by submisse and glozing speeches to couer his hatred. At Lions the Generals met him of both sides, the winning and loosing. Valens and Cæcina he commended in open assembly, and set them about ^e his chaire of estate: then he commaunded the whole army to go out, and meete his little ^d young son. Being brought and clothed in a ^e princely mantell, his father holding him in his armes named him Germanicus, and arrayed him with all the imperiall ornaments: this excessiue honor in prosperity, in aduersity serued ^f for a comfort. Then were the brauest and forwardest of Othoes Centurions put to the sworde: vpon which occasion grewe principally the dislike the Illyrian armies conceiued of Vitellius, and withall the rest of the Legions, partly by contagion, and partly vpon enuy to the German souldiers, projected warre in their mindes. Suetonius Paullinus and Licinius Proculus could not haue audience, but were detained a great while in sorrow and heauinesse; till at length being admitted they produced matter of excuse, rather such as stood with the present necessity, then such as might stand with their honour: as that in fauour of Vitellius they had betrayed their owne fellowes; alledging the length of the journey before the battell, the wearinesse of Othoes men, the shuffling of carts and the souldiers together, and many other matters of chance, as done by them for the purpose: and Vitellius beleued the treason, and acquitted them of the crime of fidelity. Saluius Titianus Othoes brother was clearely discharged, being holden excused both because he was so nearely tyed by nature, and because he was a man of no moment. Marius Celsus had his life & honor saued: for his Consulship was reserued vnto him. It was saied and beleued, and afterward objected to Cæcilius Simplex in the Senate, that he sued to haue bought that office with money, seeking withall the

^b The last king of Mauretania, subdued by Cæsar. anno urbis cond. 708.

^c *Curuli sue.*
The Consuls also had *fellæ curules* in the Emperours times, belike differing in furniture. in the free state the Prætors had also, and some of the *Ædils*.
^d Of fixe yeare old. *Sonars.*
^e *Paludamentis.*
^f Not very long: for Mucianus caused him to be made away. *A. Histor.*

Who composed the oration which Otho pronounced to the people before his departure from Rome. i. *Mistor.*

Vide Sueton. Vitell. 13.

Seneca ep. 99. aspice illos iuuenes, quos ex nobilissimis domibus in artem luxuriam proiecit.

destruction of Celsus: but Vitellius refused the suite, and gaue Simplex afterward a Consulship without either money or bloud. As for ^s Trachalus, Galeria Vitellius wife protected him against his accusers. Among these dangers of honorable persons one Maricus (a shame to be spoken) abase fellow among the Boians, counter-faiting newe reuelations, dared to thrust himselfe forward and trie his aduenture, and to prouoke the Roman forces against him: who pretending to bee the setter of Fraunce at freedome, and a god, (for so he intituled himselfe) had drawen already together eight thousand men, and began to waste the frontiers of the AEduans: but that graue and wise city, assembling the choice of their youth with some of Vitellius cohorts, discomfited that fanaticall multitude. In that encounter Maricus was taken, and being cast to the wilde beastes because he was not deuoured, the sortish people beleueed that he could not be hurt, vntill such time, as in the presence of Vitellius afterward he was flaine: neither was there any further cruelty shewed to any of that conspiracie, either in body or goods. The testaments also of them which dyed in the field for Otho, remained in their full strength and validity; or if they dyed vntestate, the ordinary course of the lawe, prouided in that behalfe, was obserued. And generally, if he could haue forborne his riotous liuing, or vsed any moderation therein, couetousnes was a crime in him not to be feared: but he was shamefully giuen ^h to his belly, without all order or measure: for which purpose there were daily brought out of Rome and Italie, all prouocations of gluttony: the hie waies from both the seas sounded of nothing els but of caters and ripiers: the greatest men in the cities were spent and consumed in prouiding of cates for the banquets: the cities themselues were wasted: the souldiers grew worse and degenerated from labor and vertue: partly by enuring themselues to pleasures, and partly through the contemptiblenesse of the Commaunder. Moreouer an edict was sent before hand to Rome, wherein Vitellius declared, that he would not accept of the title of Augustus as yet, nor the name of Cæsar at all, whereas in substance and power he abated nothing thereof: and withall the ^t Astrologers were banished out of Italy: and moreouer it was streitly inhibited, that no Roman gentleman should pollute himselfe with profession of fencing in schoole or theatre. Some former Princes had hired them with money to do it, and more often compelled them by force: and many free townes and colonies, ech struiuing to excell other, induced some "vnthriftie yoong men to the like dishonor. Now Vitellius vpon the comming of his brother, and certain schoolemasters of tyranny creeping into the court, waxing prouder and fiercer, commaunded Dolabella, whom, as before we remembred, Otho had confined to Aquinum, vpon this occasion to be flaine. Dolabella, hearing that Otho was dead, was returned to Rome: whereof Plautius Varus once Prætor, one of Dolabellæs most inward friends, accused him before Flavius Sabinus the Prouost of the citty, as if he had broken prison, to the end to make offer of himselfe for a head to the conquered faction: adding moreouer, that to that purpose he had felt the cohort, which was in garrison at Ostia: but hauing no one prooue of any of these so great crimes, he began to repent of his wicked deed, and sought pardon, but too late, after the fact. As Flavius Sabinus was in doubt how to proceed, in a matter of that weight, Triaria the wife of Lucius Vitellius, fierce and cruell about the ordinary of that sexe, terrified him; warning him not to affect the commendation of clemency by the perill of his Prince. Sabinus a man of his owne nature of a milde disposition, but when he was put in a feare easie to be changed, and fearing to make another mans danger his owne, lest he should seeme to haue helped him vp, as he was falling pushed him forward. So Vitellius, partly vpon feare, and partly vpon an old grudge, because

because Dolabella had taken Petronia to wife straight vpon hir deuorce from him, called him by letters to him: and commaunding to auoide the beaten Flaminian way, and carry him by Interamna, he gaue commission to murther him there. that seemed too long to him who had the commission: and therefore in an inne by the way, as Dolabella rested himselfe on the ground, he cut his throat, to the great infamie of the new gouernment, whereof this was the first prooffe. This kinde of behauiour of Triaria was the more odious, by setting against it the modesty of hir next neighbour Galeria the Emperours wife, heaping not sorrowes vpon the sorrowfull, and the rare vertue of Sextilia his mother, a woman of the auncient sort: who is also reported to haue faied at the reading of hir sonnes first letters, that a Vitellius was borne by her and not a Germanicus: neither did she afterwards through any allurements of fortune, or courting of the city, participate any thing els of hir sons estate, saue onely the smarts of hir house when it fell.

¹ The astrologers were] The substance of the edict was, *vi intra Kal. Octobr. urbe Italiaque Mathematici excederent.* The night following the Astrologers set vp, saith ² Suetonius, another edict *in hac verba. BONVM FACTVM, si Vitellius Germanicus intra eundem kalendarum diem vsquam ne esset.* which how it was verified in him that liued till the later end of December following, I would gladly haue the Astrologers themselves to calculate vnto vs: especially being an example whereof all their bookes are full. and to saie the truth, Zonaras seemeth to giue some patronage to the error, and Xiphilin also, who saith the edict was published after Vitellius coming to Rome, whereas by Tacitus it should seeme rather to be sent from Lions. his words be these, *ἐπὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐγένετο ἀστρολογικὸν ἐκεῖτο δὲ ὁ τῶν ἀστρολόγων ἐξέλασσι* (being otherwise very superstitiously giuen himselfe, *οὐδὲν ἀποφύγων, καὶ μὴδ' ἐπὶ βραχὺ πειρασθὲν αὐτῶν*, That is, Being a follower of soothsayers, and doing neuer so small a matter without their aduise, saith Zonaras) *ἀστροπῶν σείων ἐντὶς τῆς δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας (ἐντὶν τινα τῆς αὐτῆς) ἐξ ἀπαύσεως τῆς ἰταλίας χωρῆσαι. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνοι νυκτὶς ἀντιπαρεσθέντες ῥαμίματα ἀντιπαρεσθῆναι ἀπαγγέλλουσαν ἐν τῇ βίᾳ ἐντὶς τῆς ἡμέρας, ὅτι ἢ ἐτελεύτησε.* That is, Being come to Rome he published an edict wherein he exiled the Astrologers, charging them before such a day (naming the time) to depart out of Italy. and they to requite him in the night season set vp their earrell denouncing to him that he should before such a day depart out of this life, as in truth he did.

XXI. *Vitellius viage from Lions into Italie by Turin, Pavia, Cremona, Bebricum, and so to Bononia, and the actions which happened in the meane waie.*

AS Vitellius was departed from Lions, Marcus Cluius Rufus leauing his charge in Spaine ouertaketh him, carying ioy and gratulation in countenance, but heavinesse in heart, knowing that he had beene shot at, and matter put vp against him. Hilarius the Emperours freedman had articted against him, that hearing of Vitellius and Othoes contention for the Empire, he had endeouored to erect a souerainty of his owne, and assure to himselfe the possession of Spaine: and therefore had named in the beginning of his ³ commissions no Prince: certaine points also of his orations he picked out, and construed as tending to the defacing of Vitellius, and making himselfe popolare. But the credit of Cluius preuailed so farre, that Vitellius contrarily commaunded his man to be punished, and assumed Cluius into his traine; suffering him withall to enioy Spaine, which he gouerned still notwithstanding his absence, according to the precedent of ⁴ Lucius Arruntius, whom Tiberius Cæsar retained for feare, but Vitellius kept Cluius vpon no such ielousie. Trebellius Maximus had not the like fauour: he fled out of Britannie, because the souldiers were incensed against him; and Vectius Bolanus was sent in his place.

³ *Diplomata;* which although granted and sealed by the gouernours of the protinees, yet the stile was, as from the Prince, and in the Princes name were the commissions directed.

⁴ *Tac. 4. Ann.*

Of all matters present that vexed Vitellius most, to see the vanquished Legions retaine their stomackes vnuanquish't: being disperfed thorow Italie together with the winners, in all speeches they shewed themselves affected as enemies, and namely the fourteenth Legion; who caried the greatest stomacke of them all, denying that

euer they were overcome: that in the battell at Bebricum the Vexillaries onely were put to flight, the strength of the Legion being not present. Wherefore it was thought expedient to send them backe into Britannie, from whence they were called by Nero; and in the meane time, that they and the cohorts of Batauians should quarter together, by reason of the ancient iarring betweene them. Neither could they, hauing both weapons in hand and hating ech other so deadly, agree long together. At Turin as one of the Batauians quarrelled with an artificer, as hauing coozened him, and a Legionary soldier tooke his part, and defended him as being his host, their companions sorting themselves ech to their fellow, from bitter words passed to blowes: and a bloody battaile had beene fought, had not two Prætorian cohorts taken the Legionaries part, and so much increased their strength, that the Batauians were forced for feare to giue ouer. Vpon which accident Vitellius commanded to vnite to his traine the Batauians, as wellwillers to the cause, and to send the Legion away and conduct it ouer the Graian Alpes, by the way that missed Vienna; for they of Vienna also were had in a ielousie. That night the Legion removed, fires being left here and there negligently vinput out, part of Turin was burnt: which dammage, as many other bad effectes of that warre, greater calamities of other cities did vtterly blot and put out of remembrance. The Legion hauing passed the Alpes, some of the most seditious among them caried their ensignes toward Vienna: but by the consent of the better sort they were staied; and so the Legion was transported into Britanny. The next feare that Vitellius had, was of the ^b Prætorian cohorts. And first they were separated: then in good sort and ^c courteously cassed, with commandement to deliuer vp their armour to their Tribunes; and so they remained vntill such time as the warre was begun by Vespasian: then they resumed armes and were the strength of the Flauian side. Of the other Legions the first surnamed Classica was sent into Spaine, that by peace and rest it might waxe tractable: the eleuenth and seuenth were returned to their standing camps: the thirteenth set ^d a worke to builde Amphitheatres: for Cæcina at Cremona, and Valens at Bononia made preparation to set forth a shew of fencers; Vitellius being neuer so intentiuelly addicted to serious affaires, that he would forget his pastimes and pleasures. And thus with good moderation he set them asunder. In the winning side a mutinee arose vpon a sporting beginning, but that the number of them which were slaine made it a matter of earnest, and the whole warre more odious. Vitellius was in Ticinum^e at banquet, and with him Verginius. The Lieutenants and Tribunes are frugal ^e or riotous, according to the Princes dispositions: in like sort the souldier seuer or dissolute: in Vitellius traine all was disorderly and full of drunkennesse, more like to ^f wakes and the feasts of Bacchus, ^f then to a campe where discipline should be. It happened that two souldiers, one of the fift Legion, another a French Auxiliary, vpō a iolity challenged one another to wrestle: and when as the Legionary was throwen, the French man insulting ouer him, and they which lookt on diuiding themselves into sides, the Legionary souldiers taking themselves to their weapons made hauocke of the Auxiliaries, and slew two cohorts of them. The remedy of this tumult was another tumult. dust and glistring of armour was seene a farre off: and sodainely it was noised in the army, that the fourteenth Legion was returned with intention to fight: but it was their own riereward; which being perceiued, that care was ended. In the meane season, as one of Verginius seruants by chance came by, the souldiers charge and accuse him, that he was set to kill Vitellius, and rush thereupon into the banquetting place requiring the death of Verginius. No man doubted of Verginius innocency, no not Vitellius himselfe,

^b Suetonius Vitellius c. 10. reporteth the same and no more: quicquid Prætoriarum cohortium fuit, uno exau-
^c thorauit edicto. but by the new enrolment described in Tacitus, it may seeme that ^{or} hanc cohortes were also dismissed.

^e Misto alia honesta, alia ignominiosa, honesta ex valetudine, ex stipendijs confecti, and in the free state, as I thinke, pro habitudine aduenda, pro honoribus petendis, &c.

^d For some short time, and so sent home againe into Pannonia: for there we finde it againe in the beginning of the revolt of Illyricum from Vitellius.

^e Tempestiu conuiuij dele-
 Etanur. conui-
 ua tempestiua
 those, which
 to make the
 worke the lon-
 ger, are begun
 before the or-
 dinary houre.

^f Reade Suet. Vitellius c. 10.

himselfe, although otherwise very suspicious and fearefull: and notwithstanding they demaunded the death of so honorable a personage, and one which had once beene their Generall, yet were they hardly appeased. Neither was there any man so oft shot at as Verginius in all seditions and mutinous assemblies: the admiration and fame of the man remained amongst them; but they hated him deadly, because he had contemned their offer. The day following Vitellius gaue audience to the Senates Embassage, which he willed there to attende him; and going from thence to the campe, he spake to the souldiers, commending their dutifull disposition, and tender carefulnesse ouer his person: but the Auxiliaries fretted and fumed to see the Legionaries growen to that height of insolencie, and no punishment inflicted vpon them. Whereupon the cohorts of Batauians, lest they should attempt some desperate act, were sent backe againe into Germany, the course of affaires fatally tending to minister matter, as well to a forraine war, as to a ciuill. The French Auxiliaries also were turned home to their countreys; an excessive number, and straight at the first reuolt assumed by Vitellius into the cause, for an idle complement of the warre. Now to the end that the treasure and reuenues of the Empire, though diminished and wasted, might suffice for his excessive and prodigall donations, hee commandeth to lessen the number of souldiers in the Legions and Aydes, forbidding supplies to be made, and offering dismissions indifferently: which action of his proved pernicious to the state, and vnpleasant to the souldiers. For fewer now bare the same burthens; and perils and labours came thicker about; and their strength was wasted with riotous life by reason of such abundance, contrary to the ancient discipline and vsage of our forefathers, vnder whom the Roman estate was gouerned and stode, by vertue better then money. From thence Vitellius turned to Cremona: and when he had seene Cæcinaes plaies, hee was desirous to go to Bebriacum and view the place with his eies of the late victorie. The spectacle was ougly and grisly to behold: within forty dayes after the battell, bodies^b torne a peeces, mangled limmes, figures of horses and men putrified, the ground imbrued with corruption and bloud, the countrey miserably wasted, the trees and corne troden downe and spoiled: that also was a point of inhumanitie that they of Cremona had strowed the way^a with roses and bay, erected altars, and sacrificed thereonⁱ as the maner is to kings passing by: which things, albeit they pleased them presently, turned afterwards to their ruine. Cæcina and Valens were by, and shewed the places of the conflict: from this place the Legions went out and charged: from hence the horsemen arose: from thence the Auxiliaries closed about. Now the Tribunes and captaines extolling ech his owne prowesse, with many a lye mingled some truths, or made of the trueth more then it was. The common souldiers also with clamour and ioye step out of the way, call to remembrance the ground they had trauerfed, behold and woonder at the heapes of armour, and bodies: and some there were whom the changeable fortune of humane affaires mooued to pity and teares. But Vitellius as a man without all compassion turned not away his eies, nor had^k not in horror to see so many thousands of vnburied citizens: but contrariwise iocunde, and ignorant of his owne lot which followed so nearely, he maketh a solemne sacrifice^l to the gods of the place. After these things Fabius Valens at Bononia maketh a shew of fencers: to the setting out whereof, furniture was fetched from Rome: and the nearer Vitellius came to the city, the more dissolute and corrupt was he & his company, stage players associating themselues to the traine,¹ and droues of eunuches, and the rest of the buffons of Neros court. For Vitellius was an admirer also of Nero himselfe, and was woont to attend^m and follow him as hee did sing, not by compulsion

^a Raised by Cini-
la and the Bata-
uians, and conti-
nued by the re-
bellion of the
French. Tac.
Hist. 4. c. 5.

^b Xiphilinus
writeth that in
the battels about
Cremona on both
sides 40000. men
were slaine. Tac-
itus following the
precept of Sallust,
neiter or most
seldome setteth
downe the number.
ⁱ And not new
in the Roman
Princes, if Suet.
receiue not in
Galba c. 18 per
omne iter dextra
sinistrâq. oppida-
tim victime ce-
debantur.

^k Suetonius Vi-
telli. c. 10. ad-
deth further,
ve campos in qui-
bus pugnatum est
adijs, abhorrentes
quosdam cadaue-
rum tabem, dete-
stabili voce con-
firmare ausus est.
optimè olere occi-
sum hostem, &
melius cinem.
^l 3. Hist. of Fa-
bius Valens. mil-
it. ac meli con-
cubinarum spa-
dantium, agm. he.
^m Read Suet. c. 4.

* *coarctati alio-
rum consilatus.*
Someindeed were
stricken out: but
every one, as it
may seeme, ac-
complished his
ordinary time of
two moneths. see
the annotation
vpon the first
booke.

compulsion as many a good man, but selling his honour to nourish his riot and feed his belly, to which he had wholly enthralled himselfe. Now that Valens and Cæcina might obtaine some voide moneths that yeare to be Consuls in, certaine others * were abridged of their time: M. Macer was passed ouer because he had beene a captaine of Othoes side: Valerius Marinus whom Galba appointed was put ouer to another time, not vpon any dislike, but because he was of a soft nature, and would gently put vp a wrong. Pedanius Costa was omitted being disliked of the Prince, because he had attempted against Nero, and pricked Verginius forward: but Vitellius alledged other causes; and according to the seruile custome of that time great thanks were giuen him beside.

* Wakes, and the feasts of Bacchus] *Peruigilia*, wakes and solemnities by night, in honour of some god, during sometimes for many nights together, in which indeede was practised all kinde of dissolutenes and insolencie. *Cum vinum & nox, & misti feminis mares, et assis tenera maioribus discrimen omne pudoris extinxissent*, as Liuius speaketh. Of which kinde in the common weales of Greece were many, and many abuses growing thereof, as may well appeere out of the comedies of those times, and Plautus Aulularia. *Ego me iniuriam fecisse facer filia tua, Ceresis vigiliis per vinum atque impulsu adolescentie.* and yet those to Ceres seeme of all other to haue beene the most sober, and therefore thought fit to be retained by Tully. 2. de legibus. *Nocturna sacrificia mulierum, ne sunt, præter olla quæ pro populo ritè fiunt, neque quem iniungunt, nisi, ut affolet, Ceres, Græco sacro.* Vitellius, saith Suet. cap. 10. In Appemini quidam iugis etiam peruigiliis egit: to which act of his Tacitus peradventure heere alludeth. Now Bacchanalia were, as I thinke, nothing else but *peruigilia* in honour of Bacchus, of all other the most dissolute, corrupt and desperate, of whose beginnings, increase, and destruction in the Roman state, reade Liuius lib. 38. and Tully lib. 2. de legibus.

* With roses and bay, erected altars] Vpon the comming of kings and great personages, the custome was to strawe the waies with flowers. Herodianus lib. 4. at Caracallæes entrie into Alexandria; *ἐκδεδυμένοι τε καὶ ἀνδράων βοαῖς ἐπὶ μαν τὴν βασιλέα.* That is, They honoured the Emperour with torches and strawing of flowers. and lib. 1. at the comming of Commodus to Rome, *ὡς δὲ πλησίον ἐγένετο τῆς πόλεως πάντα τε ἡ σύγκλητος, καὶ πανδημὸς ὅσοι τὴν πόλιν κατέκον ἀνδράποιοι, διαφηρόμενοι, καὶ πάντα ἐπὶ πορεύμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως οἷος τε ἦν πορεύεσθαι τῆς πόλεως ὅσοντων.* That is, As he approached neere the citie, all the Senate, and generally as many as dwell in Rome came forth and met him euery man as farre off from the citie as possible he could, bearing bays and bringing all sorts of flowers then in season. Claudianus Panegyrica. 2. de Stilicone.

*Spēctabunt cupide matres, spargentur & omnes
Florē vix*

* To the gods of the place] In that religion euery wood and field had his locall gods, without whose good fauour no humane action could in that place haue any happy successe. So Æneas in Virg. lib. 7. at his entrie into Italy

*geniumque loci primamque deorum
Tellurem, nymphasque, & adhuc ignota precatur
Flumina.*—and Orestes in Sophocles Electra.
*ἀλλ' ὦ πατρίδα γῆ, θεοὶ ἐγγυαίοι
δέξαδε μ' ὅπου χεῖρτα ταῖς δὲ ταῖς ὁδοῖς.*

passing out of Persia *προσέειπε τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἦρωσι τοῖς τῶν περσῶν γῆν κατέχουσιν, ἵλαος καὶ εὐμενέας πείπειν σφῶας.* That is, Besought the gods protectors of Persia, to send them forth favourably and wish good speede, and entring into Media, *προσέειπε τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς μεδίων γῆν κατέχουσιν. ἵλαος καὶ εὐμενέας δεχέσθαι αὐτὸς.* That is, to receive them favourably and wish good speede.

In Xenophon 1. *παύδ.* Cambyfes and Cyrus

XXII. One Geta a bondman counterfaiting himselfe to be Scribonianus Camerinus, and associating others vnto him, was taken, brought to Vitellius and hanged.

AB O V R the same time a certaine fable, beleeued at first, and running without controlement at the beginning, ended within a few daies. A certaine man counterfaited himselfe to be Scribonianus Camerinus, and that he had lyen in Neroes time for feare secret in Histria, because there the vassals and possessions of the old Crassi, and the affection toward the name did remaine. so certaine lewd persons being assumed to furnish the play, the credulous common people, and some of the souldiers, vpon ignorance of the truth, or else desirous of troubles, began to asociat themselues vnto him apace: but their captaine was intrapped anon & brought before Vitellius, and being examined what maner of man he was, when as they found

found no truth in his answeres, and that he was owned by his master by name and quality Geta a fugitiue bondman, he was executed after the maner of slaues.

XXIII. *Vespasian sweareth to Vitellius: then taketh vpon himselfe the Empire in Iewrie.*

IT is scarcely credible, how greatly Vitellius grew in pride and slothfulnesse, when as the souldiers sent for that purpose brought word out of Syria and Iewry, that the East had sworne allegiance vnto him. For Vespasian, albeit onely vpon a flying report without any certaine autor, was in euery mans mouth, and commonly spoken of, and oftentimes as he was named Vitellius would startle. Then he and his army, as being without any concurrent in cruelty, in lust, in oppression, brake out into barbarous and forraine behauiour. But Vespasian in the meane season laying his plot for the warre, entred into consideration of the forces both neare and farre off. His owne soldiers were so ready in his behalfe, that when he began them the othe and wished all prosperity to Vitellius, the souldiers answered with silence, without either good wish or good worde. Mutianus was not aliene from Vespasian, and toward Titus very well affected. Alexander the gouernour of AEgypt had entred into the confederacy. The third Legion, because it was transferred out of Syria into Moesia, Vespasian reckened as his owne: and the rest of the Illyrian Legions it was hoped would follow. For the insolent behauiour of the souldiers which came from Vitellius, with their proud gestures and lookes, and rude speeches, despising al others as base and inferiours, had woonderfully offended all the armies beside. But to enter into so weighty a warre was a point not so quickly resolved vpon: and Vespasian albeit he hoped the best, forecast sometimes the worst in his minde: what a day would that be for him, in the which he should commit to the mercy of the war himselfe of threescore yeares of age, and his two sonnes in the flower of their youth? that in priuate attempts a man might proceede and stop where he listed; but to them which desired the Empire there was no midle course, between the estate of a Prince & the death of a traitour. Furthermore he laied before him the puissance of the German army; a matter well knowen vnto him^a being a martiall man: that his Legions had neuer made triall of themselues in a ciuill warre, whereas they of Vitellius had beene conquerours therein: and the conquered party abounded more in complaints then in forces and strength. Moreouer that in ciuill dissensions the faith of the souldier was fleeting: and that there was perill to be feared from euery particular man. For what would cohorts & wings auaille, if one or two, to attaine the reward proposed by the other side, would desperately venture to kill him? so Scribonianus was slaine vnder Claudius, & so his murderer Volaginius of a common souldier was preferred to the highest places of seruice. that it was a more easie matter to incite al in generall, then to beware of euery one in particular. As he seemed to wauer mooued with these feares, both the other Lieutenants with the rest of his friends sought to confirme him, and Mutianus after many and secret conferences, now also in open councell spake to him in this wise. All men, which are to enter into great and important actions, ought to weigh with themselues, whether that which is vndertaken be profitable to the common wealth, honourable for themselues, and easie to be effected, or at least not greatly difficult: withall the party that perswadeth vnto it is to be considered, whether beside bare words and aduise he adioyne his owne perill thereto, yea or no: and if fortune doe fauour the attempt to whom the principall glorie accreweth. I call you Vespasian to the taking of the Empire, a matter as
much

^a *Pro militari.*
for Vespasian before he was sent into Iewry had beene Lieutenant of a Legion in Germania, then in Britainne, where he fought 30 battels, tooke about 20. towncs, and adioyned the Isle of Wight to the obedience of the Roman Empire, whereupon he received the triumphall ornament.
Suet. Vesp. c. 4.

** Abijt iam &
transuetum est
tempus quo posses
videri concupisse
confugiendum est
ad imperium.*

*b About twenty
seuen years old.*

« much for the safegard of the common wealth, as for your owne honour. Next after
 « the gods it is in your hand to attaine it: and feare not as though I sayed it to flatter:
 « it is more neare a disgrace then a praise to be chosen after Vitellius. We rise not
 « against Augustus, a man of that deepe insight, not against the warie old age of Ti-
 « berius, nor against the house of Caius, or Claudius, or Nero rooted by so many de-
 « scents in the Empire: you gaue place also to the ancientnes of Galbaes house: to
 « sleepe any longer and abandon the state to be in this sort polluted and ruined, were
 « a sloth and cowardise, yea although to liue in that slauerie were as safe for you, as it
 « is dishonorable; which indeed is not so. The time is already * gone and forepast
 « when you might seeme to haue for ambition desired the Empire: the Empire must
 « now be your sanctuary and refuge. Haue you forgotten how Corbulo was murder-
 « ed? a man of greater lignage then we are, I grant: and so was Nero likewise then
 « Vitellius. He that is feared is alwaies noble enough in his conceit that doth feare:
 « and that a Prince may be made by the soldiers abroad, Vitellius himselfe hath she-
 « wed the way; a man otherwise which neuer serued in field, neuer attained to any mi-
 « litare renown, but preferred onely vpon a dislike of Galba, and now so disliked him-
 « selfe, that Otho, whom he ouercame, not by strategeme or strength, but by his own
 « hastie casting away of himselfe, is become a notable Prince and much wished for:
 « whereas Vitellius in the meane time disperfeth the Legions, disarmeth the cohorts,
 « and ministreth daily new matter of warre. His owne souldier if he had any courage
 « or edge, it is dulled and worne away in tipling and brotheling houses, and following
 « the Princes example. You haue out of Iewry, Syria and AEgypt nine complete Le-
 « gions in readinesse, not wasted by warre, not corrupted with mutinees; but a soul-
 « dier confirmed with practise and vse, and hartened with happy exploits against for-
 « raine enemies. We haue nauies, wings and cohortes to strengthen our cause, and
 « kings beside most faithfull vnto vs: and that which is about all, your owne experi-
 « ence and skill. Of my selfe I will not say much: this onely that I am not inferiour
 « to Cæcina and Valens: disdain not Mutianus for a helper, because you haue him
 « not a competitour: I prefer my selfe before Vitellius, and you before me. Your
 « house is beautified with triumphal ornaments, and adorned with two goodly young-
 « men, the one already ^b capable of the Empire, and in his first seruice renowned a-
 « mong the armies of Germanie also: it were absurd for me not to yeelde vp the Em-
 « pire to him, whose sonne I would surely adopt if my selfe were Emperour. Now as
 « concerning the reward and the perill, they shall not be equally parted betweene
 « vs. For if we do ouercome, I shall haue that honor which you will affoorde me:
 « the danger and perill shall be alike to vs both; or as it is better, rule you these armies
 « here, and commit ouer to me the warre and vncertaine euent of the field. The con-
 « quered side liueth this day vnder better discipline, then the conquerours; anger and
 « hatred, and desire of reuenge inflaming them to valour, whereas the other through
 « pride and breach of discipline waxe dullish and blunt: whose secret and swelling
 « wounds the warre of it selfe will open and disclose. neither do I repose my selfe more
 « vpon your vigilant, frugall and discrete dealing, then vpon the sluggish, doltish, &
 « cruell proceeding of Vitellius. And beside all this our cause is more iustificable in
 « warre then in peace: for they which deliberate to rebell, haue rebelled. After
 « the oration of Mutianus the rest came more boldly about him, exhorting and per-
 « swading him, and laying before him the oracles and prophecies, and the fauourable
 « aspects of the heauens: neither was Vespasian voide of that kind of superstition. For
 « afterward when he was Emperour, he had openly about him one Seleucus an Astro-
 « loger, to foretell and direct his affaires. Moreouer certaine olde and ominous pre-
 « sages

fages came to his remembrance. A notable ^c tall cypres tree was in his ground, which sodainely fell downe, and the day following rose vp againe vpon the same root and flourished, growing higher and better spred then before. That thing by the consent of the Haruspices foreshewed great and prosperous matters: who assured him, when he was very young, of most high and honourable preferment. But at the first the ^d Consulship, and triumphall ornaments, and the glory of the Iewish victory seemed to haue fulfilled the prophecy: when he had attained to them, hee beleued then the Empire was portended thereby. Betweene Iewry and Syria lyeth the mount Carmelus, and so the god also is called, to whom according to the custome anciently receyued an altare is erected, and all deuoutnesse and reuerence shewed, but without either image or temple. As Vespasian sacrificed there, fraught with secret hopes in his head, Basilides the priest often viewing and marking the entrailles, ^e Whatsoeuer it is, quoth he, O Vespasian which thou intendest, whether it be to build a house, or to enlarge thy possessions, or to increase the number of seruants, it shall be effected: the gods doe grant thee a great roome, large limits, and many men. These darke speeches were straightwaies noted and published, and now by the common voice of the people applyed and construed: neither was there any thing more vulgare in euery mans mouth, and especially in his owne audience; as to them which depend vpon hopes, such kindes of speeches are most vsed. From this conference they departed with full resolution, Mutianus to Antiochia, and Vespasian to Cæsarea, the one being the head towne of Syria, the other of Iudæa. ^f The matter was first published, and Vespasian named Emperour at Alexandria by Tiberius Alexander, who made the most haste, and ministred the souldiers their othe vpon the first day of Iulie, which day afterward was reputed and celebrated as the first day of his raigne, although his owne army of Iewry began not before the ^g third of the same moneth: and then in his presence they sware with such affection and heate, that they did not attend the comming of Titus his sonne out of Syria, who was a messenger of all matters betweene Mutianus and his father. The ^h violence of the soldier ouerruled the whole action: for no assembly being called; the Legions not met together; the time and place not agreed of, nor the man determined vpon, a point in that case of most difficulty, that should speake the first word: hope and feare, reason and chance, diuersly distracted their mindes. Matters standing in these termes, as Vespasian came out of his chamber, a few souldiers after the wonted maner stoode on a rowe, as to salute their Generall, but they saluted him Emperour: then the rest ran to, and heaped vpon him the names of Cæsar and Augustus, and all titles of soueraine power. His conceites rose from apprehension of feare to the consideration of his fortune, notwithstanding there appeared in him no token of pride or arrogancie, nor change in so great a change; but being amazed at the sodaine sight of so great a multitude, as soone as he had recouered his spirits he spake vnto them soldierlike: and being receiued with a ioyfull applause, he sent word to Mutianus of the successe. Mutianus at Antiochia receiuing the message which he looked for, called the souldiers to the othe for Vespasian, which they most willingly accepted. Then he went to ⁱ the Theatre, where the maner of that towne is to meete and consult: and made a speech vnto them, as they flocked and fawned about him, in their owne language, as he was a man competently eloquent in the Greeke tongue also; and one that had the arte to make the most shew of whatsoeuer he spake or did. But aboue all, that incensed principally both the prouince and the army, which Mutianus affirmed, that Vitellius had determined to transferre the German Legions into Syria, a rich and quiet seruice; and of the contrary

^c Suet. Vespas. no. c. 5.

^d Quem gessit, saith Suetonius, per duos nouissimos anni menses, about the later end of Claudius time.

^e Suet. Vesp. c. 5. apud Iudæam Carmeli dei oraculum consulens (Vespasianum) ut confirmaretur, ut quicquid cogitaret volueretq; animo, quantumlibet magnū, id esse perueniturum polliceretur.

^f Suet. Vesp. c. 6. saith the matter was first broched and begun by the Illyrian army.

^g 5 to. Nonas. Suet. 5 to. Idus, which is the eleventh day.

^h The soldiers affection toward Vespasian, and the maner and circumstances of his assuming the Empire, are well set downe by Iosephus ad. c. 4. c. 36. (who was present at the action) with some particularities not touched by Tacitus here, noted by Egesippus also lib. 4. c. 27. if it be the ancient Egesippus, and not rather an extract of Iosephus.

^b He came out of Jewry with Titus when he was sent by his father to Galba: and when Titus vpon the message of Galbaes death returned backe againe from Corinth, Agrippa notwithstanding, saith Iosephus lib. 4. c. 29. and in Iosephus Cas. de re iud. lib. 2. c. 1. saith our common Hegeippus, lib. 4. c. 21.

trary side to remoue the Syrian Legions into Germany, a hard and cold countrey, and a place of great paines: for both they of the prouince liked well of the souldiers company, to whom they were enured, and with whom many of them were linked in affinitie and kinred, and the soldiers likewise loued the place of their settled camps, as their owne homes, being growen familiar with them, by reason of their long seruice there. Before the fifteenth of Iuly all Syria had receyued the same othe. Moreouer Sohemus with his kingdome adioyned himselfe to the cause, a man of good forces; and Antiochus of wealth of long gathering, and of all the subiect kings the richest. Agrippa also, vpon secret aduertisements from his friends, departed ^b from Rome vnawares to Vitellius, and sayled hastily home: and likewise the queene Berenice with all her might furthered the side, a queene in the flower of her beauty and youth, and well beloued of the old Vespasian also, in respect of the great and rich gifts which she gaue. All the prouinces which bordered on the sea, as farre as Asia and Achaia, and all the inlands to Pontus and Armenia, receiued the oth: but the Lieutenants thereof were without armies, for as yet ² Cappadocia had no Legions assigned.

¹ The Theatre, where the manner of that towne is to meete and consult] For so all the Grecian citties vsed to doe, as appeareth both by the Greeke Orators and Historiographers. a thing noted also by Ausonius *Ludo septem sapientium, Prologo.*

*Quid erubescis tu togate Romule?
Scenam quod introibunt tam clari viri?
Nobis pudendum est hoc, non & Atticis
Quibus theatrum curia prebet vicem?
Nostris negotijs sua loca forsuid data.
Campus comitijs, et conscriptis curia.
Forum atque vestra separat ius ciuium.
Vna est Athenis, atq; in omni Grecia
Ad consulendum publici sedes loci.*

^a cap. 8.

² Cappadocia had no legions] Vespasian being settled in state Cappadociae, saith ^a Suetonius, *propter assiduos barbarorum incursus legiones addidit, consularemq; rectorum imposuit pro equite Romano.* yet by Tacitus it may seeme there was some power. *Cappadocia Pontusq; & quicquid castrorum Armenijs pretenditur.*

XXIIII. The preparation of Vespasian and his side for the warre.

BERYTVS ¹ was elected for the place of their principall consultations. Thither Mutianus with the Lieutenants and Tribunes repayed, and the chieftest of the Centurions and soldiers, and certaine choise persons out of the Iewish army. So many footmen and horsemen together, and so great preparations of kings struiuing to exceede one another made shew of a Princes estate. The first prouision for warre was to leuy more men, and reuoke the old souldiers which were discharged: certaine strong cities were appointed out to make armour therein: at Antioche gold and siluer was coyned: and in all these seuerall workes great speede and diligence vsed by the meanes of good ouerseers. Vespasian also would go in his owne person and encourage them, inciting the good by praise, the slow by example rather then correction, more ready to conceale the vices of his friends then the vertues: many he rewarded with captaines and Procuratours places, many he aduanced to be Senatours, excellent men and of great vertue, and which afterwards attained to highest degrees, although in some fortune supplied the want of good qualities. As for donatiues to the souldier, neither did Mutianus in his first oration make any mention but sparingly thereof, nor Vespasian make any offer of greater in ciuill warre, then others were wonted in peace; a man notable and firme against these lauishings to souldiers; and therefore hauing his army better in order. Moreouer

Embassia-

Embassadours were sent to the kings of Parthia and Armenia to conclude a surceance of armes, lest whilest the Legions were intentiue vpon the ciuill warre, those nations should assault the frontiers behinde. It was agreed that Titus should prosecute the Iewish warre, and Vespasian should put himselfe in possession of the ^a strength of AEgypt. Against Vitellius it was thought sufficient to send a part of the host, and Mutianus to leade them, and the name of Vespasian, and the fauour of fate, which findeth or maketh a way through all lets. Then letters were written to all the Lieutenants and armies, and order giuen out to inuite the Prætorian souldiers, which hated Vitellius, vpon promise of restitution to their places. Mutianus with an army not encombred with cariage, bearing himselfe rather as the Emperours fellow then as a seruant ² marched forward, not very slowly, lest he should seeme for feare to delay, nor yet very hastily, but gaue time for the fame of the action to grow; knowing that his strength was not much, and that men beleue alwaies greater matters of things which are absent: but there followed a great troupe, the sixth Legion, and thirteene thousand Vexillaries. The fleet he commaunded to passe out of Pontus and meete him at Byzantium, being halfe in a minde to leaue Mœsia, ³ and with his horsemen and footemen directly to go to Dyrrhachium, and withall with his shippes of warre to shut vp the sea toward Italie, leauing Achaia and Asia behinde him in safety; which, vnlesse they were garded with sufficient power, being without armies would lie open to Vitellius, and that by that meanes Vitellius himselfe would stand in doubt what part of Italie to protect, if at one instant Brundisium and Tarentum, and the coasts of Lucania and Calabria should be infested by enemy fleets. Thus the ^b prouinces were busily occupied in prouision of shippes, men, and armour; but the greatest difficulty was to get money: which Mutianus affirming to be the sinewes of ciuill warre, respected not lawe or equity in iudgements, but only what way to procure masses of money. Crimes were daylie deuised, against men of most wealth, and they spoyled: which maner of dealing being of it selfe greuous and intollerable, but in some sort excusable by the necessity of the warre, remayned also in peace afterward. For Vespasian himselfe, albeit at the beginning of his Empire he was not so obstinately bent to obtaine vnreasonable matters, yet vpon his continuall prosperitie, and taught by ill masters, he tooke forth a bad lesson, and vsed it boldly. With his owne purse also Mutianus furthered the warre, conferring priuately that, which he would in more ample measure repay himselfe out of the common. The rest following his example in contributing of money, few or none had the grace to receiue it againe with the like vantage.

^a *Claudia AEgypti. Iosephus, 2. lib. 4. c. 37. openeth this matter at large of the necessity of the countrey to the vitall of Italie, of the strength on euery side, and hardnesse of access either by land or by sea, and especially of the dangerousnesse of the haven at Alexandria a very particular description. neuertheless Vespasian, after this consultation at Berytus, according to Iosephus cap. went to Antiochia before he went into AEgypt.*

^b *Having set forward Mutianus in his way, here he returneth againe to talke of the preparation somewhat disorderly, and peraduenture to draw in that saying of Mutianus, Pecunias esse belli ciuiliu neruos.*

¹ Berytus] By the circumstances in the story of Iosephus it may seeme, that here at Berytus was the first meeting of Vespasian and Mucianus, and that before all was delt betweene them by the mediation of Titus, whom we finde in Tacitus absent with Mucianus in Syria, which had not needed if they had met before, and the matter been concluded vpon. Surely in Tacitus of their first meeting no place is set downe, and it may seeme strange how two Lieutenants Generall could come personally together before the war was openly vnderaken. But they not comming together before their open declaration in armes, there had been no place left for that good oration, which Tacitus ment howsoever to bestowe on Mucianus. although for the truth of the story, and the circumstances of matters which passed in Iewry, and Syria, I am content to beleue Iosephus better, who, as I haue saied, was an eye-witnesse of the whole action.

² Marched forward] Iosephus *ἀλωσ. 4. cap. 40. ὁ δὲ μωκιανὸς διὰ τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆ χειμῶνος δειπας τὸ πλεῖν, πρὶν τὴν στρατὸν ἦναι διὰ κατὰ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ φρυγίας.* That is, Mutianus fearing to commit himselfe to the sea because it was the deepe of winter, brought his army by land through Cappadocia and Phrygia. How it could be *χειμῶνος ἀκμῇ*, the deepe of winter, whenas without question the war was begun sometime in Iuly, or at the furthest in the beginning of August, I cannot imagin.

³ To leaue Mœsia and with his horsemen] It appeareth in the proesse of the story, that he tooke the way of Mœsia, of whose whole iourney from Syria, till we finde him in the third booke fighting with the Dacians, we haue not one word set downe by Tacitus; as likewise after that action, till his entrie into Rome, in the fourth booke: points in my iudgement very materiall in a good story, and greatly to the satisfaction of the reader.

XXV. *The armies in Mæſia, Pannonia and Dalmatia adhere to Veſpaſian.*

^a *Suet. Veſp. c. 6.*
writeth that not
the three Legi-
ons, but 2000.
out of the three
Legions came
forward to A-
quileia: no doubt
erroneouſly.

^b *Tacitus 14.*
Ann.

THE affayres of Veſpaſian were in the meane ſeaſon haſtened forward by the Illyrian armies affection toward the ſide. The third Legion gaue example to the other two Legions of Mœſia: the ſeuenth ſurnamed Claudiana, and the eighth, being welwillers of Otho, albeit they were not preſent at the battell, but only come forward ^a to Aquileia; at which place miſuſing the meſſengers that brought word of Othoes ouerthrowe, and tearing the banners wherein Vitellius name was inſcribed, and laſtly taking a ſumme of money by violence and parting it amongſt them, they ſhewed themſelues open enemies to the cauſe. Whereupon they feared diſpleaſure, and vpon feare deuſed, that this kinde of dealing, which to Vitellius muſt haue needed a long and ſolemne excuſe, might to Veſpaſian be ſet vp and reckened as a fauour and benefit. So the three Mœſian Legions, thus concurring in one, by letters inuited the Pannonian armie to the cauſe, or if they refuſed, prepared to force them. In that tumult Aponius Saturninus Lieutenant generall of Mœſia endeououred to commit a moſt wicked act, ſending a Centurion to murder Tertius Iulianus Lieutenant of the ſeuenth Legion, vpon priuate grudges, pretending the publicke cauſe of the ſides. Iulianus vnderſtanding of the danger, and taking guides ſkilfull in the countrey, fled by the deſerts of Mœſia, beyond the mount Hemus, and afterward was not preſent in the ciuill warre of the one ſide or other: protracting the iourney he tooke to Veſpaſian by diuerſe delaies, and as the occurrences were, making leſſe ſpeede or more. But in Pannonia the thirteenth Legion, and ſeuenth ſurnamed Galbiana, retaining the anger and grieſe of the loſſe at Bebricum, without any ſtay ioined themſelues to Veſpaſian, at the incitement principally of Antonius Primus, a man attainted in law, and in Neroes time ^b conuicted of forgery, but among other miſeries of warre and a troubled ſtate he recovered his place in the Senate, and by Galba was made Lieutenant of the ſeuenth Legion. He was ſuppoſed to haue written diuers letters to Otho, offering his ſeruiſe for a captaine to the ſide; of whom being not regarded, he was not that warre in any employment: but whenas Vitellius ſtate began to decay, following Veſpaſian he added great waight to the cauſe, being a man valiant of his hands, of a ready vtterance, a cunning craftſmaſter to make others odious, in diſſenſions and mutinees powerable, a violent ſpoyle, a waſtfull ſpender, in time of peace and quiet gouernement inſupportable, in warre not to be contemned. The Mœſian and Pannonian armies, being thus ioyned together, drew anone the Dalmatian ſoldier, albeit the Lieutenants generall ſturred nothing at all. Titus Flauianus was generall of Pannonia, and Pompeius Sullanus of Dalmatia, two wealthy old men: but there was in the countrey Cornelius Fuſcus the Procurator, a man in the principall ſtrength of his age, and of noble birth; who in his firſt yeares vpon deſire of eaſe, had renounced his place in Senate, and afterward being captaine of his colony in fauour of Galba, by that meanes attained a Procuratorſhip. This man, entring into the cauſe for Veſpaſian, became a principall firebrand of the warre, ſeeming to delite not ſo much in the rewards of perils, as in the perils themſelues, and in ſteede of certainties, wherewith he was anciently indued, chuſing new and doubtfull vncertainties. So he aſſaieth to ſhake and ſturre vp whatſoeuer there was any where diſcontented, writing into Britanny to the fourteenth Legion, into Spaine to the firſt, becauſe they both had ſtoode againſt Vitellius for Otho: letters alſo were ſent abroad into France:

France : and so in one moment there brake a great and mighty warre out, the Illyrian armies thus plainly reuolting, and the rest inclining to follow, where fortune should fauour.

¹ Illyrian armies] Some learned men charge this narration heere, and generally the storie of the actions betweene Vitellius & Vespasian, of great insufficiencies, imperfections, & confusions, whereof I do in my iudgement most cleerely acquite it. Illyricum was diuided into three prouinces; Moesia, whereof at this time Aponius Saturninus was President or Lieutenant generall; Pannonia, whereof T. Ampius Flavianus was President; and Dalmatia, whereof Poppæus Siluanus, or Pompeius Sullanus (for in both names we finde difference of writing) was President. In Moesia were three Legions, Tertia Gallica, Octaua Augusta, and Septima Claudiana, led by three *legati legionum*, Lieutenants of Legions: Dillius Aponianus of the Thirde, Hist. 3. Numisius Lupus of the Eight, Hist. 7. and Tertius Iulianus of the Seuenth; who forsaking his place, as appeereth in this place, Vipsianus Messalla vnderooke the charge. 3. Hist. in Pannonia there were at this present two legions, septima Galbiana whose Lieutenant was Antonius Primus; and tertiadecima Gemina sent backe out of Italie from building of Amphitheatres, whose Lieutenant in this warre was Veditius Aquila, the same man who was also Lieutenant in the last warre. 3. Hist. & 2. Hist. In Dalmatia there was none but onely one Legion, namely vndeçima Claudiana (the fourteenth being transported into Britanny) whose Lieutenant was Annius Bassus. 3. Hist. The premises considered, which are all exprest by Tacitus, I see not what can be required more to the perfection of this narration heere, it seeming to me one of the best, and most sufficient in this booke. and so likewise in the whole storie of Tacitus, of all great actions I take that betweene Vitellius and Vespasian to be generally the most fullie, and best set downe, as the other betweene Otho and Vitellius the woorst. Now for the time when Illyricum began to reuolt from Vitellius, as in noting of times Tacitus is alwaies too scant, Suetonius ² Vitellio somewhat relieued vs. *Octauo imperij mense descinerunt ab eo exercitus Masiarum atque Pannoniae*: so that it seemeth to haue beene begun in August, or perchance toward the later end of Iuly.

² cap. 15.

XXVI. *Vitellius maketh his entry into Rome.*

WHILEST these things were a working in the prouinces, by Vespasian and his adherents, Vitellius growing euery day more contemptible and slothfull, staying vpon euery place of pleasure in towne and country, with his troublesome traine marched toward the city. ¹ Threescore thousand armed men were in the company licentiously giuen, of lackeyes and horsekeepers a greater number; with infinite vittailers and followers of the campe, the most dissolute of all others: beside the traines of so many Lieutenants and so many friends, out of all compasse of obedience, yea although the gouernours had beene men of great austeritie and strictnesse. Moreouer the Senatours and gentlemen charged the traine, who came out of the city to meete him, some for feare, some for flattery, the rest and so all one after another for company, lest they should seeme to stay behinde when others did goe. Thither resorted also of the baser sort certaine well known to Vitellius by meanes of vn honest seruices, which in time past they had done him, as buffons, stageplayers and charret driuers; with which kinde of reprochfull acquaintance he was delited wonderfully. Neither were the colonies onely or free townes impouerished by purueying of vittailles for so huge a company; but the husbandmen themselues, and fields, the corne being now ripe, were spoiled and wasted as an enemy countrey. Many and cruell murders were committed by the souldiers among themselues, by reason of the iarring which continued betweene the Legions and Aydes, euer since the sturre at Ticinum: against the pezants, or any third party they agreed but too well: but the greatest slaughter was seuen miles from the city. At that place Vitellius distributed to his souldiers, according to the fashion of ² fencers diet, to euery of them meate already dressed: and the common people, that came out of the city to see it, had dispersed themselues throughout the whole campe. As the soldiers gaue no heede to such matters, certaine pleasants, after a kind of homely iesting, cut away secretly their belts, and spoiled them thereof; asking in iying maner, whether they were girded or no. The soldiers stomacke, not vsed to beare words of disgrace, could not digest that scorne: but with their swords

reuenged themselves vpon the people which was without weapon: among others the father of one of the souldiers was slaine as he accompanied his sonne: vpon which accident perceiued and noised abroad they refrained from shedding of innocent blood. Notwithstanding in Rome the terrour was great, by reason of the souldiers running and gadding thither before. The Place of common assembly they repaired specially to, coueting to behold the place where Galba was slaine: when as they themselves were a spectacle no lesse horrible, with hides of wilde beasts about their backs, and huge massy iauelins in their hands, falling to quarrelling, and from quarrelling to blowes and their weapon, whenas thorough their owne lacke of skill they did not auoid the presse of the people, or chanced to fall by meanes of the slippery stones, or iustling of others. The Tribunes also and other captaines in terrible sort, with multitudes of armed men, went squaring and ietting the streetes. Vitellius himselfe riding from the Miluian bridge vpon a goodly courser with his coate armour on backe, and girded souldierlike, putting the Senate and people before him, had welny made his entry^a as into a towne taken by force; but being aduised otherwise by his friends he laied aside his militare attire, and taking his robes marched with his men in peaceable maner. The³ Standerds of fower Legions were marshalled in front, and so many banners about them out of other Legions: then the enseignes of twelue wings: next to whom were the ranckes of footemen, and behinde them the horse, and lastly fower and thirty cohorts distinguished according to the names of the nations they were of, or kindes of weapons they vsed. Before the Standerd marched the Camp-masters and Tribunes and principall Centurions in white garments, the other Centurions ech with his owne band glistering all in armour, and goodly gifts won by their seruice: the chaines also of the common souldiers and horse furniture shone: a braue and beautifull shew, and an army worthy of a better Prince then Vitellius. After this maner entring the Capitoll, and there embracing his mother, he honoured her with the name and stile of Augusta.

^a Suetonius, c. 11. saith plainly he did so: *urbem ad classem introit, paludatus ferro, succinctus inter signa atque vexilla, sagularum comitibus, ac delectu commilitonum armis.* for this seemeth to haue bene the maner of entring a towne taken by force. Iosephus, 4. ad. ca. 35. describeth also this entry.

^a Three score thousand armed men] Valens had out of Germany fortie thousand armed men, beside *legio Italica*, and eight cohorts of Batauians, &c. *Cæcina* thirtie thousand, beside *Ala Syllana* &c. Vitellius *tota mole belli secutus*, saith Tacitus 1. Hist. and in this booke, *reliquas Germanici exercitus vires trahabat*, beside eight thousande of *Britannico dilectu*. of all which number we finde in Tacitus none sent away, but the cohorts of Batauians. and yet heere we haue but three score thousand armed men.

^a Fencers diet, *Gladiatoria sagina*] *Gladiatores* & *Athletæ* in old time were most daintily dieted and stall fedde, as it were: the knowen phrales of *Athleticus habitus*, and *Gladiatoria sagina* importing no lesse: Cic. *Cum gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate*. Cyprianus: *Impletur in succum cibis fortioribus corpus, & aruina assidui nidoris moles membrorum robusta pinguescit, ut saginatus in penam carius pereat.*

³ The standers of fower legions] The eight Legions, which seeme heere, and elsewhere, to be noted of Vitellius side, were *Italica*, and the seauen Legions of Germany, albeit none completely but *Rapax*, in all the rest part of the men being left behinde, and the whole names attributed alike to both parts.

XXVII. The actions of Vitellius at Rome after his entry.

THE day following, as though he had spoken before the Senate and people of a strange cittie, he made a glorious speech of himselfe, extolling his owne industriousnes and temperancie, when as they which heard him of their owne knowledge were witnesses of his lewd actions, and all Italy beside, thorow which he marched for dowsinesse and riot notoriously infamous: notwithstanding the common people which is voide of cares, and learned in one lesson onely, without difference of truth and falsehood to flatter them in authority, with showtes and wordes gaue their applause; and when he denied the name of Augustus they constrained him to take it by force, as vainely as before he had vainely refused it. By vertue of his

*a Sane. Vitell. c. 1.
omni diuino hu-
manis, stare neg-
lecto, Allenſi die
pontificatus
maximus cepit.*

his High-prieſtſhip he ² published his edict of ceremonies vpon the eighteenth of Iuly: which thing in a citty which conſtrueth all things was taken for an ill ſigne, the day being of ancient time ¹ accounted vnluckie, by reaſon of the ouerthrowes at Cremera and Alia: ſo ignorant he was of all law humain and diuine, and ſo negligent were his friends and ſeruants, as that he ſeemed to haue none but drunken perſons about him. Notwithſtanding in the ² election of Conſuls he carried himſelfe in a kind of equality, ſeriously affecting in the Theatre as a ſpectatour, in the Race as a partaker, the fauour of the meanest ſort; things acceptable indeed and popular, if they had ſprung from a vertuous roote; but the memory of his former life made them eſteemed baſe and diſhonorable. He came often into the Senate, euen when ſmall matters were handled; and as once by fortune Heluidius Priscus Prætor elect had opined againſt a matter which Vitellius affected, he was in choler at the firſt, but proceeded no further, but onely to pray aide at the Tribunes of the people againſt the contempt of his authority. Whereupon Heluidius friends, who feared a deeper impreſſion of anger in his minde, going about to mitigate and make vp the matter, he answered that it was no new thing to ſee two ſenatours in the common wealth diſagree in iudgement: that he alſo was wont ſometimes to diſſent from Thraſea. Many derided the impudencie of the compariſon: others liked it well, that he had picked out not one of the powerable fauorites in court, but Thraſea rather for a patterne of true glory. ³ P. Sabinus and Iulius Priscus were conſtituted captaines of the Garde; Priscus by Valens preferment, and Sabinus by Cæcinaes. For Cæcina and Valens diſpoſed of all the affaires of the Empire, leauing between them little authoritie or none at all to Vitellius, and yet iarring and diſagreeing together, aunciently enemies one to the other: but the warre and the campe couered the rancour ſo ſo for a ſeaſon, which now brake out and was greatly increaſed by the peruerſe behaviour of friends, and liuing together in a citty ſo fruitfull to breed and nourish diſlikes; whileſt they contend together, and are compared by others in multitude of ſuiters and followers, and greatnes of traine; Vitellius diuerſely fauouring ſometime the one, ſometime the other: as powerablenes is neuer ſure where it is too exceſſiue. As for Vitellius, knowing him to be ſodainely mutable vpon euery offence or flatterie, they contemned and feared him withall: neuertheleſſe whileſt the time was they ſerued themſelues, and gat houſes, gardens, and the riches of the Empire into their hands; when as the lamentable and indigent multitude of Noble men, whom Galba with their children reſtored to their countrey, was not any way relieued by the Princes liberalitie. Onely hee granted them their former ⁴ right ouer their freedemen: a point acceptable to the chiefe men of the cittie, and not diſallowed euen of the meane ſort: but thoſe ſeruile natures marred altogether the benefit thereof, hiding their money in ſecret corners, or in great mens coſers; and ſome of them paſſed to the ſeruiſe of the Prince, and became of more might then their maſters. Now as touching the ſouldiers, when as the Prætorian campe was replenished, the remainder which was very great, lodging in porches and temples ſcattered vp and downe the whole towne forgot to knowe their enſignes, to keepe watch and warde, to harden themſelues with labour and trauell: but drowned in the pleaſures of the cittie, and filthineſſe not to be named, weakened their bodies with idienes, and their mind with incontinent liuing: and laſtly without any care at all of their own health many quartered in the peſtilent places of the Vatican, wherupon the death of many common perſons enſued: and the Germans and Frenchmen lying by the Tiber, and being otherwiſe ſubiect to diſeaſes, vtterly ouerthrew the ſtate of their body, with too much ſwimming in the riuer, and impatience of heat. Moreouer the citty-ſouldiery

was through vndiscreetnes or ambition corrupted. Sixteene Prætorian cohorts and foure vrbane were enrolled, containing a thousand men a piece. In preferring to those roomes Valens presumed to beare greater stroake, as being the worthier man, and hauing redeemed Cæcina himselfe out of perill: and in truth by his comming the side was reuiued, and with so happie a battell hee cancelled the hard opinion of his slow comming forward: and all the souldiers of low Germanie followed Valens and depended wholly vpon him: vpon which causes it is supposed that Cæcinaes faith began first to be fleeting. Notwithstanding Vitellius yeelded not so much to the captaines, but that he yeelded much more to the souldiers pleasures: euerie one chose his owne place of seruice: were he neuer so vnwoorthie, if he liked it better he was deputed to the citty seruice: againe those which were fit were suffered, if they listed to remaine in their former estate among the Legionarie or Auxiliarie soldiers: which diuerse were willing to do being molested with sickenneses, and not able to endure the heat of the cuntrey. Notwithstanding the Legions & Aides were drawn of their principall strength, and the beauty of the Prætorian campe blemished, by this confusion rather then choise of twenty thousand out of the whole army. As Vitellius was making a solemne speech, the souldiers required Asiaticus, and Flavius, and Rufinus, captaines of France to be executed, because they had taken armes in Vindex behalfe: neither did Vitellius restraine such speeches, besides that he was a man of weake resistance by nature, knowing also that the day of his donatiue was at hand, and the money wanting. Wherefore he granted liberally all other requests to the souldier: and to supply that defect the freedmen of the former Princes were commaunded to contribute, according to the number of their bondmen: whereas Vitellius without other care, saue onely to waste and consume, builded vp stables for charer-driuers, filled the Race with spectacles of fencers and wilde beasts, and as in greatest abundance cast money most idly away. Furthermore Cæcina and Valens with great preparation, and such as before that time was neuer seene, celebrated the birth day of Vitellius, with shewes of fencers in euery streete throughout the whole citty. One thing much greeued the good, as it cheered the bad, that Vitellius erected altars in Campus Martius, and there celebrated solemly the^b exequies of Nero. the beasts for the sacrifice were publickely slaine and burnt: ^c the Augustaes put to the fire: which order of Priests Tiberius Cæsar consecrated to the Iulian family, as Romulus did another the like to king Tatius. It was not yet fully foure moneths since the victorie, and ^e Asiaticus Vitellius freedman had fully done as much harme, as euer had any Polycletus, or Patrobius, or whatsoeuer most odious name in former courts. No man in that court sought to rise by vertue or ablenes: the onely way to credit was with prodigall banquets, and sumptuous cheere to satiate the vnsatiable appetites of Vitellius; who contenting himselfe to enioy the present, and caring not any further, is thought in so fewe moneths to haue wasted ^d nine hundreth millions of sesterces: a great and a miserable citty, which in the same yeare supported an Otho and a Vitellius; and that which is more insupportable, a Vinus, a Fabius, an Icelus, and an Asiaticus, in great variety of most ignominious sorts, vntill such time as Mutianus and ^e Marcellus, and rather other men then other maners succeeded in place.

^a Gladiatores.

^b Suet. c. 11. *et ne cui dubium foret quod exemplar regende reip. eligeret, in medio campo Martio, adhibita publicorum sacerdotum frequentia, inferias Neroni dedit.*

^c Read Suet. l. 2. c. 12.

^d That is, according to our positions, seven millions thirty one thousand two hundred and fifty pound sterling.

^e Epirus Marcellus, a great orator, an instrument of Nero against Thrasea and others, and generally in fauour with all the Princes, vnder whom he liued, as a smoother of their actions, read Tac. 16. Ann. 2. c. 4. Hist. c. 7.

^a Accounted vnluckie] Liuius lib. 6. l. 1. *Tum de diebus religiosi agitari captum diemq. a. d. 15. Kalen. Sextiles duplici clade insignem, quo die ad Cremeram Fabij cæsi, quo deinde ad Aliam cum exilio urbis sædè pugnatum, à posteriore clade Alien- sem appellarunt, insignemque nulli rei publicè priuasiue agenda fecerunt.* Dio. lib. 9. de clade Cremerensi. τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐν ἧ τὸ πᾶθος ἐγένετο μέλαιναν τε καὶ σκοτεινὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἰταλικοῖς πόλεσι καὶ ὁ δὲ νεὸς αὐτῶν ἐν ταύτῃ χρόνῳ ἀρξάμενος, τὸ τε ἀμβέβαιον αὐτῇ πᾶσιν ἐπιδεικνύμενον. That is, The day in which this calamitie befell them the people of Rome

ACCOUNTS

accounts dismall and unluckie; neither will they on it begin any serious matter, in respect of the ill fortune that happened that day to the citie.

² In the election of Consuls: *Comitia Consulium cum candidatis civiliter celebrans*] What by *Comitia Consulium* should be ment in this place, the people being at this time excluded from all voice in elections, either I do not conceiue, or else *comitia consulium civiliter celebrare* is but as much, as *munera à candidatis consulatus edita* (whether it were himselfe or any other) *civiliter celebrare*. In the free state the suiters for offices to winne the peoples fauour and goodwill *dabant gladiatores*, till it was by a law expressely by Tully to that purpose enacted forbidden, and brought within the compasse of *ambitus*. Cicero in Vatinius: *Ego legem de ambitu ex S. C. tulit, que dilucide vetat biennio quo quis petas petiturusue sit, gladiatores dare nisi ex testamento*. But after they had attained their suit, it was then not lawfull onely, but necessarily incident to most offices to exhibit to the people all sorts of games and plaies, and accordingly they performed it with all magnificence & cost. Vnder the Emperours, albeit no part of the election of any officer depended vpon the peoples fauour, yet both *candidati*, & *designati*, and actuall officers continued to minister to the people their accustomed pleasures of *gladiatores*, *circenses* &c. contending therein by all possible meanes to win the goodwill of the people. In the time of Alexander Mammear, *Questores candidati munera populo dederunt*; in Neroes, *Questoribus designatis gladiatores edendi necessitas erat*, saith Tacitus. *Consul designatus est et munus edidit*: Marcellus Iureconsultus l. 36. Now to be present at these shoues was accounted great popularitie in the Prince. Xiphil. de Othone, *eis τὸ θέαμα σωμασίων εἰσποίτου ἡρώτων τὸ πᾶν ἄνθος*. That is, He vsed much the Theaters to win the hearts of the multitude. ^a Suetonius de Augusto. *Ipse Circenses spectabat spectaculo plurimas horas, aliquando totos dies aderat*. Tacit. 1. An. de eodem. *Cum se rebatur misceri volupatibus vulgi*, as contrarily to come seldom thither was disliked as a signe of a proud, melancholicke, and sowe nature; wherof Iulianus accuseth himselfe in Misopogone; *αἰ μὲν τὸς ἱπποδρόμους, ὥσπερ οἱ γένετατα ὀφειλόμενος τὰς ἀγορὰς; ὁ δὲ γὰρ ἐν εἰς αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, &c.* That is, I haue hate and shun the horse races, as they which are indebted do the places of publique assemblie, therefore I go seldom to them, or to come thither and not to be attentiuie, or aliud agere, as Caesar, *qui vulgò reprehensus est*, saith Suetonius, *quod inter spectandum epistolis libellisque legendis ac rescribendis vacaret*. But Vitellius heere seemeth not onely to haue frequented the shewes, which *candidati Consulatus*, or *designati* did exhibit, but also to haue taken part, for example, with the *Mirmyllones* against the *Thraces* in theatro, or with the *Veneti* against the *Prosimi* in circo, and therein *omnem infimæ plebis iram affectasse*; in those daies accounted a point of most great popularitie. Suet. ^b Tito: *Quin & studium armorum Thracum (ne quid popularitatis prætermitteret) præ se ferens, sepe cum populo & voce & gestu, ut sanctorum canillatu est Titus, verum maiestate saluâ*. ^b Cap. 8.

³ P. Sabinus] Not Vespasians brother, as some learned men against all circumstances of storie haue written. This Sabinus was cast in prison ob amicitiam Cæcine: 3. Hist. Vespasians brother was *Præfectus urbis*, and at good libertie, till he was besieged and taken in the Capitol.

⁴ Right ouer their freedmen: *Iura libertorum*] The *Libertus* was bound to maintaine his patrone, if by anie meanes he fell in decay: at his death by the old constitutions to leaue his patrone heire of the halfe of his goods, which if it were any waies embezeled, the law awarded the patrone *omnium bonorum possessionem etiam contra tabulas*, and in these two points, beside some other seruices and duties called in the law *opera*, consisted almost the whole *iura libertorum*, as appeareth lib. 38. Digest. Now whereas Vitellius *reuersus ab exilio intra libertorum concessis* by grace, it seemeth in later times to haue belonged to them by common right. Vlpian: Dig. 38. Tit. *de bonis libertorum*, l. 3. *Si deportatus patronus restitutus sit, liberti contra tabulas bonorum possessionem accipere possunt*, and againe in the same title l. 4. Paullus. *Si deportatus patronus sit, filio eius competis bonorum possessio in bonis liberti, nec impedimento est ei salis patronus, qui demortui loco habetur*.

⁵ The Augustales] Tac. 1. Ann. *Idem annus nouas ceremonias accepit, addito sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio, ut quendam Titus Tattius reserendis Sabinorum sacris sodales Titius instituerat. sorte ducti à primariis ciuitatis vnus & viginti. Tiberius, Drususque & Claudius, & Germanicus adiunguntur*. Where we see Tacitus attribute that to Tattius himselfe, which heere he attributeth to Romulus.

XXVIII. The preparation of Vitellius against Vespasian

THE reuolt of the third Legion was first of all other certified to Vitellius by letters, written by Aponius Saturninus, before that he also associated himselfe to Vespasians side. But neither did Aponius write all, as a man afrighted with the sodainnes thereof, and beside the friends of Vitellius flatteringly sought to extenuate and lessen the matter: that it was but a mutinee of one Legion alone; a matter of no moment, seeing all other armies remained in obedience. After the same stile Vitellius also spake to the souldiers, inueying against the lately cased Prætorians, by whom he affirmed false rumours were spred, and that there was no danger of ciuill warre, suppressing the name of Vespasian, and setting vnderhand souldiers abroad in the towne to restrain the speeches of the common people: which thing was a principall meanes to nourish the fame. Neuerthelesse he sent for Aydes out of Germanie and Britannie, and the Spaines, coldly and dissembling the necessitie: the Lieutenants and prouinces on their parts vsed the like coldnesse againe. Hordeonius Flaccus Lieutenant of Germanie suspecting already the reuolt of Batavia, had

horses vnlusty: the souldier impatient of the sunne, the dust, and the weather; and the more dull to sustaine trauell, the apter to mutin. And beside, the qualities of Cæcina wrought no small preiudice to the cause: his ambitious and popolare proceeding, an old fault of his: a sluggish and dull disposition, lately sprung vp: whether it were that too much fauour of fortune turned his edge, and caused him to degenerate to riotous life, or that intending euen then treason in his minde, he thought it good pollicy by that meanes to weaken the valour and force of the army. Many haue beleueed that Cæcinaes minde was shaken and altered first by a practise of ^a Flauius Sabinus, Rubrius Gallus carying the message betweene them, and promising that Vespasian should ratifie all couenants made and agreed in case of reuolt: and withall he was put in remembrance of the hatred and emulation betweene Valens and him, and that seeing he had not like part in Vitellius, he should do wisely to purchase credit and might with the new Prince. Cæcina taking his leaue of Vitellius, and dismissed from his presence with great honour, sent part of his horsemen before to put themselues in Cremona. Straight after the Vexillaries followed of the ^b fourteenth and of the sixteenth Legion: then the fifth Legion and the eighteenth Legion: and lastely the one and twentieth surnamed Rapax, and the first called Italica with the Vexillaries of the three Brittish Legions, and the choise of the Aides. When Cæcina was gone, Fabius Valens wrote to the army, which before belonged to his charge, to stay for him in the way: that so it was agreeede betweene him and Cæcina: who being present, and therefore of greater autoritie, falsly alledged, that vpon later aduise that purpose was changed, to the ende that resistance might be made with the whole forces vnited against the enimies comming. So the Legions were commaunded to make speed to Cremona, and part to go to Hostilia. Cæcina himselfe turned out of the way to Rauenna, vpon pretence to giue direction to the navy: and so to Padoua, where secretly the treason was contriued betweene Lucilius Bassus and him. For Lucilius Bassus after the captainship of a wing, being made Admirall of both the fleetes at Rauenna and Misenum, because he was not by and by created captaine of the Garde, reuenged his vniust anger with wicked disloyalty: neither can it be certainly knowen, whether he drew Cæcina into the action, or the same vile minde induced them both, as it happeneth often lewd persons to be of like conditions. The histories written of this warre, vnder Vespasian and his children, haue deliuered false and flattering causes, as that desire of peace and loue of the common wealth mooued them thereto. To me it seemeth, beside the inconstant disposition of the men, and the small account of their faith, which once being falsed to Galba, afterward they neuer respected; that vpon emulation and enuy that others should goe before them in the Princes fauour, they compassed the destruction of the Prince himselfe. When Cæcina had ouertaken the Legions, he sought by sundry suttile practises to weaken the good wils of the Centurions, and of the souldiers which were obstinately bent for Vitellius: Bassus attempting the like found not the like opposition, the navy being easily induced to change their loyalty, vpon the memory of their late seruice for Otho.

^a Brother to Vespasian & Provoit of Rome.

^b Read fifteenth, one of the foure Legions of lowe Germany, for the 14. was sent away into Britanny as enemy to Vespasian's cause.

THE

THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. *The consultation of the Flavian captaines, at Petouio in Pannonia, concerning the maner of proceeding in the warre. Sextilius Felix sent into Noricum.*



^a It seemeth they were stopped before li. 2. Deinde Pannonica Alpes praesidijs infesse nungios reuebant: but perhaps it was but onely so farre as to stay the posts from passing that way, not to garde it against an army of men.

^b Lieutenant of the seuenth Legion furnished Galbiana.

^{*} theatrum & circum.

With better fortune and faith the Flavian captaines conducted their warlike affayres, assembling in councell at Petouio, the standing campe of the thirteenth Legion. There was it debated, whether it were safer to stand vpon their defence, and fortifie themselves by ^a stopping the passage of the Pannonian Alpes, vntill their whole forces behind were come forward; or els were it more manfull and resolutely done, to march on and fight for the winning of Italie. They which perswaded to stay for more succour, and protract the warre, amplified the fame and force of the German Legions, and further, that Vitellius had also brought with him the flower and strength of the armie of Britannie: that their owne Legions were both fewer in number, and lately beaten; and though they spake biggely, yet the party ouercome retained the lesse courage. But in the meane while if the Alpes were possessed Mutianus would shortly come on with the power of the East: and Vespasian beside had at will sea and nauiies, and the good will of the prouinces, sufficient furniture for a new warre if need were: so by staying a little this aduantage would grow, that new forces would come, and the olde not diminish. To this ^b Antonius Primus (who was the chiefeft inciter of the warre) replied; That speede was the thing that might most help them, and most hinder Vitellius. As for the victory they lately obtained, they were growen more in careles slouth, then courage thereby: not keeping in campos as men of warre, alwaies ready to fight, but lying in the good townes of Italy, loytering and disporting themselves, feared of none saue only their hostes: and the hardlier kept and fiercer they were before, now giuing themselves the more greedily ouer to enioy their vnaccustomed pleasures. Moreouer the ^{*} theatres and places of sports, and other delights of the city, had effeminated their mindes, or diseases vtterly wasted their bodies: but if respite were giuen, through warlike exercises they would recouer their strength: and besides, Germanie was not farre off, from whence they might be supplied with new forces, and Britannie but a small step beyond: France and Spaine were hard at hand to furnish them of men, horses, and money: beside Italy it selfe, and the wealth of the world in Rome, all wholly at their disposition. And if they list to begin and assaile vs, they haue (quoth he) at commandement two nauiies, and the whole Illyrian sea free: what wil it then profit vs to keep the straytes of the mountaines? or what can it auaille vs to differre the warre till another sommer? and whence shall we haue money and vittales in the meane time? nay rather why take we not this opportunity present, since the Pannonian Legions, thinking themselves rather beguiled then beaten, are so instant and earnest to haue their reuenge, and the armies of Moesia are yet entier and vnfoiled? if the number of soldiers be reckened rather then the names of Legions, our side hath more strength and much lesse disorder; and the very shame of the late ouerthrow hath greatly amended

ded our discipline: and yet our horsemen euen then were not defeated, but contrarily scattered Vitellius troupes, albeit the maine battaile went against vs. Two wings of Pannonia and Moesia were able at that time to breake thorow the enemy: now the ensignes of sixteene wings vnited together, with their stamping and sound, and the very dust of their feete, will doubtles be able to couer and ouerwhelme both the horses and horsemen of our enemies, who haue now almost forgotten to fight. For my part (if I may be permitted) as I am the first to giue the aduise, so I will be the first to execute the same. You, whose condition giues you free choice of either, lye still and keepe your Legions at home: some few *light cohorts shall serue my turne: as soone as the warre is begun, you shall heare that Vitellius state will decline, and then you will take pleasure to follow and treade in the steps of my victory. This and more to the like purpose Antonius vttered with burning eies and fierce shrill voice, that he might be heard further (for some of the Centurions, and of the soldiers also had intruded themselues into the councell:) and the speech moued greatly euen the warieft amongst them and doubtfullest to enter into danger. But the common soldier and the rest magnified him, as the only man of courage, and the only captaine; despising the colde and sluggish proceedings of the other. This good opinion he first wan through a speech he made in the assembly, when Vespasians letters were first openly red, in the which he did not (as the most of the rest) deliuer his mind in doubtfull and ambiguous termes with a meaning to interpret them afterward as he should see best for his purpose, but seemed directly and resolutely to enter into the cause, and therefore was a great deale better liked of the soldiers, as one that made his fortune common with theirs both in the danger and honor of the attempt. Next after him Cornelius Fuscus the Procurator was of chiefe authority amongst them. For he likewise was wont to inuey bitterly against Vitellius, and thereby had left to himselfe no hope of pardon if the enterprise failed. Titus ^c Ampius Flauianus, both by nature and by reason of his age being slow in proceeding, gaue occasion to the soldiers of suspicion, as if he had respected his affinity with Vitellius: and because he had withdrawn himselfe out of the camp when the Legions began first to reuolt, and afterward came againe of his owne accord, it was thought he did it to seeke some opportunity of treason. For indeede Flauianus had once relinquished his prouince of Pannonia, and retired himselfe out of danger into Italie; and afterward by desire of noueltie was brought to take vpon him his gouernement againe, and become a medler in ciuil warres, through the perswasion principally of Cornelius Fuscus; not that there was any great neede of Flauianus abilities, but that the name and countenance of a Lieutenant generall might giue reputatiō to the side, that was then but in rising. Then letters were writtē to Aponius Saturninus Lieutenant generall of Moesia, to make hast, and back their passage into Italie with his army. ¹ And lest the prouinces, by this remouing away of the Legions, might lie open to the spoile of the barbarous nations confining, the principall men of the Sarmatæ Iazyges, and heads of the countrey were assumed into the seruice, who made offer also of the common sort, and great troupes of horsemen, which is their sole strength, but the offer was not accepted, lest amidst our dissensions they should attempt anything preiudiciall to the state of the Empire, or els vpon better wages, without respect of honour or faith, passe to the enemy. Sido and Italicus anciently deuoted to the Romane name, kings of the Sueuians, a nation both more faithfull and more obedient, were drawn to the partie. Garrisons also were laied on the side against Rhoetia which held for Vitellius, being gouerned by Porcius Septimius the Procuratour, a most faithfull seruant vnto him. So Sextilius Felix was sent with

* *Expedite cohortes*, that is, without carriages, abſq; impedimentis.

^c Lieutenant generall of Pannonia.

with the Aurian wing, and eight cohorts, and the youth of the countrey of Noricum, to plant himselfe against him along the bancke of the riuer Enus which diuideth Rhoetia and Noricum asunder: where they remained skirmishing one with another, whilest in the meane time the maine matter was decided elsewhere.

* And least the prouinces] All from these words in the Latin copy *ac ne inermes prouinciae &c.* to these *si placeres Galbae principatus, incluse*, should be placed before, *questum inde quae sedes bello legeretur &c.* and so the words *vs innocuum exercitum Masicum celebrare* cohere with *& praesumpserit partes*. Which disorder, by reason the lines and letters almost betweene *questum inde* and *Masicum celebrare* are equall to the lines betweene *ac ne inermes* and *Galbae principatus*, may seeme to haue growen first by the meere transposition of a leafe in the copy, from whence all ours were deriued.

II. *Antonius Primus marcheth forward, and hauing taken Aquileia, Opitergium, Altinum, Padoua, Este, setleth his maine campe at Verona.*

NOW * Antonius taking with him certaine Vexillaries out of the cohorts, and part of the horsemen, marched on toward Italie, accompanied with Arrius Varus a valiant warrior rather then a vertuous man: which glory hee gained by his seruice and good successe in Armenia vnder Corbulo: whom notwithstanding he was supposed secretly to haue discredited with Nero. Whereupon by such sinister meanes growing in fauour he attained a principall Centurions place: which though ill gotten was at the present to his great contentation, but afterward turned to his ruine. Antonius and Varus in passing tooke Aquileia, and the countrey thereabouts, and proceeding forward were at Opitergium and Altinum ioyfully receiued. At Altinum a garrison was left against the fleete of Rauenna, of the reuolt whereof they had not as yet receiued any intelligence: and marching forward they adioyned Padoua and Este to the side. Where aduertisement was giuen that three Vitellian cohortes and the Scribonian wing lay at Forum Alieni, hauing there made a bridge ouer the riuer. It was concluded to take the occasion, and to set vpon them as they lay negligently and carelesly; for that circumstance also was certified: and so accordingly they came vpon them at the dawning of the day, and surprized them being for the most part vnarmed. They were willed beforehand, that after some slaughter at the beginning, they should seeke to induce the rest with feare to change their allegiance; and some there were which yeelded themselves at the first: but the greater part fled ouer the riuer, and breaking the bridge cut off the passage from the enemy pursuing. This victorie being diuulged, and the first attempts of the Flauianists hauing succeeded so prosperously, two Legions, the seuenth surnamed Galbiana, and the thirteenth called Gemina * with Vedius Aquila Lieutenant thereof, came to Padoua cheerefully, and full of courage. There some few daies were spent in reposing the army, and Minucius Iustus campe-master of the seuenth Legion was saued from the fury of the soldier, and sent to Vespasian, because his gouernement was straiter and more seuerer, then the nature of a ciuill warre would support. At what time also Antonius supposing it a plausible action, and for the credit of the side, if Galbaes gouernment should seeme to be liked, gaue commandement thorowout all the free townes, that the images of Galba, which vpon change of times and dissension in state, had beene broken downe, should be restored anew: a thing very long and greatlie desired, and therefore interpreted gloriously in the highest degree. Then was it proposed and disputed, what place were best to be cholen, for seate as it were of the warre. Verona seemed fittest, the countrey about it being champion, and commodious for horsemen, wherein consisted

* And Titus
Antonius Flauianus
Lieutenant
generall of
Pannonia.

sifted their principall strength: and beside to dispossesse Vitellius of a towne of such wealth and importance, would both be commodious and bring reputation to the cause. In the passage thitherward they tooke Vicenza a thing of it selfe nor greatly materiall, as being a towne of small forces; howbeit because Cæcina was borne there it seemed a matter of consequence; when men began to recount, how that the Generall of the contrary part had lost his owne countrey and home: but the getting of Verona was worth the paines taking. For both the side was relieued with their wealth, and the example was a good precedent to others: and the army lying there opportunely in the way, betweene Germanie and Vitellius powers, did shut vp the Rhoetian and Iulian Alpes, and cut off all hope of passage for the Germanes that way. All which proceeding was either vnknown to Vespasian, or expressly forbidden by him: his commandement was to march no further then Aquileia, and there to expect Mutianus; adding also a reason thereof, that seeing AEgypt, the garners of the citty, the reuenues and tributes of the richest prouinces were in his hands, Vitellius army might through lacke of pay and vittaile be constrained to yeeld. To the same purpose also Mutianus aduised them often by letters, alleadging what a glory it would be to obtaine a victorie without bloud, and whereof no mourning ensued, with such other pretenses; whereas he did it indeede vpon ambition, and coueting to referue the whole renoune of the warre for himselfe: but by reason of the great distances counsailes came after the factes. Antonius hauing thus seared himselfe in Verona issued foorth on the sodaine, and gaue the alarme to the enemy, where trying their manhooe together in a light skirmish they departed on euē hand. Anone Cæcina encamped himselfe betweene Hostilia, a village of the territorie of Verona, and the marshes of the riuer Tartarus, in a safe and defensible place; his backe being garded with the riuer, and the flankes with marshes: who if he had meant trueth, hauing all his masters power vnder his hand, might with great facilitie either haue surprized two simple Legions (the army of Mœsia as yet being not ioyned) or at least beaten them backe, and forced them to flee, and with shame forsake Italie. But Cæcina omitted traiterously all aduantages, which at the first were offered, spending the time in trifling delaies, and rebuking them by epistles, whom with like facility he might haue repulsed with armes: vntill by messengers passing betweene the bargain was driuen, and the couenants for his treason agreed vpon. In the meane time Aponius Saturninus came with the seuenth Legion surnamed Claudiana: the Legion was gouerned by Vipsanius Messalla a Tribune, a man nobly descended, and of noble qualities himselfe, the only vertuous man and without note, that entred into that action. To this army, nothing comparable to his owne (for as yet there were but three Legions) Cæcina sent letters, blaming their rashnes, that being once ouercome they durst put themselves againe into armes: and withall he extolled the valour of the German army; of Vitellius making small mention and in common termes only, without any reprochfull word against Vespasian at all: in summe writing nothing that might either corrupt the enemy or terrifie him. The captaines of the Flavian armie, omitting to speake of their former misfortune, returned answer concerning Vespasian in hawtie and glorious termes, shewing themselves very confident in their cause and secure of the euē; reuiling Vitellius as enemies, and bragging of the Mœsian armie, as being hitherto neuer ouerthrowen; seeking * moreouer to weaken the faith, and win the good will of the contrary side, by putting the Centurions and Tribunes in hope of retaining their places, and fauours which Vitellius had bestowed vpon them, and exhorting Cæcina himselfe in plaine termes to reuolt. Both the letters were solemnely

* Presumptive
partes, adspici
con.

read to the Flavian souldiers: which thing increased not a little their courage and confidence; seeing Cæcina to write humbly, as fearing to offend Vespasian, and their Generalles contemptuously, as it were, insulting ouer Vitellius.

Antonius taking with him certaine &c. J The Legions, their captaines, and marching with all necessarie circumstances in a maner, are in this warre fully and plainly set downe by our autour, incomparably better then either in the last betweene Vitellius and Otho, or in the next betweene Ciuilis and the Romans in Germany. Here Antonius Lieutenant of *septima Galbiana* marcheth first, about the later ende of August, or beginning of September, with *vexillarij* & *cohorsibus*, and part of the horse, making vp no doubt a conuenient power, albeit there was not any entier Legion. With him went Arrius Varus, of no higher degree at that time, as I thinke, then a *Primus pilus*, of what Legion I cannot tell: but *lib. 4. Tertia Legio* is called *familiaris Arrio Varo miles*: afterward, as it appeareth *Hist. 4.* he obtained the captainship of the Garde, and *Prætorii insignia*, and being put by Mutianus from the captainship of the Garde, was made *Præfæctus annonæ*. At Patavium or thereabout the two Legions of Pannonia ouertooke Antonius, namely *septima Galbiana*, whose Lieutenant was Antonius himselfe, and *sextadecima Gemina* with Vedius Aquila Lieutenant thereof, the Lieutenant generall also T. Ampius Flavianus, as it may be presumed, comming withall: for we finde him anone in the mutinee. At Verona Aponius Saturninus President of Mœsia with *septima Claudiana*, Vipfianus Messalla being Lieutenant thereof, ouertooke them, and anone afterward at Verona or thereabout the other two Legions of Mœsia, *tertia Gallica* with Dillius Aponianus, and *octaua Augusta* with Numisius Lupus. And this was all the power that was present of the Flavian side at the battaile of Cremona, certaine bands of olde Prætorian souldiers excepted, whereof we finde mention both in that field and elsewhere: but when and where they came to the side, is no where, as it ought, expressly set downe. Of Vitellius part there were present in the action of Cremona two complete Legions, *vna et vicesima Rapax* which came out of Germany with Cæcina, and Italica taken away from Lions by Valens; and fixe vnperfect Legions out of Germany: to wit *quarta*, and *octadecima alijs duobus vicesima* out of high Germanie; *prima*, *quinta*, *quintadecima*, and *sextadecima* out of lowe Germanie. whereof fixe be named 2. *Hist. 4.* A little before the ioyning all the eight are set downe particularly, and by name. And beside the eight Legions there were of that side *vexillarij* out of the three British Legions, *secunda Augusta*, *nona*, & *vicesima Vistrix*, part of the eight thousand which Vitellius brought out of Germanie & *Britannico dilectu*. Tacitus 2. *Hist. 3. Hist.* and all this power vnder the charge of Cæcina. After the battell at Cremona *vixit legiones per Illyricum dispersæ*. Tacit. 3. *Hist.* the fiue conquering Legions, being increased by *undecima Claudiana*, and fixe thousand men beside out of Dalmatia, vnder the leading of Poppæus Siluanus Lieutenant generall of that cuntrey, and Annius Bassus Lieutenant of the eleuenth Legion, were left at Verona. Antonius with the Auxiliaries and *lecti* & *legionibus* marched to Fanum Fortunæ. Tac. 3. *Hist.* At Fanum they sent for all their power from Verona, which ouertooke them at Carfulæ. On the other side after that ouerthrowe at Cremona Vitellius sent to Fabius Valens three Prætorian cohorts with the British wing, which were taken by Cornelius Fuscus at Ariminum. Then he sent both the captaines of his Garde with ^b fourteene Prætorian cohorts and certaine wings of horsemen, and a Legion & *classis* different from Aditrix Classica (which then was in Spaine) and belike newly enrolled. And this in effect was the power of both sides imploied in this action.

* Seeing that for *quintadecima*, *quartadecima* is written by error of copie, which Legion was quite sent away into Britannie before. ^b And three taken before at Ariminum. Summe xvij. besides others perchance left with Vitellius at Rome, and yet ten was the ordinary number or all, & in Vitellius time, when they were most, but xvj. Tac. 2. *Hist.*

III. A mutinee of the Pannonian souldier against Flavianus their generall, and another of the Mælian against Saturninus likewise theirs.

SHORTLY afterward the third and eighth Legion came; the one commanded by Dillius Aponianus, the other by Numisius Lupus: whereupon they began to make shew of their forces, & determined to cast vp a * *militare* trench about the towne of Verona. By chance it fell to the Galbian Legion to worke in the forepart of the trench toward the enemy, and some of their owne horsemen appearing in sight a farre off caused a vaine feare, as if it had beene the Vitellian power. By and by they layed hold on their weapons, & their bloud being stirred sought to discharge their choler and rage vpon Flavianus, accusing him of treason without either prooffe or probability: but the man was before odious vnto them, and therefore his death was now violently required. They cryed out against him that he was allied with Vitellius, that he had beene a traitour ^a to Otho, and intercepted their donatiue. No answere would be heard, albeit he besought them holding vp his handes in most humble maner; lying for the most part prostrate vpon the ground, with his garments rent, weeping and sobbing pitifully: which kinde of behauiour prouoked their rage the more, as if this his ouergreat feare had certainly argued a guilty conscience. Saturninus endeuiouring to speake in his defence was still interrupted by the souldiers outcries:

* *Valium militare*, in opposition to *vallum rusticum*, or *fossa agrestis*.

* These particularities are not declared, as in my opinion they ought to haue beene, in the former story: seeing here they are thought worthy the remembrance.

outcries: and the rest likewise were reiected with noise and clamour: onely to Antonius they were content to giue eare; for he was both eloquent and skilful to please a multitude, and beside of most authority amongst them. When the sedition waxed hoat, and passed from words and ill speeches to weapons and blowes, he commanded Flavianus to be layed in chaines. The souldier perceiued the ^b sleight, and breaking thorow those that garded the Tribunall, they were at the point to haue slaine Flavianus: but Antonius opposed himselfe with his sword drawn, protesting that if they would not desist, he would either dye by their hands, or by his owne: and withall desired the assistance by name of all that he knew, or were of note otherwise for their degrees and places in seruice. Then turning himselfe to the * enseignes and gods of warre, he besought them to send such fury, such discord, into the minds of their enemies rather: till at length the sedition growing colde, and the day being spent, the souldiers slipped away ech to his lodging. [†] Flavianus departed away the same night, and meeting with letters from Vespasian was deliuered from danger: but the Legions, as it were tainted with a contagious infection, staid not there, but banded themselues in like mutinous maner against Aponius Saturninus, Lieutenant generall of the Moesian army, vpon the comming abroad of certaine letters, which he was supposed to haue written to Vitellius: and their fury was so much the more hard to appease, because it began, not as the former toward the euening, when they were tired before with labouring, but at the noone time of the day. As in times past souldiers stroue to passe one another in modestie and vertue, so then the contention was to excell in vnrulinesse and insolency; the Moesian souldier being loth to vse lesse violence in seeking the death of Saturninus their Generall, then the Pannonian were of Flavianus before: the Moesian souldiers alleaged that they had helpe the Pannonians to prosecute their reuenge; and the Pannonian souldier, as if the sedition of others would acquit them, were glad to see the like fault committed again. So agreeing together in this determination they went to the gardens where Saturninus lodged. It was neither Antonius, nor Aponianus, nor Messalla, that saued him out of their fury, though they did what they could, but the secretnesse of the place where he was hid, lying close in the furnaces of certain baths, which by chance were vnoccupied; and so priuily he conueyed himselfe to Padoua, putting away his sergeantes, and liuing as a priuate person. The Lieutenants generall being thus remoued, Antonius had the whole gouernment and direction of both the armies; his companions the Lieutenants of the Legions easily yeelding to him, and the souldiers fancying him aboue others: and some were of opinion, that both the mutinees were raised by his procurement, to the ende that hee alone might enioy the whole benefit of the war.

[†] Flavianus departed away] It had beene well Tacitus had made vs acquainted with the contents of these letters, which met him so maruelously, *ὡς τὴν ἐκ μηχανῆς*, That is, *Tanquam ex machina*; as if Vespasian in Iury two moneths before had foreseene, that his good friend Flavianus should haue beene suspected and misused by his souldiers at Verona, and thereupon directed letters in his fauour. Then where the letters so luckily met him, or at all whither he went is not specified: but surely whither soeuer it was, being once out of the souldiers fingers, he was as if presume out of all danger, at least any such as Vespasians letters could exempt him from.

IIII. *The reuolt of Lucilius Bassus the Admirall, and of the fleets at Rauenna. The treason of Cacinus generall of the armie by land.*

OF Vitellius side also matters were no lesse disquiet, the dissension being more dangerous, as proceeding not of souldiers ielosies, but of the treason of the Generals. Lucilius Bassus, Admirall of the nauie at Rauenna, had woon to

^b So Vitellius saued Iulius Bardo, 1. Hift and Otho Celsus.

* *Conuersus ad signa & bellorum deos*, that is, *ad signa* which the Roman soldiers adored as Gods.

the Flavian side the mindes of his souldiers, being somewhat inclinable thereto of themselves, the most of them were of Dalmatia and Pannonia, which cuntries held for Vespasian. The time for accomplishing the treason was appointed in the night, that whilest the rest knew nothing of the matter, they onely of the conspiracie might assemble themselves in the Principia. Bassus either for shame, or doubt what would be the issue, kept himselfe within his house. The captaines of the galleies in the mean time with great tumult brake downe Vitellius images: and some few which resisted being put to the sworde, the rest of the multitude vpon desire of chaunge was easilie induced to fauour Vespasian. Then Lucilius comming abroad auowed the whole fact as done by his authority, and the navy in his place made choise of Cornelius Fuscus for Admirall; who came with speede thither: and ^a Bassus was conueyed by ship to Hadria, as it were vnder honourable arrest, and by Mennius Rufinus captaine of a wing being in garrison there put in bands; but soone after enlarged at the comming of Hormus Vespasians freedman, who was also in this warre counted among the Generals of that side. Now Cæcina, as soone as the reuolt of the navy was published abroad, assembled ^a the chiefe of the Centurions, and some of the souldiers, the rest being dispersed and busied in their ordinary militare duties, into the Principia, purposely chusing the most secret corner of the campe. There he greatly extolled the Valour of Vespasian, and the strength of the side, declaring also that the navy was already reuolted, the onely support of Vitellius prouision: that Fraunce and Spaine were turned against him: that in the citty there was nothing to be trusted vnto; and generally aggrauating all to the woorst against the person and state of Vitellius. Whereupon some that were priuie to the plot beginning to sweare to Vespasian, the rest amazed at the strangenesse of the matter followed the example: immediately Vitellius images were broken downe, and messengers sent to Antonius to declare what had passed. But as soone as this reuolt was bruted thorow out the camp and the souldiers comming into the Principia saw Vespasians name set vp, and Vitellius images cast vnder foote, they were mute at the first, then all at once they brake out with indignation. Is then the glory and fame of the German armies now come to this? that without battaile or any blowe stricken they should thus binde their own hands, and yeeld vp their weapons? for else what power was there of the other side to compell them? onely the Legions which before they had ouercome, and yet the flower and strength of them absent, to wit, the ^b first and fourteenth, which yet they had likewise ouerthrowen in the same felde with the rest: and all belike to this ende, that so many thousands of valiant souldiers should afterwards, like a droue of bondslaves, be bestowed as a present vpon Antonius an ^c exiled person: as though eight Legions were to be the dependance of one natty. but so was the pleasure of Bassus and Cæcina, after they had robbed the Prince of his houses and gardens, and treasure, to bereaue him also of his souldiers, albeit neuer touched nor wounded, and so to make them contemptible and vile, euen to the Flavianists also. For what coulede they say being required an account of their prosperity and aduersity? To this effect euery one by himselfe and all together crying out, as grieve and anger wrought in their mindes, the fift Legion being most forward, they set vp Vitellius images againe, and laying hold vpon Cæcina put him in fetters, & appointed Fabius Fabulus Lieutenant of the fift Legion, & Cassius Longus the camp-master Generals in his place: killing certaine galley-souldiers, which by chance arriued there in ill houre, though vtterly ignorant and innocent of that which had passed. Then leauing their ^d camp, and breaking the bridge they returned to Hostilia, and from thence to Cremona to ioyne with the first Legion called Italica, and the one and twentieth surnamed Rapax,

^a This reuolt of Cæcina is described in the like maner by Iosephus, libro quarto, capite quadragesimo primo.

^b Prima adiutrix sent into Spaine, & Quarta decima into Britannie.

^c Tempore Neronis (saith Tacitus, 2. Hist. falsi damnatur, and so perhaps exiled.

^d Inter Hostiliam & paludes Tarsis flaminia.

pax, which Cæcina had sent before, with part of his horsemen, to put themselves in Cremona.

^a Bassus was conveyed] Why remained he not still in the charge? why was hee committed, albeit it were *custodia honorata*, by those which faoured Vespasian? why sent to Adria? why there put into straiter prison, if Mennius were a friende to Vespasians cause? if an enimie, why loosed at Hormus commandement, who was Vespasians man? and what then became of him? when, by whom, and wherefore was Mennius Rufinus put there in garrison? These petty circumstances, or some good part had in my opinion bene necessary in this place for the full satisfaction of the reader.

V. *The skirmish of the Flavian and Vitellian horsemen betweene Bebriacum and Cremona.*

WHEN Antonius had vnderstanding hereof, he determined whilest the enimies were at dissension, and their forces not ioyned together, to vse his aduantage and assaile them, before either the Generals could grounde their authority, or the souldiers frame themselves to a new obedience, or the Legions recover courage by vnitng together. He gessed that Fabius Valens was already come out of Rome, and would make great haste, as soone as he heard of Cæcinaes treason: and Fabius was knowen to be a man faithfull to Vitellius, and not vnskillfull in seruice: besides a great power of Germans was feared by the way of Rhætia, and Vitellius had sent for Aydes out of Britannie, France and Spaine: enough to haue maintained a mighty and puissant warre, had not Antonius vpon doubt thereof hastened the battaile, and before hand obtained the victorie. So with his whole hoste he remooued from Verona, and the second night sate downe at Bebriacum. The next day imploying his Legions in fortifying the campe, he sent out his Auxiliary cohorts into the territory of Cremona, to the end that the souldiers, vnder colour of prouiding necessaries, might be enured and fleshed ^a in ciuill spoile. He to safe conduct the forragers aduanced himselfe with foure thousand horse eight miles forward from Bebriacum: and the skowts in the meane time, as the maner is, pricked on further. About the ^b fift houre of the day one came riding in post, to giue intelligence that the enemies were hard at hand, that some fewe marched before, but the noise and trampling of the whole army on euery side was clearely to be heard. Whilest Antonius was deliberating what was to be done, Arius Varus, desirous to do some piece of seruice, brake out with certaine of the forwardest horsemen, and made the Vitellianists recule, and slew some few: for by & by more of their fellowes comming to helpe, fortune changed, and they that were most forward before in pursuing, were now left last in the flight. This haste was against Antonius wil, who supposed the euent would be such as it was: but seeing it could not be vndone he encouraged his men to fight valiantly: and diuiding his troupes in two parts, left a lane in the middle to receiue in Varus with his horsemen. word also was sent backe to the Legions to arme, and the alarme was giuen to those that were forraging abroad, that euery man should leaue of spoiling, and repaire with all speed the next way to the fight. Now by this time Varus in a great feare was retired within his owne troupes, and induced thither a generall terrour. the wounded and vnwounded were beaten in together, and greatly distressed through their owne feare, and the straitnesse of the waies. In all which confusion and tumult Antonius omitted no part either of a resolute Generall, or valiant souldier, encouraging those that were dismayed, staying them that shrunke; where most neede was, whence any hope appeared, there busying himselfe, with direction, hand and speech, in the view of the

^a That is, in spoiles growing by reason of ciuill warres.

^b That is, as we account, eleuen of the clocke, or there about.

* *Arctiore illic
via: and yet a
little before he
saith Augustu-
sianum confli-
tabantur.*

emie, in the fight of his owne men, growing at the last to that heate, that with his lance he ran thorow a guidonbearer who was fleeing away, and taking his guidon turned it against the face of the emie: whereat for very shame there stayed about an hundred horse. That which principally helped was the quality of the place, the way being there somewhat narrow, and the bridge broken of the riuer that ran behind them, whose vnknown channell and steepe bankes stopped their further flight. That constraint or chance recovered the field that welny was lost. For knitting themselves strongly together, with thicke and close ranks, they receyued the Vitellian souldiers comming on loosely without any order. Which thing the lesse it was looked for, amazed them the more. Whereupon Antonius finding them yeelding pressed the more instantly vpon them, ouerthrowing all that came in his way: and with all the rest as their inclinations were, some fell to spoiling and catching, some to take armour and horses: euen they which before were broken, and scattered abroad in the fields, hearing the ioyfull crie of their fellowes, returned then backe to take part of the victorie. About fower miles from Cremona, the ensignes of two Legions, Rapax and Italica, appeared, hauing marched so far vpon the successe of their horsemen at the beginning: but when fortune turned, they were so farre to seeke, as that they neither did open their ranckes, & receiue their distressed fellowes within them, nor yet went forward to assaile the enemy tired already with fighting and following so farre. Thus being by chaunce overcome, they founde in aduersity the lacke of a leader, which in their iolity they cared not for. As the Legions stood waueing in termes of breaking, the Flauian horsemen charged vpon them: and Vipfanius Messalla the Tribune was at their heeles with the Moesian Aides, who in militare renoune, albeit lately enrolled, were nothing inferiour to the Legionary souldiers. So horsemen and footemen mingled together did easily breake the Vitellian Legions, and the towne of Cremona lying so neare gaue them lesse minde to resist, and more hope to escape: neither did Antonius presse any further, considering the trauaile and woundes, which both his horsemen and horses had taken, in so dangerous a skirmish, albeit the ende went on his side. Towarde the shutting in of the euening the whole power of the Flauian army arrived: who as soone as they troade among the heapes of dead bodies, in the fresh steps of so late a slaughter, as if the whole warre had beene ended, cried to leade on out of hand to Cremona, and take by surrender or force those conquered persons. These gaie speeches were in their mouthes and openly pretended, but secretly euery one cast thus with himselfe; That a towne seated in the plaine might bee woon easily at a push; that their courage would as well serue them to enter in the night, and their liberty to spoile would then be much greater: but if they attended till day, then would there come supplications and intreaties for peace, and so for their labour and hurts they should carie away the vaine smokes of clemencie and glory, and such other ritulare matters, but the wealth and riches of the towne would cleaue to the captaines and Lieutenants fingers: that the spoile of a citty taken by force fell to the souldiers, but of a citty surrendered alwaies to the captaines alone. Hereupon the perswasions of the Tribunes & Cēturiors, as persons suspect, were reiected: and because no mans speech should be heard, they rattled their weapons, threatning if no man would lead them beside, to guide and conduct themselves. Then Antonius insinuating himselfe among the common souldiers, after he had with the sight of his person, and reuerence of his place, procured silence, protested vnto them, that his meaning was not in any sort to defraude so well deseruing souldiers, either of honour or reward. notwithstanding the captaines and souldiers duties were of different nature: a souldier ought to be fierce
and

and desirous to fight, but in captaines a wary foresight and deliberate kinde of proceeding is rather commended: and more often times profiterh and helpeth he by protracting, then venturing rashly. For his part as he had to his power with weapons and hand furthered the victorie, so would he likewise helpe now with direction and counsaile, pecuniare qualities to a Generall, and the place he sustained. And surely if they list but a litle consider, the dangerousnes of the enterprise was very apparent. it was now night, the situation of the twone was vnknownen, within nothing but enemies, and euery corner fit for an ambush: nay if the gates were wide open, yet were it not safe for to enter, no not in the day time, but vpon good discouerie before hand, and assurance that all coasts were cleere. what? would they begin an assault when they could not discerne the best place of approach, nor the height of the wals, whether it were best to attempt them by discharging of shot a farre off, or by engins at hand, or by mine? then turning himselfe to particular persons he demanded of them seuerally, whether they had brought their * hatchets & axes with them, ^{* securæ & dolabrae.} and all other tooles necessary for an assault: and when they denyed, What, quoth he, then, are any mens hands in the world of that force, and strength to breake down wals with ianelins & swords? what if it fall out that we must of necessity raise mounts, couer our selues with hurdles and frames of boorde? shall we not then be forced to stand like good silly fooles gazing and gaping at the height of their towers, and the strength of their fortifications? nay rather let vs stay for one night, and fetch hither in the meane time our engins and instruments of battery, and so cary the victorie surely before vs. And herewith he dispatched the * seruants and followers of the ^{* calones & lixae.} campe, and the freshest of his horsemen to Bebriacum, to bring vittales from thence, and all other necessary prouision.

VI. *The great battell at Cremona betweene the Flauianists and the Vitellianists. Cremona sacked and burnt.*

THE soldier discontented thereat and repining, was growing toward a mutinee, when as their horsemen hauing scowred to the very walles of Cremona tooke certaine stragglers of the towne, by whose confession it was vnderstood, that six Vitellian Legions, and the whole power that lay at Hostilia, hearing of the defeate of their fellowes, had marched thirty miles that very day, and prepared themselves to fight, and would by and by be vpon them. That terrour opened their mindes, which before were closed against all their Generals good counsaile, and so he commanded the third Legion to make stand vpon the * cawsey of the Posthumian way: fast by it on the lefthand stode the seuenth surnamed Galbiana in a plaine field: then the seuenth called Claudiana hauing before it a * common ditch ^{* or ridge.} for a kinde of defence, as the place chanced to yeeld: on the right hand stood the eighth Legion in an open ground: then the thirteenth in a thicket somewhat disunited by reason of bushes and shrubs. In this sort stode the standers and enfeignes of the Legions, but the soldiers were blended together, as it chanced in the darcke. The bande of Prætorians stode next to the third Legion, the Auxiliary cohorts were placed in the wings, and the horsemen garded the flankes, and reareward: Sido and Italicus the Sueuians with the choise of their countrey men serued in the foreward. On the other side, the Vitellian army, whose best course doubtlesse had bene to haue taken some rest at Cremona, and refreshed themselves with foode and sleepe, and so the next day to haue giuen the onfet vpon their enemies, starued with hunger and colde, for lacke of a leader and want of direction, about the third hower

hower of the night dashed themselves vpon the Flauian army, who stood now in array strongly prepared to receiue them. The order and standing of the Vitellian army I dare not for certaine auouch, being doubtlesse disordered through anger and darknes. Some affirme that the fourth Legion called Macedonica stood^{*} in the right wing: the fift and fiftenth Legions, with certaine companies out of three British Legions, the ninth, second, and twentieth filled vp the middle battell; the left wing consisting of the tenth Legion, the two and twentieth and the first: the soldiers of Rapax and Italica disperfed themselves thorow out all: the horsemen and Aides chose their owne standing. The fight continued all night very doubtfull and cruell, with great mortality sometime on the one side, and sometime on the other: courage or strength auailed little in the darke, where the eie could not discern a friend from an enemy. On both sides was the same kind of armour and weapons: by many mutuall questions ech knew others watchword: the banners also were mingled together, as it hapned a band to take any from the enemy and cary them to and fro. The seuenth Legion lately leuiued by Galba was pressed most hardly: sixe of her principall Centurions were slaine, and some ensignes taken away, the stander it selfe was hardly defended by Attilius Verus the chiefe Centurion; who with great slaughter of the enemy, and his owne death in the end, notwithstanding saued his charge. The Flauianists thus going to the worse, Antonius reinforced and strengthened the battell by sending for the Prætorian soldiers, who assoone as they vnderooke the fight repulsed the enemy at the first, and anone were repulsed themselves. For the Vitellianists had brought their engines of warre, which before were disperfed and discharged against bushes and trees, without any hurt to the enemy, and placed them vpon the cawsey of the high way to haue an open passage and free scope to shoote out; among the rest a^{*} Balista of a woonderfull greatnesse, belonging to the sixteenth Legion, shooting out huge and mighty stones galled them sore, and had made a farre greater hauocke amongst them, had not two souldiers vnderaken an honourable exploite, and taking vp targets among the dead bodies gone vnknownen, and cut the cords and waighes of the engine: whereupon they were by and by cut in pieces, and so their names are not knownen; of the fact there is no question. Now the battaille continued doubtfull, and fortune indifferent to both sides, till at farre in the night the¹ moone rose and discovered the armies, though in deceitfull sort, and more in fauour of the Flauian side, because she was at their backs: by meanes whereof both the shadowes of the men and horses stretched along toward the enemies, and so the arrowes and darts of the Vitellianists, being falsely bestowed vpon shadowes, fell short of the bodies; whereas contrarily by reason of the moone shining against them, the Vitellian souldiers were easily hit vnawares with the blowes of the other, discharging as it were out of couert. Antonius assoone as he could discern his owne company, and be likewise discerned of them, began to inflame them seuerally, some with shame and rebuke, others with praise and encouragements, all with hope and large promises; demaunding of the Pannonian Legions for what purpose they had now resumed armes? if to wipe away the blot of their late ignominie, here was the field where they might reintegrate themselves in their honour againe. Then turning to the Mœsian souldiers, he challenged them as authors and beginners of the warre, adding that in vaine they had dared the Vitellianists with words and threats, if now they durst not abide their hands and lookes. And after this and the like sort he spake to all whom he met: but most at large to those of the third Legion, putting them in remembrance both of their late and ancient victories; how² vnder the conduct of Marcus

Antonius

^{*} in dextro cornu.

^{*} Balista, siue
Vegetii lib. 4. c.
22. funibus ner-
uinis chordisque
tenditur, quæ
quantò prolixiora
brachiola habue-
rit, tantò spicula
longius emittit,
et si iuxta artem
mechanicam
temperetur, et ab
exercitatus homi-
nibus, qui mensu-
ram eius ante col-
legerint, dirigat-
ur, penetrat
quodcumque
percuferit.
the fall of a
Balista drew
with it a great
part of the wall
of the campe
at Cremona.

Antonius they had ouerthrowen the Parthians, vnder Corbulo the Armenians, and of late the Sarmatians. then directing his speech to the Prætorians in great anger: As for you disgraced souldiers (quoth he) if you winne not here, what other generall, or what other camp shall receiue you? Yonder loe, there be your ensignes and weapons, and present death if you leese, for you haue spent already your shame. Great crying and noise there was on euery side, when as the third Legion, as the maner in Syria is, with a great showte saluted the sunne rising: vpon which accident, or by the Generals pollicy, a generall rumour was spread thorow the host, that Mutianus was come, and the armies had met and saluted ech other. Whereupon as supplied with new forces, they pressed forward and gaue a fresh onset, the Vitellian rankes growing now thinner, as being without all direction, and banding together or disbanding as their owne courage or feare did induce them. When Antonius felt them weake in the shocke, and yeelding vnder his hand, with a company firmly compacted he charged and disordered them. The rankes once loosed brake, and could not be reunited by reason of the cariages and engins, which hindered the matter. The conquerours hoatly pursuing the chace disperfed themselues along the high way. The slaughter was the more famous, because in the same it happened the sonne to kill his owne father: the thing and the names of the persons I will set downe, as Vipſanius Messalla hath reported it. Iulius Mansuetus borne in Spaine, and called to serue in the Legion surnamed Rapax, left a sonne at home vnder yeares, who growing afterward to mans state, and being enrolled by Galba into the seuenth Legion, by meere misfortune here met and encountred with his owne father; and hauing wounded him deadly, going about to rife him, came into knowledge of him, and was likewise knowen by him againe. Whereupon embracing the corps, which now was without sense or life, with teares and lamenrable voice he besought his fathers ghost, not to impute this impiety vnto him, nor abhorre and detest him as a parricide: that it was the publicke act of the cause: and what a small portion was one souldier of these ciuill warres? And withall he tooke vp the body, made a pit in the ground, and perfourmed his last duety toward his father. This was perceiued by them which were next, and then by more also: in the end the fame of this strange chance went thorow the whole army, and much complaining there was, and detestation of so cruell, and wicked a warre: and yet they continued nothing the lesse to kill and to spoile both kinsmen and friends, and euen their brethren also. they talke what a wicked fact was committed, and in the meane time commit it themselues. Whenas they came to Cremona, there appeared a new and no small piece of worke yet behinde. For in the warre against Ortho the German soldiers had cast their camp about the wals of Cremona, and about their campe rampiers and trenches, which they had now lately augmented. At the sight whereof the Flauianists were at a stop, the Generals being doubtfull what to appoint. to begin the assault the army being tired with the trauaile both of the day and the night, were a difficult matter, and hauing no place of retiring at hand dangerous too: to returne to Bebriacum were intolerable paine, the way being so long, and besides, all they had done would be lost, and the victory made voide: to sit downe and intrench, that also were a thing full of danger, and to be feared, lest the enemies being so neere should sally out, and breede some disorder as they were disperfed, and busy at their worke. But aboue all these respects the Generals stode in most feare of their owne soldiers, who would sooner abide any danger, then any delay: all that tended to safety was vsfauory; in precipitation was their hope; the greedy desire of the spoile made al killing, wounding, shedding
their

their blood to be matters of nothing. To this resolution therefore Antonius finally inclining, commanded to environ the trenches with soldiers round about. And first they fought aloofe with arrowes and stones on both sides, but with disadvantage to the Flavian part, vpon whom the enemy discharged from aboue: then approaching neerer he distributed to the Legions the trenches and gates, appointing to ech their severall quarter, to the end the labor being thus diuided, the difference betweene the valiant and the coward might be perceiued, and mutual emulation of honor should excite them to vertue. The third and ^b seventh Legion were assigned the quarter next to the way, which leades from Bebricum: the eighth and seventh surnamed Claudiana tooke vp the trenches on the right hand: the thirteenth was caried with a fury to the gate toward Brescia. After this they pawed awhile, till they had fetched out of the fields thereabout, some of them ^c spades and ^d axes, some others ^e hookes and ladders. Then with a strong ³ target fence ouer their heads they came vnder the walles, and were receiued by those that vnderstoode that kinde of seruice, as hauing been trained vp in the same schoole, who rowled downe huge stones vpon it, and forced the frame to stagger and fleete, then followed & searched into it with iauelins and speares, till the connexion of targets being dissolued and broken, they slew or maimed the men. Vpon so great slaughter the Flavianists were almost at a stay, had not the captains perceiuing the soldiers to be tired, and all other encouragements preuaile but a little, shewed vnto them the towne of Cremona, as the price of their victory. Whether this was Hormus deuise, as Messalla reporteth, or Caius Plinius be rather to be beleueed, who casteth the fault vpon Antonius, I cannot easily determine; this only, that whether Antonius or Hormus were autor of this most bad part, it was not vsutable to neither of their former infamous liues, and behauiours. But hereupon no danger of limme or life could stay the Flavian soldiers, from breaking downe the trenches, and beating open the gates, euen with their shoulders; and some climbing vp by a double target fence tooke hold on their enemies weapons, and caught them by the armes: so the wounded and not wounded, the halfe dead and dying, came downe tumbling together, and perished some after one fashion, and some after another, representing all diuersities of deathes. The seventh and third Legion fought most brauely, and gaue the sharpest assault, and Antonius the Generall himselfe, with the chosen men of the Auxiliary soldiers, had bended his forces that way. The Vitellianists perceiuing themselves not able to sustaine any longer the force, and fury of men so obstinately bent, and that whatsoeuer they cast downe vpon them slid away vpon the target fence, without doing any harme, resolved to rowle downe at the last a great ^{*} engine vpon them as they approached: which indeed for the present overwelmed those that were vnder, but withall in falling it drew the battlements with it, and vppermost part of the rampier: and at the same time a tower adioining being battered with stones fell downe. At which breach as the seventh Legion assaied to enter, in a pointed battell, the third Legion in the meane season brake downe the gate with their swords and axes. It is agreed vpon by all writers, that the first man which entred the trench was Caius Volusius, a souldier of the third Legion, who presently going to the rampier tumbled downe all that resisted, and aduancing himselfe in sight proclaimed the campe was taken: and as the Vitellianists were now beginning to faint, and leape downe from the rampier, the rest brake in. All the space betweene the trenches and the towne was filled with dead bodies. And there againe appeared a new worke, and another labour: the walles of the citty were high, the towers all of stone, the barres of the gates of iron, the souldier ready with weapon in hand on the walles,

the

^b Galbiana.

^c ligones.

^d dolabra.

^e Falces. *Vegetius lib. 4. ca. 14.*

Falx, trabs ad-

unco prefixa

ferro, ut de mu-

ro extrahat la-

pides. but here

perchance it

was but some

common hook.

^{*} balista.

the townesmen many and sure to Vitellius; beside a great number of strangers assembled out of all places of Italie thither, by occasion of a faire vsually holden there at that time. But that as it was a help to the defendants in respect of the multitude, so was it a prouocation to the assailants in respect of the spoile. Antonius commanded to take fire and burne certaine most goodly buildings, standing without the walles, if peraduenture the townesmen vpon the losse of their substaunce would be induced to yeeld. The houses that were neere to the walles, and exceeded them in height, he replenished with the valiantest soldiers he had; who with blocks of timber, and tiles, and firebrands, bet away the defendants from the walles: by this time also, the Legions had cast themselues into a target fence, and others shot stones, and arrowes against them on the walles. Then the Vitellianists harts began by little and little to faile them, and euery man as he was first in degree was likewise the first to yeeld vnto fortune, lest if Cremona also should be taken there would be no hope of pardon remaining, the whole wrath of the winners being like to turne not vpon the poore and beggerly souldier, but vpon the Tribunes and Centurions, by whose death some gaine might be gotten: contrarily the common soldier not searching into sequels, and in lesse danger by reason of his basenesse, persisted still for Vitellius: and wandering in the streetes, or hiding themselues in houses would not sue for peace, euen then whenas they had left off to make warre. So the principall men of degree in the army razed Vitellius name, and defaced his images, and loosing Cæcina, who then was in bands, desired him to become intercessour in their behalfe. As he made dainty to do it, and bare himselfe proudly against them, they besought him instantly euen with teares (a misery of all miseries, so many valiant men to implore the aide of a disdainfull traitour) and then hung out ouer the walles their * sacred veles and infules, in signe of submission. Whereupon Antonius commanding his men to surcease all hostility, they brought out their ensignes and standards: the Vitellian Legions followed; a heauy companie, vnarmed, and casting their eies to the ground. the Flauianists closed about them, and first outraged them in speeches, and seemed to threaten violence vnto them: but when they saw them not moued thereat, but patiently to endure all indignities, according to the circumstance of their present fortune, they began to call to remembrance, that euen those were the selfesame men, that had a little before at Bebriacum vsed their victory moderately. But when Cæcina came forth as a Consull in his robes, with his sergeants before him making way thorow the presse, the conquering souldiers lost all maner of patience, obiecting vnto him his pride, and his cruelty, yea and his treason too: so hatefull are vices euen where they are profitable. But Antonius interposed himselfe, and sent him safely garded away to Vespasian. In the meane season the people of the towne, among so many armed men, were greatly annoyed, and they scaped nearely of a generall massacre, had not the captaines intreated, and somewhat appeased the soldiers wrath. Antonius calling a full assembly made a solemne oration, speaking in glorious termes to the soldiers of his owne side, and in curteous to those of the other, concerning Cremona ambiguously. The army was doubtles earnestly bent to the destruction and sacke of the citty, beside a naturall desire of spoile, vpon an old conceined displeasure against them: for in the warre of Otho also they were thought to haue bested and helped Vitellius side; and afterwards the thirteenth Legion being left there to build an amphitheatre (as commonly these townesmen are naturally malapert) they had iested and scoffed at them. many other circumstances made their case also the harder, as that Cæcina had in that towne exhibited his shew of fencers in honour of Vitellius victory: that it was chosen now the se-

* *Velamenta
& infulus.*

* *Gladiatores.*

cond

cond time for the seate-towne of the warre: that they had helped the Vitellian army with vittailles: that some women were found flaine, which for extreme loue to the side had come out to the battaile: and not least because the faire time had filled the towne, being otherwise wealthy, with shew of more wealth. And thus stode the soldiers for their part affected. As concerning the Commanders, the behauiours of the rest were not much marked: Antonius by reason of his fortune and his fame was principally eyed: who assoone as he entred the towne went presently to the bath to wash off the blood, and finding it somewhat too coole, let fall a word which was quickly taken vp, that ere long it would be made hoater. This base iest turned the whole blame vpon him, as if he had giuen thereby a watchword to set Cremona on fire, which to say the truth was burning already. Forty thousand armed men were broken in, and of seruants and followers of the campe both a greater number, and a great deale more disordered in all kinde of licentious and cruell demeanour: neither age, nor honourable calling could warrant any from violence, but without respect of eyther they abused their bodies in villanous maner, and slew them indifferently. Aged men and old women, nought worth to be solde, they haled in a iolity for pastime and sport: if any mayde of competent yeares, or beautifull yongman fell amongst them, in striuing who should cary them away, they pulled them asunder and tare them in pieces; and thereupon growing in choler turned to kill one another. Whenas any had gotten and caryed away for himselfe money, or the golde and iewels out of the temples, being met by a stronger, he left behinde him both his life and his bootie: some contemning that which they found ready and open, compelled the owners with torture and stripes, to confesse and yeeld vp their hidden riches, and treasures buried vnder the ground. The souldiers walked with firebrands in their hands, which assoone as they had emptied the goods, they hurled in a sport and wantonnesse into the voide houses, and empty temples. And as in an armie diuerse in language and manners, compounded of Romans, confederates, and strangers, their lusts and desires were diuerse, and something held lawfull by one, something by another, and nothing vnlawfull to all. Fower whole dayes Cremona ministred matter to sacke and to burne: and all things beside both holy and prophane being consumed into ashes, the temple of ^f Mephitis without the walles remained vntouched, either because it stode out of the way, or by reason of some diuine vertue of the goddesse. ^g This end had the city of Cremona, two hundreth eighty and six yeares after the foundation. It was built in the ^g yeare that Tiberius Sempronius and Publius Cornelius were Consuls, when Hannibal was about to come into Italy, for a bulwarke against the Frenchmen beyond the Po, and if any other power should breake in by the Alpes. So by reason of the number of inhabitants, commodity of riuers, fertility of the soile annexed, and affinities contracted with other people, it grew vp and flourished, in forraine warres vntouched, vnfortunate in ciuill. Antonius ashamed of this foule act, which daily grew more and more odious, made proclamation, that no man should keepe any cittizen of Cremona as his lawfull prisoner: and all Italie with one generall consent refusing to buy any of them for slaues marred the soldiers market: who thereupon began to murder their prisoners. Which being once knowen, their friends and kinsfolks secretly came and ransomed them. In short time after the rest of the people returned to Cremona. The publicke places and temples were reedified at the charges of the townesmen, and vpon Vespasians speciall encouragement. For the present, the ground being infected with the noysomenesse of the dead carcases, suffered not the Flauian army to dwell long vpon the ruines of the razed citty. So they remooued

three

^f The goddesse
of ill fauours.

^g In the yeare
of the City 536.
and the first
yeare of the
second Punicke
warre.

three miles off, and there reduced the Vitellianists, being disbanded, and trembling for feare, euery soldier vnder his colours, and anone afterward sent them away into Illyricum, lest during the time of the troubles they should fortune to worke inno-uation. Into Britannie and Spaine messengers were sent with the newes of the suc-cesse: and for a prooffe of their victory, into France they sent Iulius Calenus a Tri-bune, and into Germanie Alpinus Montanus capraine of a cohort; because Alpinus was of Triers, and Calenus an Aeduan, and both had followed Vitellius side: and withall they kept and fortified the passages of the Alpes with garrisons, fearing the descent of the Germans that way in fauour of Vitellius.

¹ The moone rose] The very same effects fell out vpon the like cause, in the night battaile betweene Pompey and Mithridates described by Plutarch, and Dio. But the Epitome of Dio, setteth this here downe somewhat otherwise then Tacitus. *τὴν δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἐπιβύτην ἡ σελήνη τὴν νυκτὶς ἐκλείπειν, ἔχ' ὅτι καὶ ἐσχιάσθη (καὶ τὴν τοῖς δορυβέτοισι καὶ τοῖς τοιαῦτα φόβον φέρει) ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ αἰματώδης καὶ μέλαινα ἄλλατε πρὸς χεῖματα φοβερά, ἀρτίστα ὦρθη.* That is, The moone being eclipsed that night increased the affrightment, not so much because she was darkened (although in such as are affrighted such things also strike a terror) but because she seemed bloody and blackish, and streaming out some other fearfull colours.

² Vnder the conduct of M. Antonius] Some three or fower yeares aboute an hundreth yeare before, so that no one man, that serued then with Antonius, could in possibility now be here in this seruice but we are to vnder-stande of a Legion, as the lawyer saith of a shippe, that being repaired by peecemeale, albeit in proccesse of time there be no one sticke remaining the same, yet doeth it continue stil the same ship. although the Philosophers, saith Plutarch, are not yet fully agreed of the point, *τῷ μὲν ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ, τῷ δὲ ὡς ὃ τὸ αὐτὸ διαμένει λεγόντων.* That is, Some defending it to remaine the same ship still, some denying it. The sco.

³ Target fence] Testudo. The maner of Testudo and the vilitie is very well declared by Liuius lib. 44. in these wordes. *Quadrato agmine facto scutis super capita densa stantibus primis, secundis summissioribus, tertius magis et quartis, postremis etiam genu nixis fastigiata, sicuti tecta edificiorum sunt, testudinem faciebant: ut alij armati superstantes propugnatoribus muri fastigio altitudinis equarentur. Sola tamen in fronte extrema, et ex lateribus non habebant super capita elata scuta, ne nudarent corpora, sed praesentia pugnantium more: ita nec ipsos tela ex muro missa subcuntes leserunt, et testudinis iniecta imbris in modum lubrico fastigio innoxia ad inuicem labebantur.* Plutarch. *Ἀνιπνία, οἱ δὲ θυρεοφόροι καθέντες εἰς τὴν κορυφαίαν τοῦ θυρεοῦ, οἱ δὲ ὀπίθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ κείνων ὁμοίως ἔτεροι. τὸ δὲ ὅπλον ὡς ἀπὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρέτες μιν δόμενον ὅσον τε θεατρικὴν παρέει, καὶ τῷ περὶ ἑλπίων στρατηγικῶν ὅσον τῶν οἰκῶν ἀπολαύσαντων.* That is, The target bearers, kneeling on their knees hold before them their targets, those which next follow couer them with theirs, and others them againe. the forme is very like the covering of a house, somewhat also resembling a theatre, and of all other defences is most sure against arrowes sliding downe vpon it. Now in case one Testudo would not serue to set their armed men high enough to match them on the trenches or walles, they made, as I thinke, a double Testudo, one vpon another. Tacitus in the words following *super iteratam testudinem scandentes*; albeit those wordes may receiue also another construction. The strength of targets so compacted together is declared by Arrianus *ἀνελκός, i.* Whenas Alexander had to ascende the mount Hæmus, the top whereof was occupied by the enemies, who turned downe mighty great carres vpon his army, he willed such as could not open their ranks, and so giue passage to their violence, *ἑωυδ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς εἰς τὴν συγχλίσται εἰς ἀκρίβειαν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν, τὰ κατ' αὐτῶν φερόμενα, τοῖς αἰμάξαι, καὶ τῇ φύσιν καὶ τὸ εἶδος ὑπομένοντας ἀλλήλους ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. καὶ ὅτω ξυνέβη, ὅπως παρήγεσθαι τε ἀλλήλους καὶ εἶχετε.* That is, To touch and fall to the ground, that the carres coming downe vpon them and carried ouer them amaine as it was likely, with their owne force might passe away without doing harme, and as Alexander gessest, so is came to passe.

⁴ Of a disdainfull traitour] Xiphilinus seemeth to say that vpon hanging out of their velimenta and insult obtaining not pardon, they loosed Cæcina, and sent him in his Consular robes *αὐθ' ἱκατεπέρας: καὶ ἐπύχον τῷ πρὸν δῶν.* That is, To intreate for them; and by his meanes obtained mercy. Iosephus 4. *ἀλώσ, cap. 41.* saith that Antonius loosed Cæcina after his entry into the towne. By Tacitus here it should seeme he went not to Antonius till after the soldiers had yeelded.

⁵ This ende had Cremona] In this battell, saith Iosephus *ἀλώσ, 4. cap. 41.* were slaine of Vitellius side thirty thousand and two hundreth: of Antonius soldiers fower thousand and fise hundreth. Xiphilinus saith that in Cremona, with those which were slaine in the field, died fifty thousand persons. The time was about the later end of October, about which time also, as it appeareth by Tacitus, the newes were brought to Rome of Cæcinaes reuolt.

VII. Fabius Valens setteth forward. Vitellius blockish behauiour. The death of Iunius Blaesus.

BVIT Vitellius, hauing within few daies after Cæcinaes departure set forth Fabius Valens also to the warre, as if nothing else were now to be done, layd aside all care of affaires, and betooke himselfe to his riotous life. He made no prouision of armour, confirmed not the souldiers with comfortable speeches, or militare

* In amplifying the great bountifullnes of Vitellius, toward a man in all respects so unworthy as Cæcina, they vttered indeede their own griefe, that so lewde a person should be so highly preferred, and yet seemed to complain in Vitellius behalfe.

• Of whom that iest of Tullie is remembred: *Quam vigilanz habemus consulem, qui toto consulatus sui tempore somnum oculis non vidit.* "Or, who being beholding to many, had many to pleasure.

exercises; he conuersed not in publicke in the face of the people (like those sluggish creatures, which if you supply with foode lye carelesly stretched along) lurking in arbours and places of pleasure, he had cast off all memorie alike, of past, present, and to come. Thus wallowing in sloth, and languishing in the groues of Aricia, the heauie newes came vnto him of the treason of Lucilius Bassus, and of the reuolt of the nauy at Rauenna: soone after the sorrowfull tidings mixed with some ioy concerning Cæcina came, both that he had reuolted, and that he was put in bands by the armie. His blockish and dull disposition apprehended more the ioy then the care, insomuch that with great triumphe he made his returne vnto the citty, and there in a solemne assembly commended, and highly extolled the dutifull affection of the souldiers. Then he commanded Publius Sabinus captaine of the Garde, because he was inward with Cæcina, to be committed, substituting Alphenus Varus in his roome: immediately going to the Senate he made there a stately and magnificall oration vnto them, and was requited of them againe with all kindes of exquisite flatteries. Then proceeded a heauie sentence against Cæcina, ^a pronounced first by Lucius Vitellius, and so by the rest of the Senate in order: who as in the Princes behalfe vttering their owne griefe aggrauated his fact with tearmes of affected indignation, That a Consull should betray the common weath, a Generall his soueraine Lorde, and a man so greatly aduanced in riches and honour his sole aduancer and maker; without any touch at all or iniurious speech against any of the Flauian captaines, but onely blaming the errour, and ouersight of the armies: and for Vespasians proceedings, with great caution touching that string, and alwaies sparing his name. Then Roscius Regulus presented petition, and by humble suite obtained, a ridiculous thing both to giue and to take, the Consulship for one onely day which remained behinde of Cæcinaes time, and so the last day of October he entred and resigned his office. It was obserued by men skilfull that way, that neuer before was there anie such substitution scene, but either vpon errour in the creation, or an expresse law for that purpose enacted. For ^b Caninius Rebilus had likewise beene Consull for one day alone, at the time when Caius Cæsar was Dictatour, "and the seruice of many in the ciuill warre required much speed in rewarding. About the same time the death of Iunius Bloesus was openly knowen and much talkt of abroad: the circumstances whereof, as we haue receiued them are these. Vitellius lying sicke of a grievous disease in the Seruilian gardens, chanced to espie in a turret not farre off many lights burning in the night season, and demanding the cause, they about him made answere; that in Cæcina Tuscus house there was a solemne feast, and much company met, whereof Iunius Bloesus was the principall guest; amplifying the sumptuousnes of the entertainment, and the mirth, and the wanton solacing themselves, and such other matters farre aboue trueth: yea and some stucke not directly to accuse Tuscus himselfe and others; but aggrauated most against Bloesus, that had so good leysure and lust in the Princes sicknes, to banquet and passe the time so merrily away. When they found Vitellius humour once sharpened, and it was cleere to them, that see deeply into Princes dislikes, that Bloesus might be ouerthrowen, the promoting and prosecuting against him was committed to Lucius Vitellius: who vpon a sinister emulation malicing Bloesus (because he was so famous a man, and himselfe by desert so infamous) entred into the Emperours chamber, and taking his little sonne in his armes fell downe at his feete. When his brother demanded the cause of this his confusion, I come not (quoth he) for any feare or care of mine own, but my humble suite is, and these teares are shed in your owne behalfe, and your childrens. In vaine do we stand in feare of Vespasian, whom so many Legions as we haue

haue of our side, so many prouinces of valour and trust, and so great and infinite distance by sea and lande doth withhold and keepe off: we had more neede to take heede of an enemy at home in our bosome, who vaunts of the ^c Iunij and ^c Antonij for his progenitours, and maketh all demonstrations of curtesie and bountifullnesse toward the souldiers, as one descended of the imperiall blood: that way all mens mindes beginne now to bend, whilest your maiesty in the meane time, carelesse of the estate both of your friends & foes, nourisheth a concurrent, that taketh delight, out of his banquetting house to behold his Princes sickenes and griefes. Vouchsafe, I beseech you, for his vnseasonable mirth, to render him a sad and sorrowfull night, whereby he may both know and feele, that Vitellius liueth and ruleth, and if ought should befall him but good, hath a son to leaue in his place. Vitellius standing in dread betweene the feare of differring, and the open auowing so wicked a fact, lest the one might breed his destruction, the other procure great enuy and slander, finally resolved to attempt it by poison: the suspicion whereof was strongly confirmed, by his going in great ioy to visite Bloesus as he lay a dying; and moreouer a most sauage speech of his was ouerheard, wherein he vaunted (for I will report his owne verie words) that he had fed his eies in beholding his enemies death. Bloesus besides his honourable birth and courtly conditions, was loyall and fast to Vitellius. For before Vespasian put vp, whenas matters were yet entier, being sollicitated by Cæcina and the chiefeft of the side, who began now to waxe wearie of Vitellius, he stiffly resisted; a man of vpright conuersation, not turbulent, not desirous of hasty rising, and so far from ambitious aspiring to the Empire, that in many mens opinions he was esteemed not vnwoorthy of it.

^{cc} By reason of both which names he might claime to be lineally descended of Octauia, sister to Augustus Caesar, as by their pedigree it may appeare.

VIII. *The proceedings of Fabius Valens, and his taking.*

IN the meane season Fabius Valens marching forward, more slowly then was conuenient in going to warre, with a great and effeminate traine of concubines and eunuches, was aduertised in post of the treason of Lucilius Bassus, with the losse of the nauie at Rauenna: and if he had followed with expedition his purposed journey, he might either haue preuented Cæcinaes falling away, or overtaken the Legions before the battaile was giuen. And some perswaded him to take a few of his trustiest friends, and so auoiding Rauenna by secret bywaies to go in all speed to Hostilia, or Cremona: others were of opinion to send for the Prætorian cohorts out of the cittie, and so by strong hand to make passage. But Valens vsing delay, to the great hurt of the cause, spent the times of action in consultation: and then reiecting both the aduises, and taking a ¹ middle course, which in cases of danger and doubt of all is the woorst, he neither was venturous inough with the one, nor prouident inough with the other, but onely wrote letters to Vitellius for some supply. Whereupon ² three cohorts were sent with the Brittish wing, a number neither fit to passe secrete withall, nor sufficient to breake thorow by force. But Valens euen then, amidst so great danger, abstayned not from his olde vntemperate liuing; but was difamed, and noted to take by force his lewd pleasures, and pollute his hosts houses, wherefoeuer he came, with adulteries and other vnlawfull lusts: he had both might and money, great means to induce; and the last lusts of fortune beginning to fal, now at the farewell shewed themselues most outragious. When the horsemen and footmen were come, then appeared the weaknesse and fault of that counsaile. For neither could he with so small a company, though they had beene most trustie, passe thorow the enemies, neither yet were they fast and trustie indeede: but for a while

^a Of Prætorians it should seeme: and yet we finde 14. more Prætorians, and there were but 16. in all. 2. H. B.

shame, and the reverence of their Generall being present, restrained them, bondes of no long continuance with men ^a greedy of dangers, and carelesse of credit: vpon feare whereof Valens sending the cohorts before to Ariminum, and appointing the wing to garde them behinde, with a few in his company, whom aduersitie had not altered, turned aside into Vmbria, and from thence into Etruria. Where vnderstanding the euent of the battaile at Cremona, he entred into a notable determination, and if it had succeeded, of great consequence; to betake himself to the sea, and setting on land in some part of the prouince of Narbon, to raise Fratince and the nations of Germanie, and so stirre vp a new warre. Assoone as Valens was gone, Cornelius Fuscus came with an army vpon them at Ariminum, and bestowing his shippes not farre from the towne forced the souldiers for feare to yeeld, and made himselfe master of the plaine of Vmbria, and the countrey of Picenum all along the sea side: and so all Italy on the one side of the Apennine mountaines was vnder the subiection of Vespasian, and on the other side vnder Vitellius. Valens hauing embarked himselfe in the bay of Pisa was driuen by the violence of the sea, or contrarie windes, into the port of Hercules Monœcus. Not farre from thence Marcus Maturus Procuratour of the sea Alpes remained, a man verie faithfull and constant in Vitellius cause, notwithstanding all thereabout had declared themselues for the contrarie side; who in-tertaining Valens with all kinde of courtesie, and warning him, not rashly to enter into the prouince of Narbon, with this admonition strooke a terroure into his minde, and withall the rest of the company began to faint for feare, and stagger in their allegiance. For Valerius Paulinus ^a ^b Procuratour, a valiant souldier, and a friend of Vespasians before his aduancement, had sworne the citties round about vnto him, and gathering all those, which being ^c dismissed by Vitellius of their owne accorde resumed armes, kept the colonie of Forum Iulij, being the keie of the sea, with a gar- rison: his dealing therein carying the more credit, because hee was borne in that towne, and was highlie esteemed among the Prætorian souldiers, whose Tribune sometimes he had beene; and the townesmen also vpon fauour to their countrey- man, and hope of greatnes hereafter, endeououred to further the side. This strong preparation being reported in the amplest sort to the Vitellianists, who already were wauering in minde, Fabius Valens retired in all speed to the shippes, accompanied onely with fower ^d Spearemen, three of his friends, and as many Centurions: Ma- turus and the rest were at their libertie to staie behinde, if it liked them, and sweare to Vespasian. But as the sea was safer to Valens then the shoare, or townes, so floating thereon vnresolved, and seeing rather what to shun then what to follow, he was at the length by contrary weather cast vpon the Stœchades ilands, vpon the coast of Marseils; from whence Paulinus sending out of his ships fetched him in.

^b Belike in *Gal-
lia Narbonensi.*

^c Ment, as I take
it, of *Othobes* olde
Prætorian soldi-
ers onely, other
dismissed by *Vi-
telliū* I find not:
and mention is
made by and by
expresly of the
Prætorians.

^d Spiculatores.

^a A middle coulse] It may seeme that Valens for his part resolued vpon the first opinion, that was *accitis ex
urbe cohortibus valida manu perumpere*, but the fault was in Vitellius who sent no more.

^b Men greedy of danger] *Apud quidos periculum*. So be the wordes in our copies, the meaning I know not; and the narration following I finde in my conceit to be somewhat vnperfect. as wherefore Valens did sende the power rather to Ariminum into the enemies mouth, then backe to Vitellius, if he ment not to followe them him- selfe. vpon what intent and purpose he went into Vmbria and Etruria, and what he would haue done, if hee had not had aduertisement of the battell at Cremona, vnlesse it were to take the secret way now, which before he refus- ed, toward Hostilia and Cremona. Which circumstance surely would not haue been omitted.

IX. *The estate of the provinces abroad upon the troubles in Italie.*

AS SOONE as Valens was taken, all the provinces turned themselves to Vespasians side, the matter beginning in Spaine at the first Legion surnamed Ad-
 iutrix; which vpon the memorie of Otho was enemy to Vitellius, and drew with it the tenth and sixt Legion also. Neither did the provinces of Fraunce make any stay. And for Britannie, the great fauour and reputation in warlike affaires, that Vespasian had gotten being Lieutenant there of the second Legion vnder Claudius, did easily win that Legion vnto him, albeit not without some sturre of the rest, whereof manie Centurions and souldiers, who had beene aduanced by Vitellius, were vnwilling to change the Prince, whom they had prooued already. By meanes of which dissension and continuall rumours of ciuill warres, the Britains tooke hart and rebelled, through the procurement ^a of Venusius; who beside a naturall fiercenesse of courage, and hatred of the Roman name, was incensed particularly, by a priuate vnkindnesse betweene him and the queene Carthismandua. Carthismandua was queene of the Brigantes, of high and noble linage, who vpon the deliuerie of king Caratacus, whom she tooke by ^b fraude, and sent to furnish and set out the triumph of Claudius, wan fauour with the Romans, & greatly increased her strength: whereupon ensued wealth, and of wealth and prosperity riotous and incontinent life: insomuch that casting off Venusius, who was her husband, she ioyned her selfe in mariage with Velloctatus his harnish-bearer, and crowned him king: which fact was the ouerthrow immediately of her house. The goodwill of the countrey went generally vpon the lawfull husband: but the queenes vntemperate affections were peremptory and violent in maintaining her minion. Whereupon Venusius by the helpe of his other friendes, and the reuolt of the Brigantes, made warre vpon Carthismandua, and brought her into great extremities: then praying aide at our hands, our cohorts and wings were sent to defende her, which after sundry skirmishes with diuerse euent, deliuered her person out of peril, but the kingdome remained to Venusius, and the warre vnto vs. About the same time our affaires in Germanie, through the insufficiencie of our captaines, and seditiousnesse of our Legions, forreine force assailing vs, and our allyes betraying vs; were reduced to those desperate termes, that we stode in danger of leeing the countrey: but that warre together with the causes, and particular euentures thereof (for it continued long) I^c will hereafter declare. The Dacians also stirred, a nation neuer louing vs, and as then, our armie being withdrawn out of Moesia, not fearing vs neither. When the first alterations and troubles began, they held themselves quiet, and looked but on: but when as they perceiued Italie to be all in armes, and betweene the sides euery where open hostilitie, forcing the standing camps of the cohortes and wings, they put themselves in possession of both the banckes of Danubius, and were now at the point to haue razed the camps of the Legions, had not Mutianus, hauing knowledge before of the victorie at Cremona, opposed the sixt Legion against them, lest two forreine powers should haue broken in at one time, the Germans and Dacians, from two diuerse coasts. As often heretofore, so now specially fortune was fauourable to the Romans, bringing Mutianus with the power of the East to arriue there at that instant; and that in the meane time the matter was so dispatched at Cremona. Mutianus departing away left Fonteius Agrippa, who had beene one yeare Proconsull of Asia, Lieutenant Generall in Moesia; assigning him sufficient forces out of the

^a 2 Iugurthum et
Mithridate 12. Annal.^b 12. Annal.^c lib. 4.

d In Neroes
time.

• Ἀρχιπαιλίστα
στὰς καὶ κῆρα, ὅσον
αὐτοῖς ποτὶ πῦρ
καὶ ἰκασὶ δὲ γέμα
να αὐτοῖς δὲ γε
ἀκούει δὲ ἀκούει
τὴν πᾶντα δὲ ἀν-
δρα. καλῶσι δὲ
αὐτοὶ οἱ Ἑλλήνες
καὶ μάλιστα Στρα-
βὼ lib. 11.

Vitellian Legions, whom it was thought a point both of pollicie and peace to disperse abroad in the prouinces, and keepe occupied in forraine warre. Neither were other nations at quiet. In Pontus a barbarous bondman, which sometime had been Admirall of the kings nauie, raised vp a sodaine warre in the countrey: his name was Anicetus a freedman of the late king Polemo, sometime of great credit and power, and now since the kingdome was ^d reduced into a prouince displeased and greeued with the change. Whereupon hauing associated vnto him in Vitellius name the nations that dwell vpon Pontus, alluring the poore and neediest sort with hope of bootie and spoile, he became in short time Commander of competent forces; with which he sodainly inuaded and brake into Trapezus, a verie ancient cittie built by the Græcians, in the vttermost borders of Pontus: where a cohort was slaine, which in time past was in the seruice there of the king, but being afterwarde made citizens of Rome, had taken enfeignes and armour after our maner, retaining the slothfulnesse and dissolute life of the Greekes notwithstanding. Hee burned also the nauie there, doing his pleasure on that sea, which as then was vngarded, by reason that Mutianus had giuen order for the best of the galleyes, and all the souldiers to meete him at Byzantium: vpon occasion whereof ⁱ the barbarous people also of the countrey ranged abroad, and robbed without feare of checke or controlment; building them boates on the sodaine, which they call ^e Camerae, of narrow sides and broad bottoms, wrought and ioyned together without any brasle or iron, and when the sea goeth high, as the waues rise they raise also the sides of the vessell with boordes, vntill they close and couer it aboue like a house, and so the boates tumble vp and downe in the middle of the waues, hauing a prow alike on both sides, and readie to row either way without any danger, as it shall fall out for their purpose. These things mooued Vespasian to assigne vnto those parts some Vexillary soldiers out of the Legions, and Viridius Geminus for captaine, a man of good prooffe in seruice: who setting vpon the enemies being in disarray, and dispersed in seeking of spoile, draue them to their boates, and then causing some galleyes to be built in haste, pursued and ouertooke Anicetus in the mouth of the riuer Cohibus, being there vnder the protection of the king of the Sedochezi, whom he had wun by money and giftes to vndertake his defence. And indeed at first the king threatened to protect his supplyant with force of armes: but when as he saw himselfe put to the choise, to accept either rewarde for yeelding him, or warre in defending him, as an vnconstant and disloyall barbarian, vpon composition he surrendred Anicetus to die, and deliuered the fugitiues, and so ende was made of that seruile warre. Vespasian being ioyfull vpon the obtaining of this victorie, all things succeeding vnto him aboue his own wish, was certified soon after being in AEgypt of the battaile at Cremona, which caused him to make the more haste to Alexandria, that seeing Vitellius army was defeated and broken, he might presse also with hunger the cittie of Rome, standing altogether vpon forraine prouision. For so likewise he made preparation to inuade Africke, situate on the same coast, both by sea and lande, meaning to cut off the two storehouses of corne from the enemy, and so procure famine, whereof consequentie diffension would growe.

ⁱ Barbarous people also of the cuntrey] Others as I thinke beside those which associated themselves with Anicetus: namely the Achæi, Heniochi, and Cercæi dwelling of the other side of Pontus Euxinus, and according to Strabo ^e living, as they are here described, by pyracie.

X. *Antonius Primus marcheth from Cremona to Fanum Fortunæ.
his iarring with Mutianus.*

WHILEST in these generall alterations, thorow out the whole world, the state thus altered and passed, Antonius Primus leauing Cremona, left also his former care of well carying himselfe, supposing the warre to be at an end, and no difficulty in that which remained: or els peraduenture prosperity, in a man of that disposition, discovered the secret and inward faults of his minde, as couetousnesse and pride, and other vices that were suppressed before. Italie he harried as a conquered countrey: the Legions with all kinde of curtesie he sought to assure to himselfe: in summe by all speeches and deedes he made the way to his owne greatnesse. And to giue the souldier the more his owne will, and leaue him the bridle at large, of his meere motion he graunted vnto the Legions the choise of Centurions in their roomes that were slaine: by which kinde of election the busiest and troublesomest fellowes were chosen; and generally the souldier was not gouerned by the direction of his captaine, but the captaine drawen by the violence of the souldier. After these points tending to faction and corrupting of discipline, he conuerted himselfe to the pray, nothing dreading Mutianus at hand, which was a more hainous offence, then to haue condemned Vespasian himselfe. Neuerthelesse the army marched on, without cariages, because the winter was neere, and the fields ouerflown with the Po. The ensignes and standers of the conquering Legions, and the aged or impotent souldiers, with many found also, were left at Verona. It seemed sufficient, now the warre was in so good a forwardnesse, to take onelic the cohorts and wings, and certaine chosen men out of the Legions, vnto this companie the eleuenth Legion also adioyned themselues, who at the first had made some delay, but seeing the good successe of their fellowes were sory it was their ill hap to be absent: with it there came also sixe thousand Dalmatians newly leuyed. Poppeus Siluanus was Lieutenant generall: but the whole direction of matters rested in Annius Bassus Lieutenant of the Legion, who with great industry and quietnesse disposed of all that was to be done, and vnder colour of obedience gouerned Siluanus peaceably, being a man of no action in militare seruice, and trifling out the times of doing in talking. To this power were adioyned the best of the mariners at Rauenna requiring Legionary seruice, and in their roomes the Dalmatians were sent to serue at sea. At Fanum Fortunæ the army and the leaders were at a stop, being in doubt concerning their principall purpose, because they had heard the Prætorian cohorts were already set forth out of Rome, and presumed that the passages of the Apennine hilles were fortified & garded against them. But that which caused most feare was want of prouision, in a cuntrey wasted and consumed by warre, and the seditious cries of the souldiers demanding *Clauarium (which is the name of a donatiue) of them who had neither prouided money nor corne: and the too much haste of the soldiers hindered greatly, whilest that which in due order might haue beene taken and serued somewhile, was in a moment spoiled in snatching. It is reported by most credible writers, that among the winners there was such a contempt of common honestie, and such vnnaturall dealings against all lawes humane and diuine, that a common souldier among the horsemen was not ashamed, openly to professe, that he had slaine his owne brother in the last battaile, and to require recompence for the same at the captaines hands: who neither willing to reward the fact in regard of common humanitie, nor daring to punish it in respect

* Clauarium, a donatiue to buy them caligares clauis; as Calcearium in Suetonius Vespasiano. cap. 8. to buy them shooes.

respect of the nature of the present warre, differed the matter, pretending that he had deserued much more, then they were presently able to giue: how it was ended I finde not recorded; notwithstanding in former ciuill warres I finde the like to haue happened. For in the battaile fought against Cinna at Ianiculum, one of Pompeyes souldiers flew his owne brother, and when hee saw what he had done, flew himselfe also, as Sisenna reporteth: so much haue our ancestors exceeded vs, not onely in glory of their vertues, but in grieve for their faults. These and the like drawn out of ancient history it shall not be amisse to remember, where the place and matter requires to set downe either * examples of that which is good, or comforts for that which is bad. Now Antonius and the Flauian captaines being at Fanum, thought it expedient to send some horsemen before, and search all the coast of Vmbria, to finde some easy and gentle passage ouer the Apennine: and withall they determined to send for the standerds and ensignes, and all the soldiers that remained at Verona, and to replenish the Po and the sea with store of prouision. There were of the Commaunders which sought all meanes to delay: for Antonius was * growen now too intollerable, and * better hope was conceiued of Mutianus: who being inwardly vexed that the victory was so speedily gotten, and fearing vnlesse he were present at the taking of Rome at the least, he should haue no part neither of the warre, nor the honour, wrote vnto Primus and Varus ambiguously, sometime perswading to follow with instance, and sometime discoursing of the profitableness of delaying; framing his speech in such sort, that if things fell out ill, he would clearely disclayme them; if well, he might take them vpon him: but to Plotius Griphus, whom Vespasian had lately made Senatour and Lieutenant of a Legion, and the rest of his trusty friends he gaue plaine direction to stay till his comming: all which persons returned vnto him a plausible answere, and greatly blamed the heady proceeding of Primus and Varus. Those letters Mutianus sent to Vespasian, and so procured that Antonius deuises and doings were not accepted according to his expectation. Which thing Antonius tooke very impatiently, and imputed the fault thereof vnto Mutianus, by whose calumniation he conceyued his dangers had growen: neither did he forbear to vse hard speeches against him, as a man of an intemperate tounge, and not accustomed to acknowledge any superiour. He wrote also letters vnto Vespasian in a more hawty and arrogant stile, then becomed a subiect to his Prince, with secret glances and nips at Mutianus: That it was Antonius and no body els, who first put in armes the Legions of Pannonia, and brought them into the field: that by his procurement and woorking the captaines of Moesia were first stirred vp to the warre: by his resolutenesse the Alpes were passed, Italie possessed, and the ayde of the Rhoetians and German nations cut off: then, that Vitellius Legions being at discord and dispersed the vantage was spyed, and they ouerthrowen first by a furious charge of horsemen, afterward by a power of foote-men for a whole day and a night together; that was indeede the brauest point of the seruice, and his only doing: as for the mishap of Cremona, it was a mischance of warre; and that the deciding of other ciuill dissensions in former ages had cost the common wealth much dearer, euen the subuersion of manie great townes. that he serued his Prince not with sending of messages and writing of letters, but with his person and weapon in hand: neither did he enuy or hinder their glory, that in the meane time had quieted Moesia: they regarded the peace of Moesia, and he the conseruation and safety of Italie. by his perswasions France and Spaine, the most puissant parts of the Empire, were ioyned to the side: but all his paines and trauaile were in vaine, if they alone should reape the rewards, which had no part in the perill.

* exempla recti,
aut solatia mali.

* nimis iam
Antonius.
* certiora de
Mutiano spera-
batur.

perill. Mutianus was aduertised of all this proceeding, and thereupon ensued great enmitie, which Antonius prosecuted simply and souldierlike, but Mutianus closely, and therefore the more irreconcilably.

XI. *Vitellius proceedings and behauiour after the losse at Cremona. The revolt of the nauie at Misenum.*

BV T Vitellius hauing receiued so great a blowe at Cremona, concealing the newes, and foolishly dissembling the matter, differed the remedies of his euils, not the euils themselues. For if he would haue plainly confessed it, and taken aduise thereupon, he had both hope and strength inough and too much remaining: but when as contrarily he fayned that all went on his side, by that vntrueth he marred his owne case, and cut off from himselfe all meanes of recovery. In his presence there was no mention of warre, but a woonderfull silence that way: in the cittie all speeches of it were forbidden, which caused the more: and they, which if it had beene lawfull would haue talked nothing but trueth, being restrained gaue out much more then it was. The captaines also of the Flauian side helped to increase the fame, carying Vitellius spies, as they chanced to take them, round about the campe, to see and view the strength of their victorious army, and so dismissing them back to their master. All which at their returne Vitellius, after secret examination had, commanded to be made away. But aboue all other the ^a constancie and resolutenes of the Centurion Iulius Agrestis was most notable; who after much speech tending to incite Vitellius to vertue in vaine, at length obtained that himselfe might be sent to view the forces of the enemy, and see what had passed at Cremona. For the performing whereof he sought no corners, but addressed himselfe directly to Antonius, and openly professing what charge he had from his Prince, and what was his intent, he required he might be permitted to take a perfect suruey of all things. so some were sent with him, which shewed him the place where the battaile was fought, the ruines of Cremona, the conquered Legions. Agrestis went home againe, and making relation, when as Vitellius would not beleue his report, but charged him with vntrueth, and further that hee was hired thereto: Seeing then (quoth Agrestis) no meane prooffe will serue, and neither my life nor my death can now stand you in any other steede, I will giue you an assurance which you may beleue; and so departing from him, he sealed his sayings voluntarily with his blood. Some write that he was flaine by Vitellius commaundement, but of his fidelitie and constancie they report the same. Now Vitellius being as it were awaked out of sleepe, commanded Iulius Priscus and Alphenus Varus with fourteene Prætorian cohorts, and all the wings of the horsemen to keepe the streits of the Apennine. after them followed a Legion of Seamen; a power both for number and goodnesse of men and horses sufficient (if another had beene Generall) to make warre offensive, not onely to stand vpon their defence. The rest of the cohorts were committed to Lucius Vitellius his brother to garde the cittie withall. Himselfe abating nothing of his wonted riot, and hastie through distrust, hudled vp the election of officers, wherein he declared Consuls for ^b many yeares to come. Moreouer ^c new treaties and more gracious were concluded with our allyes, and the right of Latium conferred vpon strangers. To some he released their tributes, to others he granted immunities, without all care of posteritie mangling and mayming the Empire. But the common sort accepted these fauours that seemed so great, and the foolishhest bought them with money, which

^a Suetonius Orthog. ne. c. 10. Xiphilinus, and after him Zonaras, reporteth this in the storie of Otho, in the former war, with some small difference of circumstances.

^b Suetonius Vitellio. c. 11. cospitia in decem annos ordinauit sequeperpetuum consulem.

wife

wise men accounted but voide, being such as could neither be given nor taken with the safetie of the state. At the last through the instant request of his armie lying in Mevania, with a great traine of Senatours assumed, partly vpon suite and most vpon feare, he repayed to the campe irresolute of himselfe, and obnoxious to vnfaithfull counsailes. As he was speaking to his souldiers in publike assembly, it fell out so manie vnluckie birdes to flie ouer his head (a monstrous matter) that the day was ouercast, as it were with a blacke cloude: and another no² lesse ominous and of euill presage, that a bull which was appointed to be sacrificed, brake away from the altars, ouerturned the furniture of the ceremonie, and was knocked downe sarre off from the accustomed place. But the greatest monster was Vitellius himselfe, a Prince without skill in the profession of armes, and deuoid of direction and counsel, demanding estsoones of others in what order to march, what diligence was requisite in making discoueries, what meane was to be obserued in vrging, or delaying the warre, and vpon euerie flying report apparently fearefull in countenance, and trembling in gate, and beside all this most commonly drunken. At the length growing weary of the campe, and vnderstanding of the reuolt of the nauy at Misenum, he returned to Rome, euer fearing most the blowe that came last, and carelesse in the meane time of the mayne chance. For whereas it had beene a course most cleare in reason, and euident in sight, to haue passed the Apennine with his armie, which then was in hart and strength, and so to haue assayed the enemies almost consumed with hunger and colde, he on the other side fell to^c dispersing his forces, and so abandoned his best and faithfulest souldiers, whom he left thereby to the enemies mercie, and deliuered them as it were into their hands; contrarie to the opinion of the most expert Centurions, who disliked greatly the disuniting, and if their aduise had been asked, would haue tolde plainely their minde: but Vitellius inwardest friendes hindered them from accesse, the Princes eares being so framed, that he accounted all sharpe that was wholesome, and liked of nothing but that which was presently pleasant, and afterwards hurtfull. But the nauie at Misenum (so much the audacioufnesse euen of one single man in ciuill dissensions may worke) was brought to reuolt by the meanes of Claudius Fauentinus, a Centurion ignominiously cassed by Galba, who counterfayting letters from Vespasian, with hope of reward induced them to change their alleageance. The Admirall thereof was Claudius Apollinaris, a man that neither constantly kept his fidelity, nor stoutly maintained his treason: and Apinius Tiro, who had beene Pretor, and was then by chance at Minturnæ, offred himselfe for a head to them which reuolted; by whose meanes the colonies and free townes were drawn to the side, the Puteolani shewing themselues most forward that way. But Capua on the other side, persisted firme to Vitellius: whereupon there passed, vnder colour of the publicke cause, much priuate choler between the two townes. To the pacification of these troubles Vitellius chose out Claudius Iulianus (who had lately beene Admirall of the nauie at Misenum, and gouerned himselfe in that charge with great mildnesse) as the meetest man to appease the souldiers mindes; assigning vnto him a power of one cittie-cohort, and the^c fencers which were vnder his charge. Assoone as the campos approached the one to the other, Iulianus without any great stay turned to Vespasians side, and so iointly they tooke Tarracina, a place of great strength in regarde of the wals and situation, if the men within had beene faithfull and good. Vpon knowledge whereof Vitellius leauing part of his forces at Narnia, with the captaines of his Garde, sent his brother Lucius Vitellius away with six cohorts and fise hundreth horse, to manage the war of Campania. Himselfe being greatly perplexed in minde was yet somewhat reuiued

* Taking some with him to Rome, but principally in that he sent away with his brother, as appeareth anon, six cohorts and fise hundreth horse into Campania out of this armie.

* Gladiatores.

ued with the earnest goodwill of the souldiers, and clamours of the towne people requiring armour and weapons; whom being nought else but a cowardly company, whose boldnesse neuer went beyond words, he called by the false title of armies and Legions. At the perswasion of his freedmen (for of his friendes the greatest men were least trusty) he commaunded the tribes to be called, and sware them which gaue in their names: too many presenting themselues, he diuided the charge of the muster betweene the two Consuls, and assessed the Senatours at a certaine number of bondmen, and quantitie of siluer. The Gentlemen of Rome made offer both of their seruice and money, euen the Libertini requiring of their owne motion they might be admitted to do also the like. This counterfait forwardnesse made the offices, that were done for feare, be thought to proceede of goodwill. And indeed many pitied not so much the man, as the place he sustained: and Vitellius himselfe ceased not by his countenance, speech and teares to prouoke compassion and pittie, promising largely, and (as the nature is of men in great feare) without measure. Moreouer he tooke then vpon him (which hee had refused before) the stile of ^a Caesar, vpon some superstitious conceit of the name, and because in a time of feare, the counsailes of wise men, and pratlings of the people are heard and respected alike. But as all actions entred into vpon heat without consideration are strongest in the beginning, and afterward fade and decay, so here the Senatours began by little and little to shrink, and the Gentleman likewise; at the first with some respect and in Vitellius absence, but afterwarde more openly, being afraide and pensue for the danger which was like to ensue; till in the end Vitellius seeing the attempt not feasible, for shame was contented, not to demand that he could not obtaine.

^a Suetonius Vitellius. c. 8. seemeth to say otherwise. cognome Germanici delatum ab vniuersis cupido recepit, Augusti distulit, Caesaris in perpetuum recusauit.

^a New treaties: *Fœdera socijs, Latium externis*] that is, to our socij their *fœdera* were renewed with a further increase of exemptions and priuiledges; and to forrainers that priuiledge was graunted, that those which had borne annuall office with them should by that meanes become *cives Romani*: for that is the maine pointe of *Ius Latij*. App. 2. Εμφυλ. πάλιν δὲ Νέβηκιον ὁ Καίσαρ εἰς Λατίαν ἀγαγὼν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλπεῶν ἀνέκει, ὧν ὅσοι κατ' ἐτος ἤρχον, ἐργάζοντο Πάμικιον πόλιν. τίς δὲ ἰσχυεῖ τὸ Λατίον. That is, Caesar had founded the colonie of *Nonum Comum* in the Alpes and endowed it with *Ius Latij*; so that who soeuer had borne annuall office there, by vertue thereof became citizens of Rome. for so much *Ius Latij* importeth.

^a No lesse ominous] The breaking away of the beast at sacrifice was among the Romans an ominous matter. Titus a little before his death *Sabinos petiit*, saith ^a Suetonius, *aliquanto tristior, quod sacrificanti hostia aufugerat*. Idem ^b Iulio. *Cum immolanti aufugisset hostia, tamen profectiorem non distulit*. and ^c Galba. *Tamuis securis ictu confectus rupto vinculo effedum eius inuasit*. Festus. *Piacularia vocabant, quod sacrificantibus tristia porrendebant: cum aut hostia ab ara profugisset, aut percussa mugitum dedisset, aut in aliam partem corporis quam oporteret decidisset*. Plin. lib. ^d 8. *Notatum est vitulos ad aras humeris hominum allatos non litare, sicut nec claudicante, nec aliena hostia deos placari, nec trahente se ab aris*.

^a Cap. 10.
^b Cap. 59.
^c Cap. 18.
^d Cap. 45.

XII. *The Flavianists passe ouer the Apennine. the Vitellianists at Narnia yeeld themselves. the death of Fabius Valens.*

AS the possessing of Meuania by the Vitellianists had wrought great terrour in Italie, seeing another warre as it were sprung vp a fresh by that meanes, so of the contrary side the departure of Vitellius in so fearefull maner procured great credit, and good to the Flavian cause. For presently thereupon the Samnites, and Peligni, and Marfi reuolted; and vpon emulation that Campania had preuented them, to recompence their slacknesse, as men newly come to a new master, shewed extreme diligence in furthering the seruice. But in passing the Apennine the armie by the fowlenesse of the winter weather was greatly distressed, and marching with all liberty and quietnes could hardly wrestle out of the snowe, so that it was cleare to be seene, what danger they must needs haue sustayned, if fortune, to which

which the Flavian captaines were more often beholding, then to their good guiding and skill, had not turned Vitellius backe home againe. In the mountaines Petilius Cerealis met them, who in clownish apparell through knowledge of the countrey had escaped Vitellius hands. Cerealis was of neere affinity with Vespasian, and of some name for matters of warre, and therefore was assumed among the Leaders. Many write that Flavius Sabinus and Domitian might also haue easily escaped, and certaine it is, that diuerse messengers sent by Antonius by sundry cunning sleights came to their speech, pointing the place, and offering them meanes for their safety: but Sabinus alleadged that his crazy body was not to vndertake a matter of that paines, and such an audacious attempt. Domitian would gladly haue ventured, but he feared the keepers whom Vitellius had set about him, although they offered to accompany him in his escape, lest peraduenture it had beene a snare to intrap him: and indeede Vitellius himselfe, in regard of his owne kinsfolkes, intended no cruelty against Domitian. When the Flavian captaines were come to Carfula, they staid there a few daies to repose their army, till their Legionary power should ouertake them: and the place of the campe in it selfe was delitefull, with a large goodly prospect, and verie safe for the prouision of vittales, hauing so manie of the welthiest citties, as it were store-houses behinde them. And besides they were in some hope that the Vitellianists, which were not distant aboue tenne miles, would fall to some parle, and so from a parle to a revolt: which thing the souldiers could not abide to heare of, but desired an end rather by conquest, then by peace: euen their owne Legions they were vnwilling to stay for, loath to haue more fellowes in the spoile, when they needed none in the danger. But Antonius calling them publickly together, shewed vnto them, that Vitellius had yet some forces remayning, wauering perhaps and vnconstant if they might haue time to consult, but of fierce stomacke if they were driuen to despaire: that the beginnings of ciuill warres were to be permitted to fortunes deciding, but the accomplishment of the victorie was to be gouerned by reason and wisdom: that the nauie of Misenum, and the most flourishing countrey of Campania were already reuolted, and there remayned nothing of all the world vnto Vitellius, saue onely so much as lay betweene Tarracina and Narnia: and surely they had wunne honour sufficient in the battayle at Cremona, and blame too much by destroying the towne. therefore they should not now desire to take Rome, but rather to saue it: their reward would be greater, and their glory most great, if they wrought the safetie of the Senate and people of Rome without bloudshed. With these and other like speeches their mindes were mollified, and soone after the Legions came. The Vitellian cohorts terrified with the fame of the armie so much increased, began to wauer, no man animating them to the warre, but manie to revolt, who desired to make a present of their bands and cornets vnto the conquerour, to purchase fauour hereafter; and gaue also aduertisement, that fast thereby at Interamna was a garrison of fower hundred horse. Whereupon immediately Varus was dispatched with a band of men lightly appointed, and slew some few that made resistance; but the most part laide downe their weapons, and yeelded themselues to his mercy: some fled to the campe at Narnia, and filled all there full of feare and terror, extolling aboue truth the forces and valour of the enemies, to diminish their owne dishonour in losing their fort. Neither was there any punishment for offences among the Vitellianists; on the other side the rewards were apparent of those that reuolted: so that from thence forth the contention was, who should be most traitour, and daily some of the Tribunes and Centurions fled to the enemy: for the common souldier was obstinately bent for Vitellius,

Vitellius, vntill Priscus and Alphenus Generales forsaking the camp vpon feares, and returning to Vitellius, discharged the rest from all blame of treason. About the same time Fabius Valens was put to death in the prison at Urbine. His head was openly shewed to the Vitellian cohorts to put them out of all hope: for before they beleueed that he was escaped into Germanie, and putting in armes both olde and new souldiers there: but when they sawe he was dead they began to despaire. The Flauian armie also tooke a wonderfull conceite as if his death were vndoubtedly the end of the warre. Valens was borne at Anagnia, of a gentlemans house, loole in conditions, and not without grace in seeking by wanton ieafts the name of a pleasant conceit. In the games of Iuuenalia in Neroes time he *plaid a part, first as it were by compulsion, then voluntarily, with more dexteritie then credit. Being created Lieutenant of a Legion he both sought to preferre Verginius to the Empire, and then to discredit him. Fonteius Capito his Lieutenant generall, either because he was entred into treason, or because he could not induce him to treason, he murdred and made away. A traitour he was no doubt to Galba, and true to Vitellius, a vertue in him so much the more eminent, because so many others were false. Now the Vitellian souldiers seeing all their hope cut off, going to yeeld themselves to the contrary part, euen in that also had a care of their honour, and came downe into the plaine vnder Narnia vnder their enseignes and banners displaied: the Flauian army stoode armed with their weapons bent, as in battell, in thicke ranckes along the way side. So the Vitellianists were receiued into the middle, and being so inclosed about, Antonius intertained them with comfortable and gracious words, and appointed some of them to abide at Narnia, and some at Interamna, leauing some of his owne Legions withall, without molestation to them if they were quiet, and yet of force sufficient to repress them if they rebelled.

XIII. *Vitellius vpon composition with Flauius Sabinus Vespasians brother offreth to resigne vp the Empire. Sabinus by the souldiers is driuen into the Capitoll, and there besieged. The Capitoll is burnt: Sabinus taken and slaine.*

DVRING their abode at Carsula, Antonius and Varus sent continuall messages vnto Vitellius, offering him, if he would surcease armes, and yeeld himselfe and his children to Vespasians mercy, life, money, and what secret place he would chuse of Campania to retire himselfe into: to the same effect Mutianus wrote also vnto him: and Vitellius oftentimes gaue eare thereunto, entring into speech about the number of his seruants, and the choise of the place. So great a senselesnesse had possessed his minde, that if other men had not remembred, that he had beene once Prince, and therefore was not to looke for security in priuate estate, he himselfe would haue quickly forgotten it. But the principall men at Rome secretly incited Flauius Sabinus being Prouost of the citty, to put himselfe into the cause, and vndertake part of the victory and of the honour: making remonstrance vnto him, that the citty cohorts was his owne peculiar souldier, the cohorts of the Watchmen would questionlesse take his part, and their owne retinue of bondmen should be at his disposition, beside the fortune of the side, and the easie course of proceeding they finde, that be in traine of winning. that he should not yeelde the honor of the action to Antonius and Varus: that Vitellius had but fewe cohorts in number, and those discouraged and trembling at the euill newes that came out of all

quarters: the common people was fickle & changeable; and if Sabinus would present himself for a head, they would use the same flattering terms for Vespasian, which now they did to the other. as for Vitellius he was a man not able to govern himselfe in prosperity, much lesse sufficient to weilde & wind out of his declining estate: that the honour of finishing the war would be his, who first should take possession of the cittie; & so were it fit in all congruity, both for Sabinus to reserve the Empire to his brother, & for Vespasian to esteeme of al other mens service secundarily to Sabinus. These warlike speeches made but a slender impression in his feeble old mind, & some did secretly suspect & charge him, that through envie & emulation he sought rather to hinder his brothers good fortune. For Flavius Sabinus was the elder brother, and exceeded Vespasian both in riches & authority, whiles they were both private men, & was thought to have saved his credit, & kept him from breaking, by lending him mony, but taking in morgage his house and landes for repaiment therof: whereupon albeit in outward shew they continued friends, yet some secret ielousies were feared between them. But the better interpretation was, that being a mild man he abhorred from slaughter & blood, & therefore treated diuers times with Vitellius of a peaceable composing of matters vpon conditions. And after diuerse meetings at his house, at the last a capitulation was concluded vpon (as the same went) in the temple of Apollo, only two persons, Cluius Rufus and Silius Italicus, being^a witnesses of their words: their countenances were noted a farre off by the beholders: Vitellius seemed abiect & base, Sabinus not insulting, but pitying rather. And if Vitellius could as easily haue perswaded his friends, as he was readie to yeeld himselfe, Vespasians army had entred the citie without bloodshed: but the loial & faithful seruants of Vitellius flatly reiected all speech of peace & conditions, declaring the danger and dishonour thereof, and that the performance consisted only in the winners good pleasure. Nay, said they, Vespasian will not be so confident, as to suffer Vitellius to liue, though in a private estate: or if he would, yet your very owne soldiers & friends will not abide it: and so through their pittie your life shall come in danger. You are old, & therefore for your part, as one that hath had his fill of both fortunes, are content to accept of conditions; but what title and state shall your little sonne Germanicus haue? now they offer mony, seruants, & the pleasant places of Campania to solace you in: but when Vespasian shal once be settled in the Empire, neither he, nor his friends, nor his soldiers wil think themselves safe, while so great a concurrent doth liue. Euen Fabius Valens, whom they had in prison, & reserved in store if ought should go wrong, was too heauy for them to indure: much lesse are we to thinke, that Antonius and Fuscus, & the chiefe flower of the side Mutianus, will otherwise deale with Vitellius, then to make him away. Cæsar left not Pompey aliue, nor Augustus Antonius: vnlesse perhaps Vespasian carrie a brauer minde, the meanest among many of your fathers followers & clyents, when he was fellow in office with Claudius the Emperour. nay rather as it becometh you being sonne of a thrise Consul & Censor, as it becommeth so many honorable titles of your most noble house, let despaire at the least arme you to courage and boldnesse. The soldiers persist stil for you: the goodwill of the people continueth yet verie feruent: in summe no greater harm can happen, the that which we run into voluntarily. die we must if we be ouercome, & die we shal if we yeeld: the difference only is this, whether we should end our liues vertuously & with honor, or with shame & perpetual reproch. But Vitellius cares were stopped against al manful counsailes: his mind was ouercome with care & pittie, lest with too long resisting he should leaue the conqueror lesse mercifull to his wife and children. A^b mother also he had of great yeares, but she died some fewe daies before, very seasonably not

^a Salustius sibi
millies HS. a Fla-
uio Sabino Vespas-
iani fratre pepi-
git, sicut Suet.
Vitel. cap. 15.
that is, 781250.
lib.

^b Sueton. Vitell. c.
14. Suspectus &
in mortem matris
fuit, quasi egre
preberet cibum pro-
hibuisset, vaticini-
ante Cætra mu-
lere, cui velut o-
raculo acquiesce-
bat, ita demum fir-
miser ac diuissi-
me imperatorum,
si superstes parens
esset. Alij
tradunt ipsam, ca-
dio presentium, &
immolationum me-
rit, venenum a fi-
lio imperasse
hanc sanè dissi-
muler.

to see the ruine of hir house, hauing gained nothing by her sonnes preferment, but sorrow and a good name. Vpon the eighteenth day of December, hearing of the reuolt of the Legion and cohortes at Narnia, hee departed out of the Palace in mourning weede, with his seruants all sadde and weeping about him, and with all in a small * chaire was caried his little yoong sonne, as it were to his buriall. The people in passing vsed their accustomed flatteries, being as then out of season: the soldier kept silence, but seemed to carry wrath in his countenance: neither was there any man so senselesse, or vnmindefull of humane instabilitie, which was not moued with that sight. An ^c Emperour of Rome, a little before Lord of the whole world, to abandon the seat of his state, and thorow the people, the city to go out of the Empire! The like was neuer seene, neuer heard of before. Sodaine violence oppressed Caesar the Dictator, and secret conspiracie Caius: night and the obscure corner of a countrey house couered Neroes flight: Piso and Galba died as it were in the field: but Vitellius in the assembly of his owne people, amidst his owne souldiers, women also looking out of their windowes, after he had vttered some few speeches agreeable to his present heauines, that he gaue place in regard of quietnes, and the good of the weale publike, only desiring the to retaine som remembrance of him, & take pity of his brother & his wife, & the harmeles age of his yong childre; presenting withal his son vnto them, & recommending him somtimes to particular persons somtimes to the generall assembly: at the length ouercome with teares he loosed his sword from his side, and offred it vnto Cæcilius Simplex the Consull that stood by, surrendring thereby as it were the power of life and death ouer the citizens. Which when the Consull refused to accept, the whole assembly also clamorously gainsaying it, he departed protesting he would in the temple of Concordia lay downe all his regalities, and so as a priuate man retire himselfe to his brothers house. But there the multitude began to cry more then before, not suffering him to enter into a priuate house, but calling him to the Palace, stopping vp the other passage, and leauing that only open which led to Via sacra. Whereupon not knowing what to do, or whither to turn him, he returned in the end to the Palace again. Now the same was gone before the fact that he had resigned the Empire: & Flavius Sabinus had written to the Tribunes of the cohorts, to keepe their souldiers in order. And now as if the whole common wealth were fallen into Vespasians armes, the chiefe of the Senators with many gentlemen, and all the Citty-souldiers, and the Watchmen flocked to Sabinus house. There they vnderstoode of the peoples constant affection towards Vitellius, and the threatnings of the German cohorts: but Sabinus had proceeded too farre now to drawe backe; and euery man vpon his owne particular feare vrged him being otherwise loath to goe out and take armes, lest the Vitellianists should meete with them afterward when they were seuered, and so of lesse strength. But as it falles out in such cases, all gaue counsaile, but few tooke part of the perill. About Lacus Fundani the armed men of Sabinus were encountred by some of the most resolute Vitelliā soldiers: there a smal skirmish was fought, as in a sodain tumult, wherein the Vitellianists had the better. Sabinus seeing his side go down, as the safest way vpon the present, seized vpon the ^d Capitol with his soldiers, & som Senators & gentlemen, whose names it is not easy to set down, bicause very many when Vespasiā was prince pretended to haue done that seruice to the side. Som women also retired into the Capitol, & there were besieged: amongst whom the most famous was Verulana Gracilia, drawen neither with respect of children, nor kinsfolke, but only bicause she would be of a party. The Vitellianists hauing pinned the vp, set the sentinels so negligently, that about midnight Sabinus sent forth and brought into the Capitoll his

* *Lecticula.*^c *Suetonius Vitellio. c. 15. somewhat otherwise.*^d *Iosephus ad. iur. lib. 4. c. 42.*

owne children, and Domitian his brothers sonne, and dispatched out other messengers to the Flauian captaines, shewing them how they were besieged, and vnlesse succour came, were in great danger, and passed the whole night in that quietnesse without any attempt from the enemy, that he might haue easily escaped without any perill. For the Vitellian soldiers as they were fierce, and stout against dangers, so in labour and watching they were not diligent; and withall a great shower falling on the sodaine hindred both their sight and their hearing. When the day appeared, before any act of hostility was begun by either, Sabinus sent Cornelius Martialis a principall Centurion with instructions to Vitellius, complaining and charging him with breach of covenants, and that it was but a colourable matter in him, and a fayned shew of resigning the Empire, onely to intrap so many noble personages: for if otherwise, why withdrew he himself from the Rostre, into his brothers house standing neare to the Forum, and full in the sight of the world, and not rather to his wiues in mount Auentine out of the way; for so had it beene meetest indeede if he had ment to haue liued as a priuate man, and auoyded all shew of a Prince: whereas contrarily he returned againe euē into the Palace, the very seate of the Empire, and from thence he sent forth a companie of armed men, who had polluted the most famous part of the cittie with the blood of innocent persons, not forbearing the Capitoll it selfe: for his part he continued vnarmed, and liued in all respects as an other Senatour, whiles in the meane time the matter was tried betweene Vespasian and Vitellius by maine battels of Legions, taking of townes, and yeelding of cohorts: yea when Spaine, Germanie and Britannie were reuolted, yet did he being Vespasians brother continue still in allegiance, till Vitellius began first to motion a parle; who surely should finde in the end that peace and composition is indeede for the glory of the conquerours, but for the vility of the conquered: or if it repented him of his bargaine, let him not make warre against him, whom he had with falshood beguiled, nor against Vespasians yoong sonne (for what woulde the death of an olde man and one childe auaille?) but let him go out and encounter the Legions, and there trie the maine matter: other things would follow the euent of that battaile. To this charge Vitellius in great feare made answere, with some words in excuse of himselfe, and laying the blame vpon his soldiers, whose too much vehemencie, his modestie, he saied, was vnable to bridle; and withall aduised Martialis to conuey himselfe out of the house by a priuy way, least the soldiers should murder him as a negotiatour of the peace, which they so greatly detested: and indeede Vitellius was now but a cipher, neither able to commande nor forbid, not Prince in effect, but onely matter of warre. Martialis was scarce returned into the Capitoll, whenas the Vitellian soldiers, in a great fury were also at hand, without any leader or captaine, but euery man of his owne head: leauing with speede the Forum and temples vpon it behinde them, they set themselues in array and marched vp the hill, euē to the first gate of the Capitoll. There were in olde time certaine open galleries vpon the side of the cliffe, on the right hande as a man goeth vp: from the tops whereof the defendants with stones and tiles beat the Vitellianists downe, who had in their hands nothing but swords, and to staie while engins and shot were fetched seemed lost time: wherefore they tooke firebrands and hurled them into the vttermost gallerie, and following the fire were at the point to haue entred the gate of the Capitoll being halfe burned, had not Sabinus pluckt downe all the images and glorious monuments of our progenitours, and in the entrance of the gate made as it were a countermure of them. Then they assaied to make their entrie on the other side of the Capitoll by Lucus Asyli, and by the stayres of a hundreth steps, in the
ascent

ascent to Rupes Tarpeia. At both these places the assault came vnlooked for, but the nearer and hoater was that by the Asylum: neither could they be stopped from climbing vp by the buildings that touched together, which as in a time of long peace were raised to the height of the floore of the Capitoll. Heere it is doubted whether the assailers fired thole buildings, or (as the more receined opinion is) the defendants, thereby to repulse them which pressed forward, and were come so farre on: but howsoeuer it was, the fire there beginning, from thence ran along to the galleries that ioyned to the temples; then the Eagles which bare vp the ^e rooffe being of olde drie timber drew and maintained the flame. And so the Capitoll, the gates being shut, no man defending it, no man attempting to spoile it, was burned to ashes; the most lamentable mischance, and detestable fact, that euer befell the people of Rome since the cittie was founded: especially no forraine enemie inuading, and the gods most plentifully powring their benefites vpon vs, if our owne euill conditions would haue permitted vs to enioy them: the seate of the ^f great god Iupiter founded by our ancestors with the approbation of the gods, ⁱ as a pledge of the Empire, which neither ² Porsenna when the cittie was yeelded, nor the Frenchmen when they tooke it, could hurt, thus to be destroyed by the furie of our own Princes. It was once also burned before in a ³ ciuill warre, but by priuate malice: now it was publikely besieged, and publikely burned: and that not in honourable defence of our countrey, which might somewhat lighten the losse, but in the ambitious vpholding of partialities and sides. The Capitoll was ^h vowed first by king Tarquinius Priscus in the warre against the Sabins, ³ who laied also the foundation, rather according to the hope of future greatnes, then proportionable to the present estate of the Romans. After him Seruius Tullius with the helpe of our allies, and Tarquinius Superbus with the spoile, when Suesla Pometia was taken, finished the worke: but the honor thereof was reserved to the time of libertie. For ⁱ after the kings were driuen out, Horatius Puluillus in his second Consulship dedicated it, in that magnificent and sumptuous sort, that the excessiue wealth of the Romans, which afterwarde followed, perchance might adorne and beautifie the worke, but did not augment it. Fower hundreth twentie and fise yeeres afterwarde, when Lucius Scipio and Caius Norbanus were ^k Consuls, it was burned and builded againe vpon the same foundation. Sylla after he had gotten the vpper hand tooke the care of it vpon him, yet did he not dedicate it: this point onely he wanted to make him indeed, as he was in ^l name, perfectly happy: but Lutatius Catulus name remained to be seene, among so many workes of the Emperours, euen till Vitellius time. That building then was fired, which dismaied more the defendants then the assailers. for the Vitellian souldiers lacked neither skill, nor resolution in cases of difficultie: but of the other side, the souldier was fearefull, the captaine without courage, and as a man halfe distract, had neither the vse of his tooing, nor his eares, nor governing himselfe by the aduise of others, and yet not able to resolute of himselfe, but running about from one place to another, at euery cry of the enemie, forbad that he had commanded, and commanded againe that he had forbidden. Anone, as it happeneth in lost and desperate cases, euery man was a commaunder, and no man a putter in execution: at the length casting away their weapons, they began to deuise how to flee and escape secretly away. Then the Vitellianists brake in and killed, burned, and slue: some fewe militare men that offered to fight were slaine: among whom Cornelius Martialis, Aemilius Pacensis, Casperius Niger, Didius Scæua were the most of note. Flauius Sabinus was beset and taken, being neither armed, nor attempting to flee, and Quintius Atticus the Confull, a man of speciall marke by reason of his

^e Or the lower. *salutantes fides.*
^f *gaura Aquile.*
^g peradventure so called because they were carried to the likeness of Eagles.

^h The foundation of it, according to *Dionysius lib 3 and 4.* was *Διός, ἡ τῆς Ἥρας, ἡ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.*

ⁱ In bello ciuili Syllano, anno urbis condite 671. *Scipione & Norbanos.*

^k *Εὐρύπλοτος, ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχηγός, ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρίντος, ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἡγεμὼν, ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς, ὁ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἀρχηγός, ὁ τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς, ὁ τῶν Ἀφρικανῶν ἀρχηγός, ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχηγός, ὁ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἀρχηγός, ὁ τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς, ὁ τῶν Ἀφρικανῶν ἀρχηγός.*

^l *Dionysius lib 3.*
¹ *Livy lib 1.*
² Three yeeres after, *Dionysius lib 5.* *Livy lib 2.* putteth the dedication in the first Consulship of Horatius, in the first yeare of the free state, contrary to *Dionysius* and *Tacitus* here.

^k *Anno urbis condite 671.*
¹ *Occiso demum C. Mario Paelicis nomine adsumpsit Sylla. Valerius lib 2.*
² *Appian. 1. Εὐρύπλοτος, ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχηγός, ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρίντος, ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἡγεμὼν, ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς, ὁ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἀρχηγός, ὁ τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς, ὁ τῶν Ἀφρικανῶν ἀρχηγός.*

office, and through his owne vanitie and follie, hauing published edicts in honour of Vespasian, and to the disgrace of Vitellius. The rest made sundrie shifts to escape, some in bondmens apparell, others were hidden by their clients, and conueyed away amongst the stufte: some there were also that had learned the Vitellianists watch-woorde; whereby one of them knew another, and so asking and answering accordingly, vsed boldnesse in lieu of a hole to lurke in. Domitian at their first breaking in was hid in the sextens house, and there by the pollicy of his freedman put in a linnen garment, as the ministers of the temple did weare, and so escaped vnkown, and lay secret at the house of Cornelius Primus, one of his fathers followers, neere to the Velabrum. Afterward when his father came to the state he pulled downe the sextens lodging, and builded there a little chappell in honour of *Iupiter his Preseruer*: and also erected an altar and caused this historie to be cut in marble: and when he came to the Empire himselfe he built a great temple to *Iupiter his Keeper*; and consecrated himselfe in the lap of the god. Sabinus and Atticus being loaden with irons, and brought to Vitellius, were neither receiued with ill speech, nor ill countenance; wherat they which challenged to kil them, & reward for their seruice, fretted and chaffed: and so the next beginning the cry, the rascall sort of the people demanded Sabinus death, mingling threats and flatteries together. And as Vitellius presented himselfe vpon the staires of the palace to intreate for his life, they forced him in the end to desist: then they stabbed and mangled him, and cutting off his head trailed the bodie into Gemoniæ. This was the ende of Sabinus, a man surelie not to be contemned. He had serued in publicke place thirtie fve yeeres, and was greatly renowned both for matters of peace and of warre: for integritie and vpright dealing no man could touch him: somewhat he was too full of wordes; the onely thing blamed in him during the seauen yeares that he ruled in Moesia, & the twelue yeares that he was prouost of the citie: in this last act of his life some iudged him cowardly, others moderate rather and sparing of his citizens blood; but of this all men agree that before Vespasian was Prince, the reputation of the house rested in Sabinus. It was thought that Mutianus was glad of his death: and many were of opinion, that it fell out not ill in respect of quietnes, all strife and emulation being thereby taken vp betweene two, whereof the one was the Emperours brother, and the other caried himselfe as his fellow. But Vitellius when the people required also Atticus the Consuls death plainly withstood them himselfe, being somewhat appeased, and in some sort to requite him, for that being examined, who had first fired the Capitoll, he tooke vpon him the matter himselfe, and by that confession, whether it were true indeed, or fained onely to serue the present purpose, seemed to take vpon him the blame of the fact, and cleere Vitellius and his adherents.

¹ As a pledge of the Empire] Liuius. lib. 1. *secutum aliud magnitudinem imperij portendens prodigium est, caput humanum integrâ facie aperientibus fundamenta templi dicitur apparuisse: que visa species haud per ambages arcem eam imperij caputque rerum fore portendebat. idque ita accinere vates quique in urbe erant, quosque ad eam rem cōsultandam ex Heruvria acciueras.* Dionysius lib. 4. reporteth the wordes of the answer made to certain messengers sent from Rome purposely into Etruria. *αὐδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, λέγατε πρὸς τὰς ἐκ τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅτι κεφαλὴν εὐμαρτα γενέσθαι συμπαθὸς ἰταλίας τὸν πῶτον τῆτον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν κεφαλὴν εὐρετε.* That is, Men of Rome go tell your citizens that the Gods haue decreed, that where this head was found, that place should be the head of all Italie. Varro lib. 4. de ling. Latina. *Capitolium dictum, quod hinc, cum fundamenta foderentur adis Iouis, caput humanum inuentum dicitur. hic mons ante Tarpeium dictus à virgine Vestali Tarpeia, que ibi ab Sabinis necata armis et sepulta: eius nominis monumentum relictum, quod etiam nunc eius rupes, Tarpeium appellatur saxum.* And this head so found I take to bee that pignus imperij here in Tacitus.

² Porfenna when the citty was yeilded] It must be that either Tacitus followed some other tradition in this storie then we haue, as in deede by Liuy it appeareth there were other, or els had forgotten himselfe in reporting it. Of hostages giuen to Porfenna Dionysius lib. 5. and Liuius lib. 2. make mention: of surrendring the citty I finde no worde spoken by any other we haue extant saue Tacitus, to my remembrance.

³ who laid also] According to Dionysius ⁴ Halic. Tarquinius Priscus did but only leuell the ground: Tarquinius Superbus laied the foundations and builded most of it vp, but did not consummate the worke, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκταύσει

ἐν ταῖς αἰχμαλώτοις αἰχμαλώτων ἢ καὶ τὴν τρίτην ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπατοδυστάτων τὴν συντέλειαν ἔλαβεν ὁ νόμος. That is, *En the Temple was finished under the annuall magistrates, the third yeare after the Consuls came in*, read the same Dionysius. lib. 4. and lib. 5. But it may seeme that Tacitus tooke hold of these words in Liuy lib. 1. *Tarquinius Priscus aream ad edem in Capisolio Iouis occupat fundamentis*. which notwithstanding is not otherwise ment, but of leuelling the ground, and making it ready for the laying of the foundation. for Superbus, as it appeareth by the same Liue, was the man that layed the foundation. Of Seruius Tullius in this building I haue not found mention elsewhere to my remembrance.

XIIII. *Lucius Vitellius taketh Tarracina.*

IN the meane season Lucius Vitellius pitching his campe at Feronia, pressed fore vpon Tarracina to take it, hauing shut into the towne the "fencers and mariners," "Gladiatores." who durst not come out of the wals, nor hazard themselues in the fiede. Their captaines (as we haue remembered before) were Iulianus ouer the fencers, and Apollinaris ouer the mariners, men both in dissolutenesse and insufficiency more like fencers then captaines; obseruing no order in watching and warding, nor repaying the weake parts of the wals, but passing both nights and daies in wantonnesse and melodie, vpon those pleasant sea-shoares, and dispersing the souldiers abroad to make prouision for their riot, neuer talking of warre, but in banquet. Apinius Tiro was departed some fewe daies before, and with his extortions and sharpe dealing in the free townes, purchased more ill will then strength to the side. In the meane time a seruant of Virginius Capito fled out of the towne to Lucius Vitellius, promising him, if he would allow him sufficient men, to deliuer secretly the castell being vnarmed, and accordingly in the dead of the night hee brought certaine light armed cohorts, into the place standing vpon the top of a hill, ouer the enemies head. From thence the soldiers ran down rather to a butcherie then a battaile, killing some vnarmed, others beginning to arme, some newly awaked out of sleepe, distracted and confounded with feare, darknesse, the sound of trumpets and noyse of enemies. A few of the "fencers made resistance, and were slaine, albeit they sold their liues "Gladiatores." deare: the rest ranne headlong to the ships, where through the like feare all things were in the like confusion; or so much the more because the townesmen were gotten in amongst them, whom the Vitellianists also did kill without any difference. Six ships vpon the first notice of the surprisè escaped, and with them Apollinaris the Admirall of the nauie: the rest were either taken vpon the shoare, or els suncke in the sea, being ouercharged with the company that leapt into them. Iulianus was brought to Lucius Vitellius and scourged, then slaine in his presence. Diuers haue accused Triaria Lucius Vitellius wife, that girding hirsselfe with a sworde like a souldier, she should haue demeaned hirsselfe cruelly, and insolently amidst the pitifull cries, and lamentable destruction of the poore towne. Lucius hirsselfe sent a lawrel in token of victory to his brother, requiring withall his further pleasure, whether he should returne presently to Rome, or stay and subdue the rest of Campania: the interposing of which little time fell out greatly for the good both of Vespasians side, and of the state. For if the souldiers presently after their victory had directly repayed to Rome, whiles they were in courage and hart, by reason of their late good successè, beside a naturall obstinatenes in them, the matter would not haue bin ended so quickly without much ado, and the euident destruction of the cittie. For Lucius Vitellius albeit he were infamous otherwise, yet was he industrious, and powerable not as good men by vertues, but by vices as the worst sort.

XV. *The Flavian armie entreteth the citie. the Prætorian campe is taken by force. Vitellius is slaine.*

* Saturnalia begin the 17. of December, and continue till the 24. of the same month.

WHILES these things were a doing of Vitellius side Vespasians armie remooued from Narnia to Otriculum, and at good leysure celebrated the ^a Saturnalia there. The cause of this harmefull delay, was to stay for Mutianus: some impute it to Antonius, as done with a traiterous intent, vpon letters receiued from Vitellius, wherein he offred vnto him the Consulship, and his daughter in mariage with a great dower, if he would reuolt, in rewarde of treason: others affirme, that all this was falsely surmised, and maliciously spred to please Mutianus withall. Some are of opinion, that it was the purpose of all the Commaunders rather to put the cittie in feare, then to seeke to take it by force, seeing the most and principall cohorts had already relinquished Vitellius, and now all his strength being cut off, it was likely he would resigne the Empire without further coaction: but all that course was crossed, first by Sabinus haste, and then through his cowardlinesse; who rashly taking armes was not afterward able to keep a fortresse of that strength, and which euen great armies could not haue taken, against three onely cohorts. But the fault cannot well be imputed to one, which was common to all. For both Mutianus was some occasion of stay, by meanes of his doubtful letters, and Antonius by his preposterous obeying, or in seeking to auoide enuie, deserued great blame, and the other Commaunders presuming the warre to be finished, made the ende of it more notorious. Neither did Petilius Cerealis (who was sent before with a thousand horse, to coast through the cuntrey of the Sabins, and so to enter the city by Via Salaria) make that haste as the matter required, till in the ende the newes of the siege of the Capitoll made them stirre all at once. Antonius came forward by the Flaminian way to Saxa rubra late in the night, and too late to succour. For there he vnderstood that Sabinus was slaine, the Capitoll burned, the city in great feare, and all things went ill: it was also declared, that the people and bondmen were arming for Vitellius. And besides Petilius Cerealis had receiued a blow in a skirmish of horsemen, by running headlong and charging rashly vpon the enemy, presuming them conquered persons: but the Vitellianists, with horsemen and footemen interlaced together, valiantly receiued the charge. This skirmish was not far from the city, among the buildings, and gardens, and crosselanes, wherewith the Vitellianists were well acquainted, the other not: which was an occasion to dismay them the more: and besides all their horsemen were not of one minde and affection, some being of those that hauing lately yeelded at Narnia kept aloofe, meaning afterwarde to close with the winner. Tullius Flavianus captaine of a wing was taken prisoner, the rest ranne away dishonorably: but the Vitellianists pursued no further then to Fidenæ. By this successe the affection of the people was greatly augmented, and immediately the townesmen tooke armes: few had any militare targets, but the most tooke vp whatsoeuer weapons came to their hands, and forthwith required the signe of the battell. Vitellius thanked them hartily, and willed them to issue out with all speed in defence of the citie. Then he called a Senate wherin Embassadors were appointed to the armies, which as in the name & vnder the colour of a cōmon weale, should perswade them to peace and agreement. The hap of the Embassadors was not all alike: For they which met with Petilius Cerealis incurred extreme daunger, the souldiers refusing vtterly all conditions of peace, and Arulenus Rusticus the Prætor was wounded, which beside the enormitie of the fact, in the person of an Embassador

sadour and a Pretor, was also more hainous, in regard of the woorthines of the man. His traine was disperfed, and one of his fergeants next before him flaine, for prefuming among armed men to make way thorow the preafe for his mafter: and vnleffe they had beene defended by a bande that the captaine affigned to garde them, the right and priuiledge of Embaffadors, reputed facred euen amongst strange nations, had through ciuill furie beene violated by murder, euen at the very gates and walles of the cittie. But they which came to Antonius found more courteous entertainment, not bicaufe thofe fouldiers were ciuiller, but becaufe the Generall was of greater autoritie. Into the company of thefe Embaffadors Mufonius Rufus inserted himfelfe, a gentleman of Rome addicted to the studie of philosophie after the way of the Stoicks, who thrufting himfelfe among the companies of the fouldiers began to difcours of the good of peace, and danger of warre, and to fchoole men in armes: at which many scoffed, more grew weary of it, and fome forbore not to push and fpuen him away, till in the ende by the aduife of the difcreeter fort, and the threats of the other, he was perfwaded to defift from his vnseasonable wifedome. The Vestall Virgins also were fent with letters from Vitellius to Antonius, requesting him to differ the battaile for one day: by meanes of that little delay with more ease would all points be agreed vpon. The virgins were fent home with honour, and anfwere was made to Vitellius that by the murder of Sabinus, and the burning of the Capitol all parle of peace was cut off, and all extremitie to be looked for: notwithstanding Antonius calling his armie together affaied to pacifie them thus farre, that they would be content to encampe themfelues for that present at the Miluiā bridge, and not to enter the towne before the next day: the reason of the motion was, lest the fouldier hauing his bloud heated in skirmish, should afterwarde spare neither people nor Senate, no not the churches and temples of the gods. But they misliked and suspected all delay as a hinderance to the victorie: and withall certaine banners glittering vpon the fide of the hils, albeit followed by none but towne-people, and men of no feruice, made a shew of an armie. Whereupon the Flauianists diuiding themfelues into three companies, made their approch to the towne: one part as it stood along the Flaminian way, another close by the bancke of the Tiber, and the third by Via falaria towarde the gate called Collina. The towne-people was immediately broken by the horsemen, but the Vitellian fouldier made head, diuiding^b also themfelues into three feuerall bandes. Many skirmishes passed betweene them before the towne, & with diuers euent, but more commonly to the aduantage of the Flauianists, who had more sufficient men to their captaines. They onely of that fide were distressed, which turned vpon the left hand toward the Salustian gardens, through narrow lanes and flipperie waies: where the Vitellianists standing aloft vpon the wals of the gardens, with stones & iauelins repulſed them, till it was towards the euening, whenas the horsemen that in the meane time had entred at Collina were at their backes and surprized them. Incampus Martius also there were hoat skirmishes betweene them. The Flauianists had the fauour of fortune, and the vantage of so many victories: the Vitellianists ran headlong and furious, supported with onely despaire: and albeit they were defeated and broken, yet did they rally themfelues againe in the citie. The people stood by and looked on as they fought, and as in a pastime or game clapped their hands, and encouraged sometime the one, and sometime the other: and when either fide turned their backes, and hid themfelues in houses or shops, they cryed to haue them pluckt out and killed, and so attained themfelues the greatest part of the pray: for whiles the soldiers minded nothing but slaughter and bloudshed, the spoile fell to the common peoples share. Ouer all the
 cittie

b καὶ περὶ καὶ τοὶ
 τῆς πόλεως συστά-
 λοντες ἀπὸ πολλοῦ
 πάντες, in all fittie
 thousand persons
 if Iosephus say
 true. 4. ἀλυσ. 6. 42.

cittie a cruell spectacle and shamefull was to bee seene: in one place fighting and wounding, in other tippling and bathing: here streames of bloud, and heapes of dead bodies, & hard by it strumpets & strumpets fellowes: in sum al the licentiousnes of a dissolute & riotous peace, & the misery of a most cruel captiuitie: so that a man plainly would iudge one & the same town, both extremely furious & raging, & extremely drowned in pleasures. There had afore times passed great conflicts between armed powers in the city, twise whē Sylla, & once whē Cinna ouercame, & the cruelty then was no lesse: but this was an vnnaturall brutish security, that men for one moment of time would not intermit their accustomed pleasures, but as if this had giuen them further occasion of ioy amidst their festiual daies, clapped hands and reioyced, without care of sides, at the publicke calamities. But the greatest difficultie of all was in taking the Prætorian camp, vnto the which the valiantest amongst the Vitellian soldiers had betaken themselues, as to their last refuge, and therefore the Flavianists were the more earnest to assault it, especially the old Prætorian cohorts, employing all meanes deuised for the taking of most fortified townes, as the target fence, engins of batterie, mounts, and firebrands, crying alowde that that one worke was the accomplishment and perfection of all the trauels and dangers, which they in so many battailes had passed; that the city belonged to the Senate and people, and the temples to the gods, and both were restored to their owners: but the souldiers honor was in the campe, that was his countrey, and his dwelling place, which vnlesse they could straightwaies recouer, they must and would lye all night in their armour. On the other side the Vitellian soldiers, although inferiour both in number and fortune, disturbed the course of the victorie, hindred the peace, polluting the houses and altars with bloud, and embracing the last comforts to conquered persons. Many lay gasping and died vpon the towers, and battlements of the wals. When the gates were broken vp, they that remained aliue presented themselues to the conquerors, and died all with their face toward the enemy, and wounded vpon their foreparts: such care they had, seeing they must die, to die in most honourable maner. Vitellius whenas the city was taken, conueyed himselfe in a carying * chaire, by the backegate of the Palace, into his wiues house in the mount Auentine, intending if he could haue lyen secret that day, to haue fled by night to Tarracina to his brother and the cohorts there. Anone changing his minde, and as it fals out to men in a maze, fearing all things, and most disliking the present, he returned into the Palace againe now vast and desolate, euen his basest seruants being either fled away, or else purposely shunning his presence. This great solitarinesse, and silence in those places astonished him: whereupon he assayed to open that which was shut, and was amazed finding all voide. After much pitifull wandring about, being wearied hee cast himselfe into a ^c base corner: whence Iulius Placidus Tribune of a cohort pulled him out, and led him along thorow the citie with his hands bound behinde him, and his garments all torne, a most ignominious spectacle, many reuiling him, and no man pittying his case: the dishonorableness of his end had taken away all compassion. Being led in this maner, one of the German souldiers ayimed a blow, whether intending to strike at Vitellius vpon some quarrell, or because hee would sooner rid him from shame, or els at the Tribune it is vncertaine, certaine it is that in striking he cut off the Tribunes eare, and was forthwith slaine himselfe. Then forcing Vitellius with the pointes of their swordes sometimes to looke vp and abide all indignities, sometimes to see his owne images breaking their neckes, and many times to beholde the Rostra, and the place where Galba was slaine, they haled him along, and at the last thrust him into the Gemoniæ, where the body of Flavius Sabinus had

* *Sellula. Suet. Vnel. c. 16. gestatoria sella.*

* *In Cellulam innotorū, sayth Suetonius, c. 16. religato pro foribus uane, lectoque & culcitra obiectū.*

hadlyen. One worde he was heard vtter not proceeding from an abiect mind, in answer to the Tribune who insulted ouer him: That he had yet sometime beene his Prince: and so after many wounds receiued he fell downe dead: and the common people as much without reason railed vpon him when he was dead, as they flattered him being aliue. He was sonne to Lucius Vitellius: about seuen ^a and fifty yeares olde when he died: the Consulship and sacerdotall dignities, with a name and place among the chiefe nobility, he attained vnto, not through any sufficiencie of his owne, but by his fathers great fame and renowe: the Empire was conferred vpon him by those which knew him not; and yet neuer man found so constant goodwill of his souldiers by vertuous meanes, as this man with all his cowardly sloth: notwithstanding there was in him plaine meaning and liberalitie, which without discrete handling turne often to a mans ruine: faithful friends he deserued rather then found, bicause he sought them more by great gifts, then vertuous behauiour. It was a singular benefit to the common wealth, it cannot be denied, that Vitellius was put downe; but they which betrayed him to Vespasian ^d haue small reason to reckon it among their good deedes to the state, being the same men that had also reuolted from Galba before. That day the Senate could not be called, because it was alreadye farre spent, and the magistrates and Senatours vpon feare had withdrawen themselves out of the citie, or els lay hidden in their clients houses. Domitian when all feare of hostility was past presented himselfe to the Flauian captaines, whom the souldiers straightwaies saluted Cæsar, and armed accompanied him to his fathers house.

^d Especially some of them who were afterward traitours to Vespasian also, as Cæcina by name. Suetonius. Tit. c. 6. X. philani. &c.

^a Seuen and fifty yeare old] Vitellius was borne, saith Suetonius, ^a *Druso Cæsare & Nerbano Flacco Coss.* which was *ab urbe condita* the 768 yeare, the 24 of September, or as some say the seauenth of the same moneth. The day in which he went out of the Palace with intention to resigne the Empire was, according to Tacit. the 18. of December in anno 822. the day following being the 19. of December the Capitoll was burned, the ^b twentieth of December Antonius entred into the towne, and the death of Vitellius ensued. All which doth appeere plainly by the course of the storie of Tacitus. So that from his birth to his death we haue no more by iust account but fiftie fower yeeres, and as much as is betweene the seuenth or fower and twentieth of September, and the twentieth of December.

^a Vit. cap. 3.
^b Beside the circumstances in Tacitus, Iosephus 4. alio. c. 42. expressly saith, *μὲν μὲν ἡμῶν* (of the burning of the Capitoll) *εἰς ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τῆς αἰχμῆς* *ἀπὸ τῆς αἰχμῆς* *ἀπὸ τῆς αἰχμῆς*.

THE-FOVRTH BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. *The behauiour of the Flauian soldiers in the citty, after the death of Vitellius.*



VITELLIVS thus being slaine, the warre was rather ended then peace begunne. For the conquerours with implacable hatred, pursued the contrary side throughout the citty in armes: the streetes were strawed with dead carcases, the temples and common places embrued with blood; euery one lying slaine, where it was his chance to be ouertaken, without distinction of place: and anone licentiousnesse growing, they began to search houses, and fetch forth such as were hid: if they saw any man looke like a soldier, performable of stature, and of yeares not disagreeing, were he souldier or cittizen, they mured him: satiating themselues at the first, whilest their malice was fresh, with nothing saue blood. But anone the heate of their choler asswaging, they conuerted their cruelty into couetousnes: suffring no closet to escape vnristed, no hidden place any where to be secrete, pretending the Vitellianists lay lurking therein: that was the colour to breake vp mens houses, or, if resistance were made, an occasion to slay them. Beside the souldiers, the rascals and beggerly scumme of the people, now with the foremost, helped to sacke and to spoile: and some of the lewdest bondmen voluntarily discried their wealthy masters; some were detected by their owne friends: euery where lamentations and outcries were to be heard, and the miserable state to be seene, and face, as it were, of a citty taken by the enemy: insomuch that the insolent, and riotous souldier of Otho and Vitellius, so much detested before, was now in comparison much wished for againe. The commanders of the side were indeede sufficiently able to kindle a ciuill warre, but vnable to moderate the victory. For to stirre vp dissensions and troubles, the worst man most commonly beares greatest stroake; but peace and quietnesse are not established, but by men of rare gifts, and excellent vertues. Domitian^a had already possessed himselfe both of the title, and lodging of Cæsar: not bending his studies as yet to matters of state, but in^b adulteries, and dissolute demeanour behauing himselfe as an Emperours sonne. Arrius Varus was captaine of the Garde: but the whole power, in effect, and direction of affaires, rested in the hands of Antonius Primus; who at his pleasure tooke money, and seruants out of the Palace, with the like liberty, as if it had been the spoiles of Cremona. The rest, either for modesty, or because they were not of name, as in warre they passed vnrenowned, so at this time they went unrewarded.

^a Transferring himselfe belike, & paternis penatibus, whither he was conducted by the souldiers, in Palatium.
^b Tac. in vita Agricole. admodum iuueni Domitiano, & ex paternis fortuna sanctorum licentiam usurpante.

II. *Lucius Vitellius yeeldeth himselfe, and his souldiers to the Flauianists.*

THE citty fearing new troubles, and ready to submit themselues to the present possessor, required that Lucius Vitellius, as he with his cohorts returned from Tarracina, might be surprized, and so all remnants of ciuill warres vtterly extinguished.

extinguished. Whereupon the horsemen were sent before to Aricia, the Legions going not beyonde Bouillæ: but Vitellius incontinently, without further delay, yeelded himselfe and his cohorts to the discretion of the conqueror: his souldiers likewise threw away their vnfortunate weapons vpon indignation, rather then feare. Then they were marshalled in length and led thorow the citty, as it were, in triumph, garded with armed men. Not one of them shewed any signe of submissenesse in countenance, but all sad and sterne, not moued with the showtings, and taunts of the multitude insulting ouer them: onely some few, through impatience breaking out, were beaten downe by their garde, the rest committed to prison. Not one of them let fall any vnseemely worde, but euen in the middest of aduersity they retained their honor and fame. Then Lucius Vitellius was put to death; a man in vices equall to his brother, howbeit in his brothers raigne the more vigilant man: and not so much partaker with him in prosperity, as violently caried away with the current of his aduersity.

III. *Lucilius Bassus sent to quiet Campania. the seruant of Verginius Capito hanged.*

ABOUT the same time Lucilius Bassus, with certaine light horsemen, was sent to quiet the cuntrey of Campania, where the free cities were at discorde rather ech against other vpon priuate quarrels; then any against the Prince vpon rebellious intent: but at the first sight of the souldiers they were straightwaies appeased. And the lesser colonies escaped vnpunished, onely ^a Capua, was appointed to lodge the third Legion that winter, and some noble families by ^b reason thereof were afflicted: whereas on the contrarie side, the Tarracinenses, who for Vespasians sake had endured so much, were no waies relieued. So much are we prouener to requite iniuries then good turnes: for thankfulness is a burden, reuenge sweet and reckened as gaine. Notwithstanding it was some comfort vnto them, that the seruant of Verginius Capito, who betraied the towne, as before we haue shewed, was hanged with the same rings on his fingers, which he had receiued from Vitellius, as a rewarde of his treason.

^a 2. Hist. Capua Vitellio fida etc.
^b This affliction surely was very short. for it could not begin before the very later end of December, and in the beginning of Ianuary. *tertius legio, familiaris Arrio Varo miles, in Syriam remissa, Tacitus elsewhere: vnlesse he forgot himselfe in the one place or the other.*

IIII. *Matters concluded vpon in the Senate, after the death of Vitellius.*

NOW at Rome, whatsoeuer honors, and preeminences were vsually vnited to the Emperors person, the Senate ^a bestowed vpon Vespasian, ioyfully, and conceiuing assured hope of future tranquillitie. For seeing the contagion of ciuill dissention, beginning in ^b France and Spaine, had passed to the German souldiers, then taken a course to Illyricum, and lastly infected AEgypt, Iudæa, and Syria, in summe all prouinces, and armies; they were to presume reasonably, the whole world being thus purged, and clenfed, that the humour was spent, and ciuill warres, and calamities were at an end. Which hope and gladnes of theirs was increased by certaine letters receiued from Vespasian, endited as if the warre had yet beene on foote; for so they shewed at the first sight: notwithstanding he spake in all points as their Prince; modestly indeed of his owne person, and of the weale-publicke magnificently: howbeit the Senate was not slacke in declaring their obedience. To himselfe with Titus his sonne was awarded the Consulship, to Domitian the Pretorship and ^c Consulare authoritie. Moreouer Mutianus had written letters to the Senate, which thing ministred matter of speech: If he were a priuate man, why shoulde he write thus in publicke to the Senate? he might haue spared his pen, and within fewe

^a A fragment of this *Senatus consultum* is extant *ad verbum* among the decayed antiquities of Rome.
^b In the warre of Galba & Vindex against Nero.

^c *Consulare imperium.* Dio. lib. 54. specifies two points of it, *ad dicens p. 608* *ad dicens p. 608* *ad dicens p. 608* *ad dicens p. 608* *ad dicens p. 608* *ad dicens p. 608* *ad dicens p. 608* *ad dicens p. 608* *ad dicens p. 608* *ad dicens p. 608*

daies after haue vttered the same there in person, as one of the house. likewise his inueying against the Vitellianists was misliked, as comming too late, and carying no shew of liberty now: but specially that seemed arrogantly spoken against the commonweale, and contumelious against the Prince, where he vaunted, that the Empire was in his disposition, & by him was collated vpon Vespasian. Neuertheles couering their disdaine in secret, they flattered openly, and in most ample & honorable terms awarded him triumphall ornaments; indeede in respect of his seruice in the ciuill warre, but an expedition against the Sarmatians¹ was pretended: then to Antonius Primus were decreed Consulare ornaments, and Pretorian to Cornelius Fuscus, and Arrius Varus. After these things, deuoutly remembring the gods, they enacted that the Capitoll should be builded anew: all which points were specified first, and comprised in Valerius Asiaticus the^e designed Consuls oration; to whom the rest assented, the greater part with countenance and wagging of handes, some few either chiefe in place, or chiefly exercised in the art of flatterie, with set orations and speeches. But when the course came to Heluidius Priscus, who was designed Pretor, he vttered his opinion, in termes honourable inough to a good Prince, yet without all flatterie or glozing: a thing much commended and allowed of greatly by the Senate: and this was the day which especially procured vnto him, both great offence and great glory. The matter seemeth to require, seeing we are^d once againe fallen to mention him, whom many times hereafter we shall haue cause to remember, that we should at this time briefly record what life he had led, what studies he had followed, and what fortune hee had prooued. Heluidius Priscus was borne in the first region of Italy, in the free city² of Tarracina: his fathers name was Cluius a principall Centurion. Being very young he applyed his rare and excellent wit to those profound studies, not, as the most part, to cloke slouth, and idlenesse with so glorious a name, but that he might proceed to manage publike affaires, being first by that meanes better armed against all mischances of fortune. In the studie of philosophie hee followed the learning of those^e masters, which define that onely to be good which is honest; that onely ill which is dishonest: other qualities not inherent in the minde, as powerablenes, nobilitie and such like, neither good nor euill. When he had onely beene Questor, Pætus Thrasea made choise of him for his sonne in lawe. Of his father in lawes conditions he borrowed nothing so much as libertie: in qualitie of cittizen, Senatour, husbände, sonne in law, friend; in all parts and offices of life he was alwaies one, and the same man: a contemner of wealth, stiffe in a good cause, not remooueable for any feare: to some men he seemed too desirous of glory: and indeed that passion, amongst all other, euen of wise men is last layed away. At the fall of his father in law he was^f driuen into banishment, and returning vnder Galba he called Eprius Marcellus, who had informed against Thrasea, to his answer. This attempt, of so great, and so iust a reuenge, notwithstanding diuided the Senate into parts: for if Marcellus were ouerthrowen, then whole troupes of others, which were in the same case, must needes go to wracke. At the first the contention was hoar and fierce, and maintained of both sides with notable orations: but when Priscus perceiued that Galba was doubtfull in the point, at the intreatie of many Senatours, he desisted from following the suite; diuerse men, according to their seuerall dispositions, diuersly interpreting his fact, some commending his moderation, others misliking his vnconstancie. But that same assembly when the Senate confirmed the Empire to Vespasian, withall an embassage was agreede vpon, to be sent to the Prince. Hereupon arose taunting, and bitter words between Heluidius and Marcellus. Heluidius opi-

^e Consul designa-
tu was ordinarily
the first that did
speake to the
matter proposed
by the consul in
Senate.

^d 2. Hist. for
otherwise in the
Annales he is
mentioned of-
ten beside.

^e The Stoicks,
out of whose
schoole these
opinions had
their beginning.
Laert. Zenone.
lib. 7. Cicero Pa-
radoxu, & others.

^f Tac. 16. Annal.

nion

nion was, that the embassadours should be elected, and named by the magistrates being first sworne to chuse of the fittest. Marcellus required they might be chosen by lot, to which purpose also the designed Consull had spoken before: but the principall cause, which pricked Marcellus so forward that way, was the shame which might redound to himselfe, fearing, lest others being chosen, he should seeme to be, as vnwoorthy reiected. And so, after some fewe brawling words interchangeably vsed, by little and little they fell to continuall, and bitter orations: Heluidius demanding, what caused Marcellus so much to feare the iudgement of the magistrates, seeing hee excelled many other, both in eloquence, and wealth, things which might easily mooue them to that choice: vnlesse peraduenture the remembrance of his own manifold misdeeds draue him to distrust the, that the lot made no difference between the good & the bad, but suffrages & the iudgement of the Senate were deuised to enter into euery mans fame, & behavior. that it greatly appertained, both to the comodity of the common welth, & to Vespasians honor, that those of the Senate should be sent to meete him, which were best accounted of for innocencie, and integritie of life, who might season (as it were) the Emperours cares, with good and vertuous speeches. that Thrasea, Soranus, and Sentius had beene of Vespasians olde friends, and acquaintance, whose accusers if they must not be punished, much lesse sent and shewed in places of credit: and that by this choise of the Senate, the Prince should, as it were be admonished whom to like, and whom to eschue. For no greater instruments, or helps of good regiment can there be, then good friends. that Marcellus had done for his part sufficiently, hauing induced Nero to the destruction of so many innocents: let him inioy his rewards and impunitie, and leaue Vespasian to better directors. Marcellus replied, that not his opinion, but the opinion of the designed Consull was impugned, and the ancient precedents, which committed the choise of Embassadors to lot, to take away al occasion of suiting and debate: that there was no new cause, that he knew, why so olde a custome should now be abolished, or why this honour done to the Prince should be turned into a dishonour to any considering that euerie man was sufficiently able to carrie that message, and do a low reuerence to him in the name of the Senate: nay rather they were to beware, lest through the peruersnes of some the Princes minde might be offended, being now at his entrie full of ielosies, and marking not onely words, but also all gestures and countenances. that, for his part, he well knew the qualitie of the times wherein he was borne, and what forme of gouernment our fathers, and grandfathers had established: beyond he honored and admired, but professed to follow the present estate. that he prayed and wished indeed for good Princes: but if it were otherwise, would tolerate such as they were. As for the ouerthrowe of Thrasea, why should he giue account of accusing, whenas the Senate gaue none of condemning? not his orations, but their voices wrought his vndoing: but so was Neroes maner, with such shewes to colour his cruel proceedings; whose fauour and friendship anguished his minde peraduenture as much, as banishment did some other mens. Finally, that well might Heluidius in constancie, and courage be equall to Cato and Brutus: for his owne part, he was one of that Senate, which were but seruants, as well as himselfe, and would likewise counsell Heluidius, not to seeke to climbe aboute the Prince himselfe, nor like a tutour to bridle with his precepts Vespasian * hauing attayned to those yeeres, and that honor, & hauing beside so goodly an issue. For as wicked Princes loue to rule, and raigne without limitation: so euen the best would haue their subiects vse a meane in their liberty. These things, argued thus to and fro with great heat, distracted the Senate into diuerse opinions;

That is, the time of the free state.

* Senem triumphalem. for his service in Britain in Claudius time Vespasian had obtained triumphalia ornamenta, saith Suetonius Vespasiano. cap. 4.

notwithstanding that part preuailed, which allowed of lot, not onely the woofst, but the middle sort struing to retaine their auncient custome; yea and the greatest inclined that way, for feare of displeasure, and enuie, if they themselues should be chosen. After this there followed another contention. The Pretors of the common treasure (for at that time the common treasure was gouerned by Pretors) complayning of the emptinesse of their bags, presented request, that some restraint might be made, to abridge the publicke expenses. This proposition, both for the greatnes of the charge, and difficultie of the remedy, the Consull designed thought good to reserue to the Prince: but Heluidius would haue it decided in Senate. And as the Consuls proceeded in asking of voices, Vulcatius Tertullinus Tribune of the people^a interceded, forbidding that any thing of so great moment should be determined of, the Prince being absent. Heluidius also, declaring his minde in the Senate, was of opinion, that the Capitoll should be builded againe, at the charges, and in the name of the common wealth, and Vespasian should helpe. Which speech of his the modestest sort passed ouer then with silence, and afterward forgot; howbeit some there were that remembred it well. Then Musonius Rufus commenced an action against ⁴ Publius Celer, by whose false witnes, he affirmed, that Barea Soranus was condemned. If cognition should be taken thereof, that were to enter againe into the odious, and endlesse quarrels against the accusers: notwithstanding, the guilt, and vilenesse of the party now in perill was such, that hee could no waies be protected. For Soranus was of honourable memorie, and Celer, that of a philosopher by profession, became a false witness against his friend, was iustly hated of all men, betraying, and violating that sacred bonde of friendship, whereof hee would seeme a principall teacher. The ^b next session was appointed for the hearing of the cause: but the whole company seeing that matter reuiued, and mens minds bent to reuenge, looked no lesse for Heluidius and Marcellus, with others at that time, then for Musonius and Celer.

^a Or, interposed his negatiue.

^b Of audience for such matters. for it was neither the next day nor simply the next session of the Senate.

^a Was pretended] Triumphes, and Triumphalia ornamenta, which succeeded in their place, were awarded vpon great seruice done, and vpon some notable conquest obtained against a forrayne enemy: at least neuer any man in the Roman state made profession of triumphing *de ciuibus victis*. L. Sylla, saith Valerius, lib. 3. *qui plurima bella ciuilia confecit, cum consummata ac constructa potentia sua triumphum duceret, ut Græciæ et Asiæ multas vrbes, ita ciuium Romanorum nullum oppidum vexit*. ^a Cæsar after he had ended the ciuill warres, albeit he spared in shewe to triumph *de victis ciuibus*, and chose rather the name of king Iuba for the title of his African triumph, then of Scipio, Cato, or Afranius, who were Generals in the field, yet went he further then Sylla, carying their images and pictures in triumph, and ^b grieuing thereby the people of Rome. Augustus, hauing ouercome at Actium Antonius and Cleopatra, entitled likewise his triumph vpon the woman, omitting the man, *euonymus* true it is, that oftentimes finding small cause of triumph ouer an externall enemy, and not daring to name the cittizen, diuerse colours, as here, haue beene vsed.

^a Appian 2. Εμμεν. τὰ δὲ ῥωμαίων πολέμια μακροτέρως ἢ ἡ ἑλλάς, καὶ ἰσχυρότερα αὐτὰ, καὶ ῥωμαίοις ἀσχετοὶ καὶ ἀπείρητοι ἐπὶ τοῖς πόλεμοις, καὶ ἡμεῖς παρὴν τὴν ὁμοίαν αὐτῶν τοῖς δὲ τὰ παλαιὰ πάντα καὶ τοὺς δεσποτὶς εἰκόσι καὶ ποικίλαις γεραιαῖς, καὶ οὐδὲ πομπῇ. τῶν δὲ δὴ μόνον ἰσχυρότατο δειξάμενοι, ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς πόλεμοις ὅτι ποδῶμα.

^b Dio lib. 43. ὁπὸ τῆς πολέμου ἐν τῇ ἀσκήσει πολλῶν πομπῶν δειξάμενοι, ὅτι ἰσχυροί.

^a Of Tarracina] Italie by Augustus was deuided into eleuen regions. Pliny. lib. 3. cap. 15. *Regio prima* is from the riuer of Tiber to Surrentum, or rather to the riuer of Silarus thirtie miles beyonde (for the limit of that side is doubtfully set downe in Plinie) containing Latium, Campania and Picentini. *Regio secunda*, from Metapontum *in sinu Tarentino* to the riuer of Tifernus *in mari Adriatico*, comprehendeth Salentini, Calabria, Apulia & c. *Regio tertia*, betweene Silarus and Metapontum, containeth Lucani, Brutii and magna Græcia. *Regio quarta* extendeth from Tifernus to the riuer Aternus likewise vpon the Adriaticum, and incloseth Ferentini, Peligni, Samnium & c. *Regio quinta* is from Aternus to Ancona, including Picenum. *Regio sexta* containeth Vmbria, and the coast betweene Ancona and Ariminum. *Regio septima* comprehendeth Hetruria betweene the riuer of Macra and Tiber. *Regio octaua* is the cuntrey which lieth by west from the limits of the sixth region, betweene the Apennin and the Po, comprehending Ariminum, Rauenna, Bononia, Brixellum, Mutina, Parma, Placentia & c. *Regio nona* is from the riuer of Macra, to the riuer of Varus, contayning Liguria. *Regio decima* containeth Venetia: and *Regio undecima* Gallia transpadana. Now for this place, it was in the olde copies of Tacitus *regione Italie* without any addition of number, and *Tarracina municipio* doubtfully written, sometimes *Tarentum municipi*. sometimes *Tarentina municipi*. and sometimes *Tarentino*. indeede it may seeme strange, that he should so solemnly describe and note out Tarracina, a towne so famously known, and so neare vnto Rome. but howsoeuer, this is more strange, that allowing it to be Tarracina, some haue inserted *septima* to fill vp the sense, and some *secunda*, whereas Tarracina is clearly and evidently *in prima regione Italie*.

^a Counsell Heluidius] And Heluidius, for not obeying better this counsell of Eprius Marcellus; lost his life euen vnder Vespasian a good and moderate Prince. *Suetonius* c. *Vespasiano* Heluidio Prisco, qui reuersum ex Syria

^a Cap. 15.

Syria solus privato nomine Vespasianum salutauerat, et in prætorum omnibus edictis sine honore ac mentione vlla transfuserat, non ante succensuit quam altercationibus insolentissimis penè in ordinem redactus. Hunc relegatum primò, deinde interfici infusum, missis qui percussore renocarent, seruasset, nisi iam perisse falsò nuntiatum esset. Probus, Eluidius Priscus post damnationem soceri Patii Thraseæ, interdicta sibi Italia, Apolloniam concessit, sed post interfectum Neronem restitutus à Galba, non aliter quam libero ciuitatis statuegit. See Arrian also libro primo, cap. secundo dissent. Epicteti.

* P. Celer] Publius Egnatius Celer a chieffe witnesse produced against Barea Soranus. Tac. 16. Ann. *Clieus hic (speaking of Egnatius) Sorani, et tunc emptus ad opprimendum amicum auctoritatem Stoicæ sectæ præferebat, habuit et ore ad exprimendam imaginem honesti et exerciti, cæterum animo perfidiosus et subdolis, auaritiâ ac libidinem oculans, quæ postquam pecunia reclusa sunt, dedit exemplum præcauendi, quomodo fraudibus inuoluitos, aut flagitijs commaculatos, sic specie bonarum artium falsos, et amicitia fallaces. Iuuenalis.*

Stoicus occidit Baram delator amicum,

Discipulumque senex —————

The scholiast vpon Iuuenal toucheth another particularitie. Egnatius philosophus filiam Barea Sorani, cum ipsius ad magicam descendisset horrasu, Neroni desulit.

V. *The entry of Mutianus into the City, and his actions there.*

THINGS being in this state, the Senators iarring one with another, the conquered part being full of malice, the conquerours wanting authoritie, no lawes regarded, no Prince present to gouerne the state, Mutianus made^a his entry into the city, and with a maine course drew the whole manage of affaires into his owne handes. Antonius Primus, and Varus were soone out of credit, when it was perceiued, that Mutianus loued them not, although in countenance he pretended otherwise: but the citizens, hauing a quicke eie to see into secrete dislikes, espying the truth, turned themselues quickly about, and went to Mutianus: he alone was courted, and followed of all. Neither was he, for his part, negligent in vsing all meanes to retaine his souerainty, being continually garded with souldiers, and for his pleasure changing of houses and gardens; in his prouision, his gate, his traine, and warders, keeping the state of a Prince, although he forbore the title and name. And first he commanded Calpurnius Galerianus to be slaine, which strooke an exceeding great terrour into mens harts. Hee was sonne to Caius Piso, and had not entred into any attempt, but being of a noble house, and a comely young man, hee was greatly talked of by the common people: and as in a city vsfettled, and among a people gladly imbracing new tales, some there were, which vainely named him to the Princes place. Wherefore, at the commaundement of Mutianus, he was committed to a garde of souldiers: and lest his death in the face of the city should haue beene more offensiue, fortie miles off, in the Appian way he was put to death, by letting the bloud out of his vaines. Iulius Priscus, who had beene captaine of the garde vnder Vitellius, killed himselfe, rather for shame, then vpon necessity. His fellow Alphenus Varus ouerliued his honour, and sawe himselfe counted a cowarde, and a person infamed. Asiaticus, for his lewde credit vnder his master, made satisfaction now as a freed-man with a seruile death.

^a Iosephus. ad. 4. cap. 42. maketh Mutianus entry on the very next day to Antonius, which is contrary to the circumstances in Tacitus, yet entering before the beginning of January he was not many daies behinde, and Tacitus, paucos post dies.

VI. *The rebellion of the Batauians and Caninefates through the instigation of Iulius Civilis.*

AT the same time the newes of the ouerthrowe in Germanie was rise in the city, and the city nothing troubled thereat (Euery man talked how the armies were slaine, the standing campos of the Legions taken by the enemy, how France had reuolted,) as if it had beene newes of a strange cuntrey, not a calamity that touched themselues. That^a warre, vpon what causes it arose, and with how great banding it was maintained, both of our allies, & of forraine nations, I will now declare from the beginning. The Batauians, whilest they dwelt beyonde the

^a This warre is shortly set down by Iosephus ad. 4. cap. 11. and touched by Frontinus Strateg. l. 4. cap. 3. and Suetonius in P. Iuliano.

Rhene, were a part and member of the Catti; and being throwen out by ciuill sedition, they seated themselves in the vttermost limits of France, which then lay voide of inhabitants, and tooke in withall the ilande that is situate in the flattes, and hath the Ocean before, behinde and on either side the riuer of Rhene. And albeit they were confederate with the Romans much mightier then themselves, yet were they not, as it happeneth in such ouermatches, spoiled of their riches and welth, but onely bounde to minister men and armour to the behoofe of the Empire, and so for a long time they were emploied in the German warres. Afterward they became more famous, by reason of certaine cohorts of them sent ouer into Britannie by the Romans, vnder the leading of certaine noblemen of their owne nation, according to their ancient order: and beside, there remained behinde in the cuntrey a companie of chosen horsemen practised especially in swimming, so that they woulde in whole troupes passe ouer the Rhene in harnish, and governing their horse in their hands. The principall men among them, and farre excellling all other, by reason of their royall parentage, were Iulius Paulus, and ^b Claudius Ciuilis, whereof Paulus was lately put to death by Fonteius Capito vnder colour of a falsly surmised rebellion: Ciuilis was sent in chaines vnto Nero, and acquitted by Galba, and againe vnder Vitellius ^c escaped narrowly, the armie instantly demanding his death. Vpon these causes his anger was founded, and vpon our troubles his hope. But being of a crafty and futtle wit, aboue the ordinarie of those barbarous people, and carying himselfe rather like a Sertorius, or an Hannibal (as indeede in the maime of his face he was not vnlike) fearing least if he should make open defection, our armies would aduance themselves against him as an enemy, he couered his dealing with loue to Vespasian, and fauour toward the side. And in truth ^d Antonius Primus had sent certaine letters vnto him, wherein he willed him to diuert away the aides ^e sent for by Vitellius, and vnder shew of trouble in Germanie to stay the Legions there. The same aduise also Hordeonius Flaccus had giuen him by worde of mouth, partly vpon good will to Vespasian; and partly vpon a care of the state, which seemed to be in euident perill of vtter destruction, if a new warre should begin, and so many thousands of armed men passe into Italie. Thus Ciuilis being resolved to breake, and yet concealing his purpose, as meaning to gouerne himselfe in the action by the euent, began after this maner to worke innouation. At the commandement of Vitellius, the able men of the Batauians were summoned to be pressed to the warre: which being of it selfe a burdensome thing, was made much more insupportable, by the auarice and lewd disposition of the officers, who billed chiefly such as were old or impotent persons, and then for money released them: againe such as were vnder age, and faire (as many of their youths are of a comely tal stature) them they caried awaie to abuse their bodies. At these dealings the cuntrey being highly offended, certaine factious heads were suborned, to perswade them to refuse to be pressed. Whereupon Ciuilis assembling into a sacred wood vnder pretence of a banquet the nobilitie of the nation, and the chiefe of the communitie, when he saw them, at farre in the night, merrie, and warmed with wine, he beginneth a solemne oration: recounting first the praises, and glorious acts of the nation, and then discourseth vnto them of the iniuries, insolencies, and other miseries whereunto they are subiect, that are subiect vnto a strange nation: for that now they were not with the Romans in state of friends and allies, as in former times, but flat seruants and slaues; and that not vnder a Lieutenant generall, which were more tolerable, albeit they come with a chargeable traine, and a proud and disdainfull kinde of commanding: but they were deliuered into the hands of pettie captaines, and Centurions, whom when they had filled with

^b Tacitus himselfe, *1 Hist. Plus. Egmontis*, Frontinus and Sabinianus call him Iulius Ciuilis, but howsoever their names were, it seemes by Tacitus that Paulus and Ciuilis were brethren.
^c *1 Hist.*

^d By this circumstance wee may gather, that the German rebellion began about the beginning of winter, for Tacitus in noting both places and times, is in my sense, too negligent.
^e *Tac. 2. Hist.*

with spoiles and bloud, then were they remooued, and straightwaies fresh hungrie masters set ouer them, and new deuises of polling inuented. that now the day of the muster approched, when children shoulde be drawn from their parents, brethren from brethren, neuer to see one another againe: and that, which might the rather encourage them, the Romans were neuer in so poore a case, hauing nothing in their standing campes, but a rich spoile, and olde men to garde it: wherefore they should onely lift vp their eies, and not be afraide^f at the naked and bare names of Legions. that they had strength of their owne, both of footemen and horse, the Germans were allied vnto them in bloud, the French likewise affected: that euen the Romans themselues would not greatly mislike of this warre, the losses whereof, if any were, they might impute to Vespasian, and if they went through and conquered, they should not be called to their account. Hauing ended his speech with great approbation of the audience, he bound them with barbarous ceremonies and adiurations ysed by them in like cases, in a firme association together. Straightwaies messengers were dispatched to the Caninesates, to induce them also into the league. The Caninesates inhabite a part of the iland, of the same language and race, in valour equall to the Batauians, but inferiour in number. Then Ciuilis sent secret messages to sollicite the^f Batauian cohorts, which had serued as aydes in Britannie, sent into Germanie, as before^g we haue shewed, and at that time remaining at Magontiacum. Among the Caninesates there was one Brinio, a wilde and foolehardy braine, howbeit of a high and noble stocke, whose father, hauing sundry times inuaded our borders, and done many actes of hostilitie, boldly contemned those mocke-expeditions of Caius the Emperour: wherefore being descended of so rebellious a kindred, in that respect they liked him best of all others. And thereupon setting him, after their cuntrey manner, on a target, and bearing him rounde about on their shoulders, they elected him Generall: and he forthwith associating vnto him the^h Frisians, a nation beyond the Rhene, inuaded the standing campe of two cohorts adioyning to the Ocean. The Roman souldiers, neither foresawe this sodaine inuasion of the enimie, neither, if they had, were of sufficient force to repell it: so the campe was taken and spoiled, and the vittrailers and marchants, wandring securely abroad as in peace, cut off. Then they drew forth, to make their approches to the castles, and holdes, which by the captaines of the cohorts were set on fire, bicause they were not defensible: the ensignes, and bandes, and such souldiers as were left, gathered themselues, vnder the leading of Aquilius a chiefe Centurion,^k into the higher part of the ilande, composing an armie, rather in name then in power: for Vitellius at his departing drew away the chiefe strength of the cohorts, and for supply tooke out of the neereft villages, of the Neruians and Germans, a rawe companie, whom he loaded with armour. Ciuilis, supposing it surest to worke by fraude and deceite, blamed the captaines, for that they had forsaken their castles: assuring that he alone, with the cohort vnder his charge, would easilie repress the tumult of the Caninesates: and therefore willed them to retorne euery man to his own place. It was perceiued, that his counsaile proceeded not of good meaning, but tended onely to this end, that the cohorts being seuered might be ouerthrowen with greater facilitie: and by many apparant arguments, and speeches of the Germans themselues, a nation ioyfull of warre, and not concealing long their owne ioy, it was discovered daily more and more, that Ciuilis, not Brinio, was the head and contriuer of this conspiracie. Wherefore, seeing his secret plots tooke none effect, he fell to plaine force, and cast his power consisting of Caninesates, Frisians, and Batauians into three pointed battels, ech nation by themselues. The Romans opposed their

^f Whereof mention is made 1.
Hist. 2. Hist.
^g 2. Hist.

^h Tacit. de morib.
German.

ⁱ For within the
Iland no Legion
was encamped,
but onely some
cohorts.

^k Nearer to Vespasiana, where two
Legions lay,
quinta, & quindecima.

forces

forces against him, not farre from the river of Rhene, directing also their ships, which after the burning of the castles, they brought to that place, against the enimie. After a little skirmishing, a cohort of the Tungrians fled to Ciuilis: whereupon our souldiers, discomfited with the sodaine treason, were on all sides beaten downe, both by their false fellowes, and enimies: the like perfidiousnesse was also on the water. A great part of the rowers (being Batauians borne) faining vnskill in handling their oare, hindred both the mariners, and souldiers in doing their dutie: anone without dissimulation they wrought directly against them, and forced the ships to the enimies side, killing the Masters and Centurions, that would not condescend to their treason. And so the whole fleete, of fower and twentie barks, either fled to the enimie, or was taken by force. This victorie both presently wanne great reputation, and afterward stoode in great steade: for they got both armour and ships, which before they wanted; and throughout France, and Germanie, they were highly renowned as the authors of libertie. The Germans by and by sent Embassadours offering them aide: and Ciuilis, by pollicie and gifts, endeouored to win the harts of the French, sending the captaines, whom he had taken, gently home, and giuing the cohorts free choice, either to abide with him, or at their pleasure to returne to their cuntrey: if they would tarrie, he offered them honourable reward for their seruice; if otherwise, at their departure he bestowed vpon them the spoiles of the Romans, withall admonishing them in secret of their calamities sustained so many yeeres, and of their miserable thraldome falsely entitled a peace; shewing them how the Batauians, though not charged with tributes, as they, had notwithstanding taken armes against them, which tyrannized ouer them both. that the Romans, at the first encounter, were put to the flight by them, and discomfited: what were then to be hoped, if all France shoulde ioine to shake off the yoke? Italie was disarmed, and could of it selfe, neither conquere nor keepe; but with the prouinces bloud were the prouinces won. that they should not bee discouraged with the remembrance of Vindex misfortune: for the Batauian horse were the men, which defeated him and his armie; and among the Aydes of Verginius there were beside some French out of Belgica, and in true account France was ruined by her owne forces. But now if it pleased them to ioine with him in this action, they both should make but one partie: beside that they had seene and learned the best of the Romans militare discipline: moreouer those olde experienced Batauian cohortes, before whom Othoes Legions could not stand, no doubt would goe with him. let Syria, and Asia, and the East, vsed to serue kings, be slaues if they list; in France many men were yet aliue borne before tributes¹ began: neither could it be denied, that Germanie of late, by the ouerthrow and death of Quintilius Varus, had giuen a checke to the Romish vsurpers, banished seruitude, and prouoked to the field, not a Vitellius, but a Caesar Augustus. that libertie was granted by nature to dumbe beasts also, but vertue and valour were peculiar ornaments of mankind, and to the valiant alone the gods gaue their assistance. Wherefore, since they were at good leysure, and fresh, he willed them to set couragiously vpon their busily occupied and tired enemies: whiles some leaned to Vespasian, some claue to Vitellius, vndoubtedly harme might be wrought against both. Thus Ciuilis, laying the plot for France and Germanie, aspired, if his purpose tooke effect, to the monarchie of those most mightie, and most welthy countreyes.

¹ And Tributes began aboue fixe score yeares before, so that many in France belike were long liued.

* At the naked and bare names of Legions] At this time were fixe vnperfect Legions, or rather names of Legions, as he termeth them heere: in high Germanie, at Magontiacum, two, quarta Macedonica & octauadecima alias duoetvicefima, beside eight Batauian cohortes. In lower Germanie, at Bonna, prima legio: beneath it at Nouesium

sum *sextadecima*; and lowest of all, at *Vetera quinta & quintadecima*, both vnder Mummius Lupercus. The two last were in this warre vitterly destroyed, and their campe razed. Tac. *Sextadecima & prima*, after Hordeonius death, yeelded themselues to the enimie, and were by the enimies appointment remooued to Triers; then of their owne accord they went to the Mediomatrici, and from thence were sent for by Cerealis and receiued into grace. The two Legions also at Magontiacum yeelded themselues to the enimie at the same time, and were not remooued from their campe, who vpon Cerealis comming returned againe to the Romans. Tacit. The eight Batauiian cohorts reuolted at the verie first beginning of the warre to Ciuilis. Now in supply of these so reuolting, yeelding themselues, and being slaine, there were assigned vnder the leading of Petilius Cerealis seauen Legions, saith Tacitus, to wit *sexta Viatrix*, which came with Mutianus out of Syria, and *octaua Augusta*, one of the Mæssian Legions (for so it should be redde, not *octaua decima*, there being none of that name *inter viatrices*) *vnauersissima Rapax*; *secunda*, surnamed as I thinke *Flauia*, *et recens conscriptis*; *quartadecima Gemina* out of Britannie; *sexta Ferrata*, *et decima Gemina* out of Spaine. for whereas the common copies of Tacitus haue *tertia ac prima ex Hispania accite*, there was no *tertia* then in Spaine, and that the Spanish *sexta* was in this action, we finde expressly set downe *lib. 5. Hist.* True it is, that a *prima* surnamed *Adiatrix* was in Spaine: but seeing we finde, *lib. 5.* twise mention of *decima*, a Spanish Legion, wee must say, that either all the Legions of Spaine were called away, against probability, or els that *prima*, should be redde *decima*. So that following these corrections, in the later ende of this warre against the Germans and French, wee haue at one time eleuen Legions employed by the Romans.

Superioris Germaniæ { ** Quarta Macedonica.*
Octauadecima aliàs Duoersicesima: Didius Vocula legatus.

Inferioris Germaniæ { *Prima: Herennius Gallus legatus.*
Sextadecima: Numisius Rufus legatus, as I thinke.

Sexta Viatrix, è Syriacis.
Octaua Augusta, è Mæssicis.
Vnauersissima Rapax, è Visellianis.
Secunda Flauia, è recens conscriptis.
Quartadecima Gemina, è Britannicis.

Sexta Ferrata {
Decima Gemina { *ex Hispanicis.*

** Quarta, as it seemeth, was without Lieutenant, at least in this story none is named, and peradventure Viatrix had taken him away, but surely Didius Vocula although by office but only Legate of the xiii. aliàs the xxii. executed no doubt both the charges.*

VII. *Hordeonius Flaccus, Lieutenant generallof both Germanies, lying at Magontiacum, commaundeth Mummius Lupercus, who with two Legions, the fift and fifteenth, lodged at Vetera, to go forth against Ciuilis and the Batauians: but the Romans lost the battell, and fled backe into Vetera their standing campe.*

BV T Hordeonius Flaccus, who at the first by conniueance nourished Ciuilis attempts, now receiuing fearefull aduertisements, that the * *campes* were surprized, the cohorts defeated and slaine, not one Roman left in the whole Batauiian Iland, commanded ¹ Mummius Lupercus the Lieutenant, who gouerned the standing campe of two Legions, to go forth against the enimie. Lupercus taking the Legionaries about him, and the Vbians at hand, with certaine horsemen of the Treueri not far off, led them out in haste, taking also with him a wing of Batauians, which being long since secretly corrupted, notwithstanding made shew of fidelitie, to the end that in the verie instant of ioyning, betraying the Romans, they might slip away with more dammage to the one, and be better welcome to the other. Ciuilis placed round about him the ensignes of the late taken cohorts, that his souldiers might be encouraged in beholding the monument of their late glorie, and the enimie dismayed with the memory of their ouerthrowe. Moreouer he caused his mother, and sisters, together with the wiues and young children of all his soldiers, to stand at their backs for an encouragement to the victorie, or a shame if they happened to flee. In the ioyning of the two armies, the singing of their men, and howling

** Castra, sc. cohortium.*

ling of their women, farre exceeded and drowned the feeble showte of our Legions and cohorts; and the Batauian wing fleeing to the enemy, and straightway turning vpon vs, bared the left flank of our battell: notwithstanding the Legionary souldiers, as in a case of such danger, yet retayned their weapons in their hands, and themselves in array. The Aydes of the Vbians and Treueri ran most shamefully away, and brake euery where, which chase the Germans pursued, and gaue by that meanes leysure to our Legions to retire themselves into their campe called Vetera. Claudius Labeo captaine of the Batauian wing, who had followed at home a contrary faction to Ciuilis, lest that either his death should offend the countrey, or his presence minister cause of dissention, was quietly sent out of the way into Frisia.

* Legati legionū
Mummius Lupercus
et Numisius
Rufus vallum
murosque firmabant.

* Mummius Lupercus] Belike Vitellius left the Legions not only bare of men, and as it were halfe Legions (for in these two Legions were not aboue fise thousand men) but disfurnished of captaines also, leauing here but one Lieutenāt ouer two Legions. & yet as though he had forgotten himself, we finde another, *tanquam ex machina*, to wit Numisius * Rufus. of whose comming into Vetera as we finde no reason, so we finde him in another place out of Vetera with lesse reason. if he were there from the beginning, why doeth Tacitus tell vs here, that Lupercus alone *duarum Legionum hibernis præerat*? if not, how and when came he? and specially how, and when went he out? But in the setting downe of this German warre there are in my opinion many little imperfections and negligences, wherof part we wil touch, as occasion shall serue, but most of them wee haue supplied, and explained in the contents of the chapters, and by inserting sometimes a worde or two into the text, as by comparing the bookes it will appeare.

VIII. *The eight Batauian cohorts, which had serued the Romans so long in Britannie, against Otho, and elsewhere, solicited by Ciuilis for-
sake Magontiacum, make their way at Bonna
by the sworde, and so ioine
to Ciuilis.*

IN the meane season the messenger sent by Ciuilis to Magontiacum, to sollicite the cohorts of Batauians and Caninefates, came thither, and founde them in readinesse, by Vitellius commaundement, to march toward Rome. Vpon that message receiued, forthwith they waxed proude, and intolerable, crying out (or els refusing to march) for their donatiue, for double wages, for an augmentation of the number of their horsemen, things indeed promised by Vitellius, but demanded by them, not in hope to obtaine, but to picke an occasion of mutinee: and Flaccus, yeelding to diuers of their demands, gayned nought els, but that they more instantly craued those things, which they knew he could not but denie. So setting Flaccus at naught they took vp their ensignes, and marched toward low Germanie, to ioine themselves with Ciuilis. Hordeonius calling the Tribunes and Centurions also to councell, debated the matter, whether he should by maine strength seeke to inforce them, which so contemptuously brake away: anone, partly of his own cowardly nature, partly through the timorousnesse of the officers, who trusted neither the faith of their Aides, nor the force of their * Legions, being gathered in haste of men vn- skilfull in seruice, he resolved to keepe his souldiers within the trenches, and let the Batauians passe. Afterward, repenting himselfe of that resolution, they also blaming it, which were chiefe authours thereof, as if he ment to pursue them, he wrote to Herennius Gallus gouernor of Bonna, and Lieutenant of the first Legion, which wintered there, that he should stop the Batauians from passage, promising that he, with his whole power, would not faile to be on their backs. And so verily they might haue beene defeated and slaine, if Hordeonius of the one side, and Gallus of the other, had brought forward their power, and enclosed them in behinde and before:

* At Magontiacū
then with Horde-
onius were abi-
ding two Legi-
ons; quarta &
duodevicesima a-
liis duodevicesima.

fore :

fore: but Flaccus changed his purpose againe, and in other letters of later date willed Gallus, not to stay their passage. Whereupon suspicion arose, that the Lieutenants of set purpose stirred vp and fostered these warres; yea all the mischiefs, which either had chanced alreadie, or were feared hereafter, were imputed, not to the cowardlinesse of the souldier, or strength of the enemy, but onely to the fraude and falsehoode of the Leaders. When the Batauians drew neare to the campe at Bonna, they sent before certaine messengers, to declare to Herennius Gallus the intention of the cohortes: that their meaning was not to make warre with the Romans, in whose behalfe they had so oft borne armes; but forasmuch as they were wearied with a long and fruitlesse seruice, their desire was, quietly to liue at home in their countrey. And therefore, if no man made opposition, their passage should be harmelesse: but if any hostilitie were offered, they would make their way with the sword. Whilest the Lieutenant stode deuided in minde what to doe, his souldiers vrged him to put it to the fortune of a field. There were in his campe three thousand ^b Legionary souldiers, and certaine tumultuary cohorts of Belgians, and with all a number of pezants, and followers of the campe, braue men before the danger approche, in the danger but cowards. Out they issue at all the gates of the campe to enclose the Batauians, whom they knew to be farre inferiour in number. The Batauians, mindfull of their olde order in seruice, set themselues in array in pointed battels, standing on euery side close together, and hauing their front, their flanks, and their backe surely garded, and so with great facility brake thorow our thin companies. The Belgians first gaue ground; and then our Legionaries were beaten backe, and ran for feare towarde the trenches, and gates of the campe. There the most slaughter was committed: the fosses were filled vp with dead bodies, and manie died in the throng, by tumbling one ouer another, and running vpon their owne weapons, as well as slaine by the enemy. After this victorie the Batauians went forward, leauing Coleyn of the right hand, and attempted no act of hostilitie in the rest of their journey, but excusing the battaile at Bonna as a thing done by constraint, and for their owne safetie, whenas they intreated for peace and it would not be granted.

^b Whereas the full and iust number of a Legion should bee 6000. or 5000. at the least.

* The cohorts of the Batauians and Caninefates] These are the *octo cohortes Batavorum quart. edecime legionis auxilia*, so oft mentioned in the first and second of the History, and now remaining at Magontiacum, whither Ciuilis sent secret messengers to sollicite them to the party, as it appeareth in this booke. and albeit in none of the places before remembred there is any mention of Caninefates, yet by this place it is to be intended, that those eight cohorts consisted of both people, onely the Batauians caried the name, as being the greater and more knownen people; and to say trueth Caninefates were but a kinde of Batauians, dwelling in the Batauian ilande, vsing the same speech, and descended of the same race, as Tacitus sayeth a little before: and therefore, as I thinke, in his booke *de moribus Germanorum*, he nameth onely the Bataui, either because the other were intended also by that name, or because they were not greatly worth naming.

IX. *Ciuilis colourably sweareth his men to Vespasian: then with his Batauians, and the assistance of certaine German nations, he besiegeth Vetera; giueth an assault, and is repulsed.*

C IUILIS, vpon the comming of these olde cohorts, had now vnder his conduct a full and complete armie: neuertheless wauering in minde, and standing irresolute, considering the puissance of the Roman Empire, he caused all his men to sweare to Vespasian, and sent forth with Embassadorus to the two Legions, which being defeated by him in the former battaile were fled to Vetera, requiring them also to take the like othe. Their answer was, they would not be aduised neither

neither by traitour, nor enemie; that Vitellius was their Prince, to whom alone they owed their faith, and would stande for him in armes to their last breath: wherefore let not a fugitiue, and faithlesse Barauian cary himselfe as vmpier of the Roman affaires, but rather looke for condigne punishment for his desert. Ciuilis being greatly incensed with this answer, bringeth the whole nation of the Batauians into the field. The Brueteri and Teucteri associate themselues, and messengers were sent into Germanie, who raised the whole countrey, some to win honour, and some to gaine spoile. Against these great threatnings and bandings of so many enemies, Mummius Lupercus, and ^a Numisius Rufus, Lieutenants of the Legions, fortified their trenches and ^b wals, and razed the buildings, which in so long a peace were erected, not farre from the campe, in maner of a towne, lest they should be a harbor for the enemie. But through oversight they omitted to conuey the vittaille, and other prouision therein into the campe, suffering it to be taken at discretion: and so in few daies that was riotously consumed, which by good order would haue relieved their needs a long time. Ciuilis led the middle battell himselfe, wherein was the flower and strength of Batauia: and on both sides of the Rhene, to the ende the sight of his armie might strike in the greater terrour, he caused the regiments of the Germans to march, the horsemen galloping about the fields: and withall the ships were brought vp the streame. So on the one hande the ensignes of the old ^c cohorts, on the other the pictures and images of wilde beasts taken out of their woods and consecrated groues, according as euery nation vseth to beare in the fielde, amazed our men, and terrified them doubly, with the shewe both of an externall, and ciuill warre. Moreouer the great compasse of the trench made the attempt of the besiegers more feisable and increased their hope. For whereas it was made to containe two Legions, at that present it had scarce fife thousand armed men to defende it, beside the followers of the campe, which vpon the breaking vp of the peace gathered thither, and there remained doing them some seruice in the war. A part of the camp was situate vpon the pendant of an easie hill, and part stoode vpon the plaine ground. That standing campe Augustus settled there, supposing it sufficient to watch ouer, and as it were, to besiege the cuntreyes of Germanie, neuer imagining that the world could go so far otherwise, as that they should presume to begin and assaile our Legions: whereupon the lesse cost was bestowed, either to helpe the site of the place, or the strength of the bulwarks: men and armour alone were thought a sufficient defence. Now to the ende, that being seuered in place, the prowesse of ech nation might more distinctly appeare, and be seene, the Batauians, and the Germans which dwelt beyond the Rhene, tooke standing ech by themselues, and began to dart at out men a farre off. But whenas they saw most of their weapons sticking in vaine in the turrets, and pinnacles of the wals, and many of themselues wounded with stones thrown from aboue on their heads, leauing that kind of oppugnation, they sodainely with great force, and outcry assayed to scale the trenches, the most part by setting vp ladders, others climbing ouer the heads of their fellows vpon a target fence. And as some were now clamer ing vp, they were beaten downe headlong with swords and push of pike, and so with clubs, and dartes ouerwhelmed, being men otherwise hoat in the beginning, and too too couragious when fortune fauoureth, but then for desire of pray they tolerated all hardnesse also: yea and that which with them is vnusuall, they endeouored to prooue with engins, whereof they had of themselues neither experience nor skill, onely some fugitiues and captiues taught them to frame timber ^d in ^e maner of a bridge, and to driue it forward on wheelles, whereon certaine standing aboue might skirmish with them on the wals,

^a *Numisius Rufus* is mentioned for *Lupercus* alone *dux* *legionum* *Germanie* *præerat*. So that *Numisius* was not in *Germania*, but rather was Lieutenant of the sixteenth Legion, whose standing campe was at *Novesium*, it may be gathered elsewhere by *Tacitus*.

^b For the *hiberna*, or standing camps of the Legions, were in these latter times walled as townes.

^c To wit, the *Batauians*.

^d *in modum pontis*.

wals, as it were from a mount, and others within secretly vndermine the foundations. But the defendants, with great stones shot out of * engines, battered downe their rude and ill framed worke. And whenas prouision was made of * hurdles, and planckes to couer them in giuing the assault, our men shot burning speares, and fired the workes; assaying with fire euen their assayers; who despayring at length to effectuate any thing by force, deliberated to lay a lingring siege thereunto, knowing that they had but few dayes vitaille within, and manie vnprofitable mouthes to consume it, and hoping withall, that of want of foode treason would ensue; that the faith of bondmen alwaies fickle would now be fleeting, beside the casualties, which vsually happen in warre.

* Baliste.
* Crates & vinea.

* In maner of a bridge] Vegetius, lib. * 4. in the description of Turris ambulatoria maketh mention of Pons * cap. 17. in hæc verba. Turres sunt machinamenta ad edificiorum speciem ex trabibus tabulisque compacta, tanta proceritate, ut non solum muros, sed etiam turres altitudine superent. his plures rotæ mechanica arte subduntur, quarum lapsu magnitudo tam ampla mouetur. In inferioribus habet arietem, cuius impetu destruit muros, circa mediam partem accipit ponsem factum de duabus trabibus, quem subito prolatum inter turrim murumque constituunt, et per eum egredientes de machina milites occupant muros et in ciuitatem transeunt. In superioribus partibus constati et sagittarij collocantur, qui propugnatores depellant. &c. In this place Tacitus seemeth to take Pons for the whole engin of Turris ambulatoria, and not onely that speciall part which Vegetius calleth by that name.

X. *Hordeonius dispatching Vocula before remooueth from Magontiacum with his power to Bonna: and thence to Coleyn. where he resigneth the execution of his charge to Vocula; following not withstanding the armie from thence to Nouesium, vvhether, as it seemeth, he staid till his death. At Nouesium Gallus is ioyned in commission vwith Vocula: and so they remooued for vward to Gelduba. where being encamped, Vocula vvaisteth the Gugerni and Gallus is beaten by the Germans.*

IN the meane time Flaccus, hauing vnderstood of the siege of Vetera, and sent into France to leuy aides, selected out of his Legions a company of chosen men, and committed them to the leading of Dillius Vocula, Lieutenant of the eighteenth Legion, willing him to hasten, and make all possible speede along the bancke of the riuer; himselfe followed slowly, and drooping for feare, being mortally hated of his soldiers. For they openly charged him, that he had suffred wilfully to scape from Magontiacum the cohortes of the Batauians, or rather purposely sent them away: that Ciuilis rebellious attempts were by his conniuece fostered, and by his meanes the Germans called to the party. that neither Antonius Primus, nor Murianus, had so strengthened Vespasians side, as Flaccus by this kinde of dissembling dealing: for open enemies and armes might openly and with armes be repelled, but fraude and deceite were matters hardly espied, and therefore could not be auoided. that Ciuilis stooode in the fiede embattelled against them, but Hordeonius out of his bed chamber gaue order, and directed as was most for the enemies behoofe: and why then should so many armed companies of valiant souldiers be gouerned by a sicke and seely olde man? nay why should they not rather dispatch such a traitour, and free their fortune and vertue from the ill chance of so vnlucky a leader? As they were in these speeches one with another, letters came from Vespasian which incensed them more, the which Flaccus, because he could not conceale, caused openly to be red before the assembly, and sent the bringers thereof bounde to

Vitellius. By this meanes the souldiers mindes were somewhat appeased : and so they came to Bonna the standing campe of the first Legion : the souldiers whereof were more displeased with Flaccus than the other : laying the fault of their late ouerthrowe wholly vpon him : auerring that they at his commaundement marched forth against the Batauians, assuring themselues, vpon his promise, that his Legions from Magontiacum should assaile them behinde; and so no supply comming from thence, they lost their liues through his treason : that these matters had neuer beene notified to the rest of the armies, nor to the Prince, or els by the helpe and assistance of so many countries this sodaine rebellion might haue beene quenched in the beginning. Whereupon Hordeonius caused the copies of all the letters, which he had sent into France, Britannie and Spaine, requesting their helpe, to be red to the armie, and began a very ill example, that all letters sent from abroad should be deliuered to the stander-bearers of the Legions, who red them to the souldiers, before they came to the Generals hande. Then he commanded one of the most factious to be apprehended and bound, rather to put his right in vre, then because the fault was but of one man alone : & so he^a remooued with his army frō Bonna to Coleyn, where many Aides resorted vnto him of the French nation, which at the first with all their power assisted the Romans, till afterwards seeing the Germans preuaile, many of them tooke armes against vs in hope of freedome, and that point attained, for desire of souerainty. But the wrath of the Legions still increased, neither could one souldiers imprisonment terrifie them : nay euen the party imprisoned impeached the Generall of treason; alleading that he had been messenger between Ciuilis & him, and therfore a colour was sought to make him away, least he should declare and testifie the truth. Then Vocula, with maruellous stoutnesse ascending into the Tribunall, commanded the souldier, as he exclaimed and cried, to be apprehended, and caried away to execution : which thing so terrified the bad and seditious, that the soulder sort without impeachment fulfilled his commandement, and anone by common consent they demaunded Vocula to be their Generall : which place Flaccus willingly resigned vnto him. But their minds were already mutinouslie affected, and many newe occasions of more rage were presented; as want of pay, and prouision of corne; ^b Fraunce refusing to yeeld soldiers and tributes; the Rhene also by reason of drought vnusuall in that cuntrey hardly able to beare any vessell; scarcitie of vittailles; garrisons of men placed along the bancke to keepe the Germans from passing the riuer; and so lesse corne, and more men to consume it. Among the ignorant and simpler sort the lownesse of the water was helde for a prodigious matter, as if the riuers also, and the ancient defences of the Empire had now forsaken vs, and that which in peaceable times would haue beene counted chance, or proceeding of naturall causes, at that time was called a fatall matter, and Gods indignation and wrath. At Nouesium they assumed the sixteenth Legion; and Herennius Gallus Lieutenant of the first Legion was ioyned with Vocula in part of the charge: yet durst they not go to finde the enimie, but encamped themselues at a place called Gelduba. There they trained, and practised their souldiers in ordering of battels, in fortifying, entrenching, and other militare exercises. And to the ende that they might by booties and spoiles take courage and hart, Vocula led forth part of his armie into the cuntrey of the Gugerni adioyning, who had allied themselues with Ciuilis: part remained behinde with Herennius Gallus. And as by chance, not farre from the campe, a barge loaden with corne, was runne vpon a shelve, the Germans espying it laboured to draw it to their side of the water; which Gallus would not endure, but sent a cohort to the reskew: the Germans also increa-

sed

^a Taking along with him the first Legion, or a great part thereof, as it doth appeare else where.

^b And yet not ten lines before he writeth, *assistentibus auxilijs Gallorum, quae primo rem Romanam emixit mouebant.*

fed their number, and so by little and little, supply resorting on both sides; a battaile was fought: wherein the Getmans, after the slaughter of many of our men, by force haled the boate away. Our souldiers, being thus put to the woorse, according to their custome there, blamed not their owne cowardlinesse, but the treason of the Lieutenant, whom they drew out of his tent, tare his clothes, & bet his bodie, commanding him to tel vpon what price, and with what complices he had thus betraied the armie. But ^e Hordeonius was charged with the whole enuie of the fact; him they termed the contriuer of the mischiefe, Gallus onely the instrument: til at length Gallus, being terrified with their threatnings of his destruction, to saue his owne life, was content to charge Hordeonius also with treason. Then was he put in bands, and afterwards, at the returne of Vocula loosed, who the next day following put to death the autors of the sturre. So strange diuersitie there was in that armie, both licentious to commit all enormities, and patiently to abide all corrections. The common souldier was firme to Vitellius; the principall men more enclined to Vespasian. Hence came it, that successiuelly, and by course as it were, they offended, and suffered for their offences; that furie and rage were interlaced with obedience, and they easilie punished, which could not be gouerned.

^e Who, as it seemes, staid behind at Nouesium.

^a In the meane time Flaccus ^b Hordeonius Flaccus remaining at ^c Mentz, where the standing campe was of quarta et octauadecima alias duoetticesima, vnderstanding of the siege of Vetera, sendeth Didius Vocula Lieutenant of the octauadecima alias duoetticesima before with the choice men picked out of the two legions. whom Hordeonius, leauing sufficient power to garde the campe at Mentz, seemeth immediately to haue followed and ouertaken at Bonna, a towne likewise vpon the riuier, eleuen miles aboue Coleyn, and threescore aboue Vetera, according to Antoninus in Itinerario, and Tac. 1. Ann. and so ioyntly to haue remoued to Coleyne: where at the instance of his mutinous army, and vpon infirmitie of body, he resigned his Generallshippe, at least the execution to Didius Vocula: and yet notwithstanding remooued with them to Nouesium, now called Nuiss, a towne sixteene miles belowe Coleyn, according to Antoninus. At Nouesium Flaccus as it seemeth stayed, and there was, as appeareth anone, slaine by a mutinee of drunken souldiers. But Vocula with a great part of the armie marched further downe, and nearer to Vetera, encamping himselfe at Gelduba, a castell likewise vpon the Rhene, *vbi ciceris generosus precipua*, saith Pliny. And thus much for the declaration of some circumstances, in my opinion, not so plainly and articulately set downe, as they ought, by our autour.

^a Magentiacum.

XI: *Ciuis combineth him selfe with the Germans, wasteth the French side, vrgeth the siege of Vetera, and giueth diuerse assaults in vaine.*

CONTRARILY all the Germans extolled Ciuis exceedingly, and combined themselves with him in league, yeelding of their noblest men for pledges. Whereupon he gaue commaundement to them which lay neereft, to waste the Vbij and Treueri, and with another companie to passe the riuier of Mosa, and forrey the Menapij and Morini, and Frontiers of France. In both places a spoile was made, and with greater rage amongst the ^a Vbij, because being originally descended from the Germans, renouncing their cuntrey, they called themselves Agrippinenses after a Roman denomination: whose cohorts through negligence and carelesnesse, as being farre from the bancke of the Rhene, were slaine in the vilage of Marcodurum. In reuenge whereof the Vbij fetched continuall booties out of Germanie; which they perfourmed at the first without losse, afterward they were ouertaken and slaine, in all that warre more faithfull to vs, then fortunate for themselves. The Vbij being thus beaten, Ciuis growing more hard to be delt with, and hautilie minded, by reason of the prosperous successe of his actions, earnestly vrged the siege of the Legions setting strait watch, least any secret messenger might happely enter in, to bring them worde of the succour comming. The engines and making of the works he assigned to the Batauians, appointing the inhabitants be-

^a Agrippinae (or Claudij) quorum suam socijs quos nationibus ostentaret, in oppidum Vbiorum, in quo genita erat, veteranos coloniamq; deduci iussit, cui nomen inditum ex vocabulo ipsius. Tac. 12. Ann.

yonde the Rhene, who were desirous of battaile, to go and breake vp the trenches, and, being beaten backe, eftsoones to giue a fresh assault, not caring to leese manie of those, whereof he had so many to spare. Neither did the night bring an end to their trauaile: but heaping vp woode round about and setting it on fire, they fell to feasting together, and as they were heated with wine, ran rashly and desperately to the assault: which attempt of theirs was altogether without effect. For their dartes, as being throwen into the darke, fell voide without any doing of hurt. The Romans with great dexteritie leuelled at the Barbarians standing in the light, and especially at such as were boldest to presse forward, or glistered most in their furniture: which thing Ciuilis perceiuing commanded the fire to be put out, and to fight pell mell in the darke. Then there arose confused clamours, and noises, variable chances, and vncertaine aduentures: no foresight in striking or warding; on what side focuer the crie arose, thither would they turne their bodies, and direct their arrowes: valour profited nothing, chance ruled all; and the most valiant men oftentimes were slaine by the most cowards. The Germans ranne with vnaduised rage, but the Roman souldiers acquainted with dangers, hurled their clubs headed with iron, and heauy stones, not at aventure: where they heard any labouring to break in, or setting vp ladders within their reach, they thrust them backe with the pikes of their bucklers, and followed them with darts, and many which had got on the wals they stabbed with daggers. The night being thus spent, the next day discovered a new kind of assault. The Barauians had builded & brought forward a tower^a of two heights, which as it approched neere to the Pretorian gate (for that part of the campe was of easiest accessse) our souldiers brake it in peeces with mighty planks runne against it, and logges cast vpon it, with great dammage and slaughter of them that stoode thereupon. At which accident the enimies being dismaied, our souldiers sodainlie issued out, and cut off many of their men, withall the Legionary souldiers, being expert and skilfull that way, deuised many warlicke engins; but that which was the most dreadfull, was a^{*} moouable and wagging engin, in maner of a crane, which being sodainly let downe snatched vp one or more of the enimies, and hoised them aloft in the sight of the rest, and so the beame turning about let them fall into our campe. Ciuilis laying aside all hope of winning by force determined to change that course, and by tract of time to effect the same purpose, seeking in the meane season by messages and promises to corrupt the faith of the Legions.

^a or double boarded.

^{*} *Sustentum & munitum machinamentum.*

XII. *Montanus a captaine of Vitellius side, and borne at Triers, bringeth vworde to Nouesium of the euent of the battell at Cremona: wherupon they there and the rest at Gelduba sware to Vespasian: and sent Montanus to declayre the same to Ciuilis, willing him to desist from hostilitie: but contrarily Ciuilis vvrrought Montanus to his purpose, and layed the plot of the rebellion of France, vvhich shortly after ensued.*

^a Which was fought about the later end of October, as it is declared elsewhere.
^b Who as Consul published belike some edict in fauour of the Flavian side.
^c Sent by the Flavians. 3. Hist.

THIS was the effect of that which passed in Germany before the^a battell of Cremona: the euent whereof Antonius Primus signified by letters directed vnto them, sending withall^b Cæcinaes edict: and^c Alpinus Montanus captaine of one of the vanquished cohorts, by word of mouth, confessed the ouerthrow of the side. Hereupon ensued diuersity of affections. The Auxiliarie souldiers of France, which serued without all partialitie, and neither hated nor loued the one faction nor the other, at the perswasions of their captaines, were content forthwith

with to forsake Vitellius: but the old souldier stucke at it, till vpon Hordeonius tendering, and the Tribunes vrging they tooke the oath; albeit neither in countenance, nor minde seeming to be fully resolved, but pronouncing roundly the rest of their oath, and at the name of Vespasian either stopping, or tripping it lightly ouer, or skipping it quite. Then were the letters of Antonius to Ciuilis red in the open assembly, which raised many suspicions in the souldiers heads, because they seemed to be written as to one of the same faction, and spake hardly of the German armie. Anone word was caried to the campe at Gelduba, where the like was both spoken and done; and thereupon Montanus sent with charge to Ciuilis, to warne him to desist from making of warre; and that he should not cloke any longer open rebellion with the colour of following sides. if he sought to helpe Vespasian, his desire now was accomplished, and his purpose perfourmed. To these allegations Ciuilis replied, first in suttle and craftie tearmes; afterwarde perceiuing Montanus to be of a hot and fierce disposition, and readie to accept any new impression, he beginneth with a complaint of the manifold perils, which for twenty five yeares space he had endured in the Roman seruice: A woorthy, and iust reward (quoth he) haue I had of my trauailes, the death of my brother, mine owne imprisonment, and the bloody words of this army, of whom being demanded to the slaughter, by the lawe of nations I doe, & may iustly seeke my reuenge. But as for you^d Treueri, and the rest of seruile soules, what reward expect you of your blood so often shed for their sakes, but fruitlesse seruice, continuall Tributes, whips, gibbets, and slauerie vnder prowde insolent masters? Behold I a captaine of one cohorte, and the Caninefates and Batauians, a small portion of^e France, haue^f destroyed and ouerthrowen those vast and vaine campos of theirs, and doe^g besiege them with famine and sword. to conclude, if we venture, we shall either recouer our libertie, or if we leese, be in the same state we were in before. Ciuilis hauing thus incensed Montanus, dismissed him away, howbeit willed him to make a more fauourable report, who accordingly at his returne onely signified, that he had not sped in his embassage, dissembling the rest which straight after brake out.

^d For *Alpinus* was borne in *Triers*. 3 *Hist.*
^e *Tacitus*, in some other places, seemeth to coprize them vnder the name of *Germas*.
^f Thole in *Hollād* & *Ment of Vatera*

XIII. *Vocula ouerthroweth two captaines of Ciuilis, sent against him as he lay at Gelduba.*

CIVILIS retayning part of his host, sent the olde cohorts, and the forwardest of the Germans, against Vocula and his army, vnder the leading of Iulius Maximus, and Claudius Victor his sisters sonne. In the way they tooke vp and spoiled the standing campe of a wing sited at Asciburg, and so sodainely assaulted the enemies campe at Gelduba, that Vocula had no leysure to speake to the souldiers, or to display the rankes: thus much onely, as in a tumult, he warned to strengthen the middle battell with Legionarie souldiers, and the Auxiliaries to cast themselves about on euerie side. Then our horsemen brake forth, and seeing the enemy in good order and array to receiue them, they turned their backs, and fled towarde their footemen: whereupon a slaughter ensued and no fighting. The cohorts also of the Neruij through feare or falsehood fled, and bared the sides of our men; and so way was made to our Legionary soldiers, who began now to be ouerthrowen within the trenches, and to lose their ensignes, whenas sodainely with a newe supplie the fortune of the battaile was changed. For certaine cohorts of Vascones leuiued by Galba, and then^a sent for, comming neare the campe, and hearing the noise as they fought, assailed the enemies backs being intentiue another way, and caused

^a From whence? *Novesium*, *Bonna*, *Magontiacum*; or from what coast of the worlde?

a greater terrour then so small a number could otherwise haue done, had not the enemy beleued, some of them, that the rest from Nouesium, and some, that the whole power from Magontiacum was come. That error also increased the Romans courage: and whilest they presumed vpon other mens strength they recovered their owne. The most valiant of the Batauian footemen were slaine, the horsemen escaped with the ensignes and captiues that were taken in the first conflict: on our side that day were slaine mo in number, but men of small seruice; the Germans lost the very flower, and strength of their armie. Both the Generals by like default deserued the ouerthrow in reason alike: and winning were negligent both alike to follow their fortune. For if Ciuilis had furnished his side with greater forces, they could neuer haue beene by so few cohorts enclosed about: and the campe of the Romans being, as it was, by force broken vp, had doubtlesse beene vtterly razed. Vocula likewise lacking scowts abroad to signifie the enemies approche was sodainly surprised; and so in one moment went out to fight, and was overcome: afterward winning more by lucke then desert, and not trusting his owne victorie nor vsing the benefit thereof, he vainely trifled out many daies before he would marche toward the enemy; whom if he had presently followed, and pursued the course of his victorie effectually, hee might at that blowe haue raised the siege of the Legions at Vetera.

XIIII. *Vocula putteth Ciuilis to flight, and entreth Vetera.*

CIUILIS in the meane time had assayed to induce the Legions to surrender, as though the Romans had beene quite ouerthrowen, and his men obtained an entier victorie. for prooff whereof he commanded the Roman ensignes, and banners to be caried about, & the prisoners produced in sight, wherof one ventured worthily, and declared aloud how the whole matter had passed, and was killed in the place by the Germans, which thing caused them within to beleue his relation the better, and withall by the wasting and burning of the villages they might discerne, that their owne victorious armie was comming. When Vocula came neare vnto Vetera he commanded the ensignes to be pitched in the sight of the campe, and a ditch and trench to be cast round about: that laying aside their baggage and needlesse furniture in place of safetie, they might fight more lightly and lesse encombred. Whereupon the souldiers began to exclaime, crying to goe to the battaile, and now they were growen to that custome to threaten their Leader. So without taking so much time as onely to set the battell in array, disordered, and tired, they began the fight; for Ciuilis was readie to present them the battaile, reposing no lesse affiance in the follies and faults of his enemies, then in the vertue and valour of his owne people. Of the Roman side the matter went doubtful and hard, and the most mutinous prooued the most dastards: some there were which mindefull of the victorie lately obtained kept their standing, galled the enemy, and animated themselves and their fellowes. The battaile being thus brought backe againe, which erewhile in a maner was lost, they held vp their hands to them in the campe, that they should not neglect to vse the opportunitie, who beholding al things from the wals, issued forth at all the gates, and by chance Ciuilis being by the fall of his horse ouerthrowen, of both sides was thought to bee wounded or slaine; which greatly dismayed his men and caused them to breake, and contrarily put courage in ours. But Vocula pursued not the chace, but entring Vetera onely augmented the rampiers, and towers of the campe, as against a newe siege, being had in a ieaousie,
by

by this kinde of colde dealing, to desire the continuance of the warre: and not without cause, hauing so often marred the victorie for want of good following.

XV. *Vocula vittaileth Vetera, and returneth to Gelduba, and thence to Nouesium: where Hordeonius in a mutinee is slaine. Vocula with his power goeth to relieue Magontiacum besieged by the Germans. The faithfulnessse of the Treueri to the Romans at the beginning of these troubles.*

NOTHING distressed our souldiers so much, as lacke of prouision and foode. Whereupon the cariages of the Legions, with a weake and vnseruiceable companie, were sent to Nouesium, that from thence by lande they might furnish the armie with vittails; for the enemies were masters of the riuer. The first connoy passed peaceably without molestation, Ciuilis being not yet recouered of his hurt: but anone vnderstanding another company was sent to Nouesium, and certain cohorts assigned to conduct them, marching as in time of great quiet carelessly, not keeping themselves to their ensignes, but casting their armour and weapons into the wagons, and rousing about licentiously, he sent before to take vp the bridges and straites, and then in good order charged vpon them. The *battaile was fought with troupes displaid out thinnely in length, and continued doubtfull, vntill the night tooke vp the quarrell. The cohorts proceeded forward to Gelduba, the campe standing there as it was, garded by the souldiers which Vocula had left. There was no question what perill there would be in the returne, the forragers being but fewe, and heavily loaden: whereupon Vocula determining to go out and relieue them, increased his armie with a thousand men chosen out of the two Legions, which were besieged at Vetera, the first and fifteenth, a stubborne and headstrong souldier, and hating his captaines. More went then were commanded, at their going openly murmuring, that they would no longer endure famine, nor be obnoxious to the secret practises of the Lieutenants: but those which remained behinde complained, that they, by carying away so many men, were forsaken, and left as a pray to the enimie. Whereupon a double mutinee grew, the one part recalling Vocula seditiously, and the other in like sort refusing to returne again to the campe. In the meane season Ciuilis besieged Vetera. Vocula marcheth to Gelduba, and leaving Gelduba (which Ciuilis straightway tooke vp) from thence to Nouesium, not farre from whence, shortly after, his horsemen skirmished with the enimie prosperously. But prosperitie and aduersitie inflamed alike the souldiers to seeke their captaines destruction: and the Legions being augmented, by that increase out of the first and fifteenth Legion, more insolently required their donatiue, vnderstanding that money was sent from Vitellius. Whereupon Hordeonius, without further delay, diuided the money amongst them in Vespasians name, which was the principal thing that ministred matter, and fed the mutinee which followed. For the souldiers, hauing idle spending money, gaue themselves to ryot and banquetting, and assemblies by night, and by that meanes renewed their former wrath and displeasure against Hordeonius, whom they haled out of his chamber and flew, none of the Lieutenants or Tribunes daring to gainsay, or withstand them being hardened, by reason of the night season, against all modestie and shame. The like was intended against Vocula, if he had not in a bondmans attire escaped vnknownen in the darke. As soone as the heate of their furie was past, they fell to consider the danger wherein they did stande, and sent by and by Centurions with letters to the cities of France, desiring

* Pugnatum
longo agmine.

desiring supply of money and men, themselves when Ciuilis approached, as the common sort without head is headlong, feareful, and sluggish, rashly tooke vp their weapons, and soone laying them downe ranne away. Aduersitie bred discord, those of the vpper armie disioyning their cause from the others. Notwithstanding the images of Vitellius were set vp againe in the campe, and in the cities of Belgium adioyning, whenas Vitellius himselfe was now downe. Then the souldiers of the first Legion and the fourth and eighteenth vpon repentance came in, and submitted themselves vnto Vocula, at whose hands receiuing againe the oath to Vespasian, they were led forth to raise the siege at Magontiacum. The army which besieged it (consisting of Catti, Vsiij and Matiaci) was alreadie departed away loaden with spoiles, and being by our men met with on the way scattered and at vnawares, was in part put to the sword. Moreouer the Treueri along their confines cast a trench with a *parapet, and with great slaughter on ech side skirmished against the Germans, vntill shortly after reuolting, by that odious fact, they defaced all their good seruice done heretofore to the Romans.

XVI. *The disposition of the common people of the Citie, at the beginning of the yeare. The ordinarie Senate vpon the first day of Ianuarie. Mutianus supplanteth Antonius Primus.*

IN the meane season Vespasianus second time Consull and Titus in absence entered their office, the citie being in great anguish and diuersly perplexed, besides the miseries which presently they felt, vpon a false alarme of the reuolt of Africke, and the rebellion of Piso Proconsull there, a man of milde and quiet disposition: but because through the tempestuousnes of the winter the ships came not home, the poore people which day by day were accustomed to buy bread, and cared for nothing els of common affaires but corne, feared that all the shippes of that coast were purposely stayed, and the corne detained, and fearing quickly beleueed it. In which imaginary conceit the Vitellianists also confirmed them, who had not as yet wholly left of their former affections and humours. Neither was the rumour displeasing vnto the winners, as hoping to make their profit thereby, whose insatiable lust and desires no forraine warre, much lesse any ciuill victorie could euer fill or content. The first of Ianuarie the Senate was assembled by Iulius Frontinus the *Citty-pretor, and solemne thanks with praise concluded vpon to the Lieutenants and armies, and kings which friended the cause. The Pretorship also was taken from Tertius Iulianus, because he had forsaken his Legion applying it selfe to Vespasians side, and bestowed vpon Plotius ^b Griphus. Hormus was made a Gentleman of Rome, and straightwaies Frontinus resigning, Domitianus Caesar tooke the place. In his name all letters were written and edicts published, but the power and direction of affaires rested in Mutianus, saue that Domitian either pricked forward by his friends, or vpon his own pleasure, & lust presumed to do many things of himselfe. But Mutianus principall feare was of Antonius Primus and Arius Varus, whom, beside that they were greatly renowned for their late famous exploits, & in great credit with the foldiers, the common people also loued well, because they had slaine none but in the field. Moreouer it was giuen out by some, that Antonius had sollicitated Scribonianus Crassus, a man of great honour, both in respect of his worthy ancestours, and of his late *brothers high place, to take vpon him the state, assuring him of a sufficient number of complices to vphold and maintaine it, had not

Scribonianus

*Loricam, val-
lunus.

The yeare of the
citic. 823.

*To whom it be-
longed, in the ab-
sence of the Con-
sul, to assemble
the Senate.
^b One of Musi-
anus fauorites. 3.
Hisor.

*Piso, whom Gal-
ba adopted.

Scribonianus refused the offer; a man so greatly fearing vncertainties, that euen an assured certaintie could not easily haue sturred him. Therefore Mutianus, because Antonius openly could not bee put downe, spent vpon him many good wordes, and great commendations in the Senate house, and secretly laded him with promises, putting him in hope of nearer Spaine, which by the departure of Cluius Rufus lay voide, and bestowed vpon his friends Tribuneships, and Captainships liberally. And when Mutianus had filled with these windes of hope and desire his emptie vainglorious minde, he proceeded suttelly to infringe his power, and vtterly put him out of his strength, by dismissing vnto their wintering place the ^c seuenth Legion, ^{c Septima Gal-} which did most earnestly affect Antonius. The third Legion also that depēded vpon ^{biuina.} Arius Varus was sent away backe into Syria: another ^d part of the army was caried ^{d Sexta & octa-} into Germanie. So the cittie being disburdened of those which were prone to breed ^{ua de victicibus.} trouble, recovered her former estate, the lawes tooke their due course, and the magistrates resumed their charge. ^{Tac.}

XVII. *Certainematters which passed in the Senate.*

THE day that Domitian, after his newe honour came into the Senate, he made a brieve and curteous speech concerning his fathers, and brothers absence, and of his owne greene yeeres and lacke of experience, with a comely grace and decent behauiour: his often blushing and being out of countenance, his qualities being not yet knowen abroad, was reputed modestie and bashfulnes. When as he proposed that Galba shoulde be restored to his honour and dignitie, Curtius Montanus was of opinion, that the memorie of Piso also should be solemnized, the Senators allowed of both: howbeit concerning Piso it tooke none effect. After this, certaine were allotted to see restitution made of those things, which had beene by force taken away in the warre; and some others to view and set vp the brasen tables of the lawes, which by ^a tract of time were decaied; & others to reforme & purge the publick records, & registers, which by flatterie of times were corrupted, & to moderate & stint the publicke expenses. Tertius Iulianus was restored to his Pretorship, ^{a By the burning of the Capitoll melted, saith Suetonius Vespasiano, c. 8.} after it was knowen that he fled to Vespasian: notwithstanding Griphus kept his roome too. Then the Senate awarded, that the cause betweene Musonius Rufus, and Publius Celer should be reuiued and determined: and so Publius was condemned, and satisfaction made to the soule of Soranus. In this daies worke as the publicke seueritie of the Senate was notable, so priuately Musonius wanted not his due commendation, for hauing iudicially prosecuted to iust a reuenge: as contrarilie ^b Demetrius the Cynicke was generally blamed, for that ambitiously, and without regard of his credit, he had lent his hand to protect a manifest offender: for Publius himselfe had neither spirite nor toong to pleade his owne cause. When the signe was giuen, and a flagge of reuenge, as it were, set out against the accusers, Iunius Mauricus requested Domitian, that it would please him to communicate a copie to the Senate of the Princes recordes and papers, whereby they might be certified particularly, who had required to haue the accusing of whom. Answer was made, that the Princes aduise was to be asked in a case of that waight: whereupon the Senate, the principall personages beginning the example, conceived a forme of oath, which all the magistrates sware, contending who should be foremost, and the rest, as their voices were seuerally asked, solemnely protesting, and calling the gods to witnesse, that they had neuer attempted nor done any act against the life of anie, nor reaped commoditie or honour by the calamities of others, they which were

guiltie

beleueed, which ouerliued Tiberius and Caius, when in the meane time arose another more cruell and detestable then either. We feare not Vespasian; his age warranteth vs, and his moderate disposition: but precedents dure longer then dispositions. We are waxen cold (my Lordes) neither are we now the same men, that as soone as Nero was slaine required these promooters, and all other instruments of tyrannie to be punished *more maiorum*. After the decease of an ill Prince the first day is alwaies the best. With so great applause and liking of the Senate Montanus was heard, that Heluidius conceiued hope of the possibility of ouerthrowing Marcellus also. Therefore beginning his speech with the commendation of Cluius Rufus, who being as rich, & as famous for eloquence, had notwithstanding in Neroes time neuer procured any mans danger, he pressed Marcellus both with his owne fact, and with the others example, and the Senatours fingers euen tickled against him. Which when Marcellus perceiued, making semblance of departing the house, We are gone Heluidius (quoth he) and leaue to you a Senate of your owne: take your pleasure, and "exercise your kingdome in the presence of the young Prince. After him followeth Vibius Crispus, both well warmed and netled: Marcellus with a threatening countenance, Crispus halfe smiling, but at the entreatie of friendes they came againe to their places. And so the contention growing hoater, and of the one side many and good, on the other few & mightie banding together, and inueighing despitefully one against the other, that day was consumed in brawlings. The next meeting Domitian beginning to perswade, that old griefes & grudges should not be reuiued, but buried together with the memory of the late times, wherein men were forced to do many things against their owne mindes, Mutianus continuing the speech opined at large in fauour of the accusers, gently admonishing withall, and as it were entreating them, who seemed to resume their actions which they had discontinued. The Senatours, when they saw they were crossed in following their libertie, medled no further, and Mutianus, lest the iudgement of the Senate should seeme to be little regarded, and a generall pardon as it were proclaimed of all crimes committed vnder Nero, commaunded Octavius Sagitta & Antistius Soffianus, Senatours by calling, which were without leaue returned from exile, to be reduced into the same Ilands againe. ^s Octavius had frequented with Pontia Posthumia another mans wife adulterously, & because she refused after to marie him, he flew hir vpon extreme passion of loue: Soffianus by his leud qualities had bin the ruine of many: both of the had bin cōdemned & banished by a heauy sentence of the Senat, & others being restored they were left stil in the same penalty. But Mutianus could not with all this wipe the ill opinion away of his former dealing. For Soffianus & Sagitta were men vile and of no account, neither mattered it where they liued: but the accusers great gifts, great wealth and great power, being men so well seene in all lewde practises, were feared not without cause. The Senatours minds were anone in part reconciled by meanes of a certaine cause heard in the house, and decided according to ancient custome. Manlius Patricius a Senatour made complaint, that in the colonie of Siena he was beaten of the multitude at the magistrates commandement, and not contented with this outrage they * mourned and wailed, and made shew of celebrating his funerals in his owne sight, with many skornefull and reprochfull speeches redounding vpon the whole Senate. The parties accused were called, and vpon due examination conuicted, and executed, and an act made to admonish the people of Siena to behaue themselues in modester maner hereafter. At the same time Antonius Flamma was condemned of extortion, at the suite of the Cyrenenses, and exiled for his cruell behauiour, and shedding of innocent bloud.

"Or, exercise
your kingdome
when the prince
reuneth. regna
presens Cesare.

^s Tac. 13. Ann.

* Nec finem in-
iuria hic stetit
placatum & la-
mentum & supre-
morum imaginem
presens sibi cir-
cundata.

XVIII. *A view taken of the Pretorian soldiers. A loane
motioned in the Senate. The funerals of
Flavius Sabinus.*

^a Of the Flavian
side, as it is not
unlike that many
Legionaries were
the more easily
induced to enter
into the cause,
vpon hope of
that prefer-
ment.

AMIDST these things there had welny broken out a sedition of the soldiers. The Gard-soldiers dismissed by Vitellius, & assembled in fauor of Vespasians cause, required their former place: likewise the ^a souldiers, which vpon hope of the same roome were chosen out of the Legions, demanded performance of promise. Neither could Vitellius garde well be remoued without much bloodshed. So Mutianus, comming to the campe to the ende he might better view their yeares of seruice, appointed the winners seuerally to stand, with their ensignes and weapons, a little distance asunder. Then hee willed the Vitellian garde, as well those which yeelded themselves at Bouillæ, as others sought out within the City & about, to be produced in a maner vnarmed, then to be diuided, and those which were chosen out of the German and Brittish armies, and so of the rest, if any were, to stande ech by themselves. The first sight hereof did straight amaze them, to see the contrarie side as in a pitched field flourishing with their weapons and darts, & themselves without armour, deformed, and in poore miserable state closed about. But when they began to be drawn, and distracted hither and thither, they trembled all, especially the German souldiers, as if the separation tended onely to sort them out to the slaughter; wherupon they fell to embrace their companions, to hang on their necks, to kisse them as for their last farewell, beseeching not to leaue them alone, and that in the like cause they might not abide harder fortune then others; with obsecrations sometimes to Mutianus, sometimes to the Prince that was absent, sometimes to the gods and the heauens to relieue their distressed estate; till such time as Mutianus calling them all liege men of one soueraine, and souldiers of the same Prince, eased them of this vaine feare; the rest of the souldiers present with a showre furthering their teares, and declaring themselves to fauour their cause: and so for that day the matter was shut vp. Some fewe daies after Domitian in an oration made offer vnto them of lande and possessions, who being now assured and out of all feare did boldly refuse it, praying to haue their former seruice and wages againe. it was but a prayer, mary such as could not be denied: and so they were receiued into the Garde. Afterwarde they which had serued their yeares, and accomplished their iust number of stipends, were honourably dismissed: some others criminally, and for their misdeameour singled out one by one: the safest remedie to weaken and dissolue the consent of a multitude. Then a motion was made in the Senate, whether vpon necessitie indeed, or because they would ^b haue it to seeme so, that a loane should be made, by priuate men to the Publicke of ^c fixtie millions of sesterces, and the charge thereof committed to Poppæus Siluanus: but shortly after the necessitie ceased, or the false semblant. Then by a law proposed by Domitian the Consulships conferred by Vitellius were disanulled: and Flavius Sabinus ^d funerals were celebrated with Censoriall pompe: great demonstrations of fortunes ficklenesse, turning vpside downe whatsoeuer seemeth high in the world.

^b Initio statim
principatus pro-
fessus est Vespas-
sianus quadring-
genties milles
HS. opus esse, ut
resp. Bara posset,
saith Suetonius
cap. 16. one of the
greatest summes
I remember any
where named, a-
mounting to a-
boue three hun-
dred millions
of pounds.
^c That is, 468750
pound ster.

^d Funerals were celebrated with Censorial pompe] Censorium funus the most honorable, and solempne manner of burial: as the Censorship was the most honorable office, and accomplishment, as it were of all other. Polybius lib. 6. saith, that in the buriall of a Consul, or Prætor, certaine chosen out for the likest to the dead person accompanied the corse εν εσθιωτη νεκροφύρῳ onely, that is, in veste prætexa purpurea: in the burial of a Censor εν πορφύρῃ, in purpura.

XIX. *The death of Lucius Piso Proconsull of Africke.*

ABOUT the same time Lucius Piso Proconsull of Africke was slaine: the truth of which murther I will briefly set downe, resuming first certaine former matters, which may seeme to haue ministred chiefly occasion, and cause to such like inconueniences. The Legion in Africke, and the Aides assigned to garde the frontiers of the Empire that way, in the time of Augustus, and Tiberius, were vnder the gouernment of the Proconsull, till Caius a Prince of a troubled braine, and hauing in ielousie M. Silanus, who then was Proconsull of Africke, remooued the Legion from the Proconsull, deliuering it to a Lieutenant sent for that purpose. The parting of an office thus betweene two without subordination, and their charge and points of commission lying intermingled, and running iointly together, bred and nourished, as was intended, discord and quarrels: and so through sinister emulation the Lieutenants office incroched and grew, either because they continued longer in charge, or because inferiour persons commonly take more paine, and delight in contending with their superiours, the greatest men of the Proconsuls seeking rather safetie then might. Now at this time Valerius Festus was Lieutenant of the Legion there, a riotous young man, and one that gaped after great matters, but much perplexed in minde, by reason he was so nearely allyed to Vitellius. This Valerius in his often conferences which he had with Piso, whether he perswaded him to take vpon him the state, or opposed himselfe against Pisos soliciting it is vncertaine (for at their secret communication none was present beside: and when Piso was slaine most men inclined to fauour the slayer) certaine it is, that the prouince and souldiers were ill affected toward Vespasian. And some of the Vitellianists escaping out of the Citie, layed downe before Piso the great possibilitie of effectuating that purpose: that France was in termes of reuolting, Germanie readie to side themselves with him, adioyning the danger wherein he stood for his owne person, and that in a suspected peace open warre was the onely safe course. As these things were in dooing, Claudius Sagitta captaine of the Petrin wing came thither, hauing out-fayled Papirius a Centurion sent by Mutianus, and auowched that the sayed Centurion had commission to dispatch Piso: that his kinsman and sonne in law Galerianus was already dispatched in Rome; so that the onely hope of safetie consisted in venturing boldly: and of venturing there were but two wayes, either straight to take armes, or sayling into France to offer himselfe there for a head to the Vitellian armies. Notwithstanding all which allegations Piso persisted vnmouueable: and anone the Centurion sent by Mutianus came; who, as soone as he arriued at the port of Carthage, proclaymed Piso Emperour, wishing to him as Prince all successe and prosperitie, and requiring all that he met, being amazed at the woonder, to ioine in the same crye. The credulous common people flocked in the market place and demanded the presence of Piso, filling the cittie with showts and acclamations of ioy, partly vpon negligence to search out the truth, and partly vpon a pleasure in flatterie. But Piso, whether vpon the intimation of Sagitta, or of his owne modestie, refrained from going abroad and committing himselfe to the peoples discretion: and examining the Centurion, perceiuing it was but a snare to entrap him, and so to make him away, he commanded him to be slaine, not so much for hope of escaping himselfe by so doing, as vpon iust indignation against the Centurion, because the same man had beene one of the murtherers of Clodius Macer, and ment to bring

his hands lately embrued with the bloud of a Lieutenant now to the slaughter of a Proconsull. Then he checked the Carthaginians with a sharpe and seuered edict, and ceased to execute euen the vsuall points of his office, keeping still within doores, lest any occasion of new commotion by mischance might arise. Festus vnderstanding how the people was daunted and dashed, the Centurion slaine, and other occurrences part true, part false, or enlarged and amplyfied, as fame feedeth in going, sendeth certaine horsemen to murder Piso; who making all haste in the dawning of the day brake into the house of the Proconsull with drawen swordes, the most part not knowing Piso by sight, being Auxiliaries of the cuntrey, and Moores picked out for the purpose. Whereupon meeting one of his seruants, not farre from his bed-chamber, they asked him who he was, and where Piso was to be found: the seruant perceiuing his masters danger, notably and resolutely answered, that he was Piso, and so was presently slaine in the place: by and by after Piso himselfe was massacred. For there was in the company Bebius Massa, one of the Procurators of Africk, that knew him; euen then a worker of good mens destruction, and one that often will fall into the course of this storie, as an instrument of the mischiefes, and a cause of the miseries that we sustained ^a afterward. Festus in the meane time stayed at Adrumetum to watch how the matter succeeded, and from thence went to the Legion, where he commanded Cetronius Pisanus the Camp-master to be committed to ward, vpon priuate displeasures betweene them, pretending that he was an abettour, and complice of Piso. Some soldiers also and Centurions he punished, and some he rewarded: neither of them for any desert, but because he would seeme to haue ended a warre. Then hee tooke vp the debates betweene the " Ophenses and Leptitani, which of smal beginnings, as robbing of cattell & corne from the countrymen, were now by force of armes maintayned in the field. For the Ophenses being the weaker side had called the Garamantes to aide them, a sauage people and altogether giuen to robbing and stealing vpon their neighbours: whereupon the Leptitani were hardly bested, and their fields being round about wasted, trembled for fear within the walled townes, till such time as the cohorts and wings came, who put the Garamantes to flight, and recouered all the spoile, saue onely that which certaine out-riders had caried further into the cuntrey, and sold there among their wilde inaccessible cottages.

^a In Domitians time, Tac. in vita Agricole. Plinius in epistolis.

^b Or, Oenses.

XX. *Vespasian at Alexandria receiueth aduertisement of the death of Vitellius. The embassage of Vologesus king of the Parthians to him. Titus speech with his father. Corne is sent to Rome. The foundation of the Capitollis laied.*

^a 40. millia sagittariorum, scieth Suetonius Vespas. c. 6. not disagreeing from Tacitus: for the Parthians were inuicti. ^b Vno die, scieth Suet. Domitiano. c. 1. super triginta urbana officia atque peregrina distribuit, mirari se Vespasiano dicitur quod successorem non sibi miseret.

AFTER the battell at Cremona, and good newes from all quarters, many of all sorts hazarded to put themselues vpon the rough winter seas, and sailed with safetie to carie Vespasian the newes that Vitellius was slaine: and king Vologesus embassadours were there offering fortie thousand Parthian ^a horsemen to aid him. It was a glorious and ioyfull thing, to be fought vnto with offers of so great assistance, and yet not to neede them. So thanks were giuen to Vologesus, and he willed to sende an embassage to the Senate, and assure himselfe of peace with the Romans. Vespasian conuerting his cares vpon Italie, and the affaires of the cittie, was aduertised somewhat hardly concerning Domitians dealings, as if he had ^b passed the bounds of his age, and caried himselfe about his compasse, rather like an Emperour then an Emperours sonne. Therefore the most seruiceable part of his army he

he deliuereth ouer to Titus willing him to prosecute and finish the Iewish warre. It is reported that Titus before his^c departure vsed long speech and entreatie with his father, desiring him not to belecue lightly, or enter in choler at the tale of euerie backbiter, but rather to reserue himselfe free for an indifferent audience, and cary a placable minde towards his owne sonne. For neither were Legions nor nauies so strong defences and rampiers of a Princes estate, as the multitude of children. Friendes with time and fortune, sometimes by vnadvised desires, or ouersights, decrease, fall from vs and fade, whereas a mans owne blood cleaueth fast, and cannot be disioyned: especially in Princes, whose prosperitie as well may others enioy, but their aduersitie toucheth none neere, but their neere in blood: and how shoulde they two being brethren agree, if the father gaue not first an example. Vespasian not so much pacified toward Domitian, as delighted with the good nature of Titus bad him be of good comfort, and looke to his charge in aduancing the weale publicke with armes in the fiede; himselfe woulde take order with matters of peace, and domesticall affaires. Then he committed to sea, which as yet was tempestuous, his best ships of saile fraught with corne: for the cittie was in such distresse, and stoode in those termes of famishing, that when the corne came from Vespasian, they had not at all in their storehouses aboue ten daies prouision. As concerning the setting vp of the Capitoll againe, he¹ committed the charge thereof to Lucius Vestinus a Gentleman of Rome, but for authoritie and countenance one of the principall men of the cittie; by whom the soothsayers being called together expressely charged, that the reliques of the former temple should be conueied and caried away into the marishes, and the new erected vpon the selfe same foundation: for it was not the pleasure of the gods the old forme should be altered. The one and twentieth of Iune being a goodly faire day the whole plot of the temple was bounde, and tied about with fillets and garlands. The souldiers whose^d names had luckie significations entered in with fortunate boughes. Afterward the Vestall virgins, with boies & girles which had both father and mother aliue, washed it with water fetched from riuers, and springs, and running streames. Then Heluidius Priscus the Pretor, Plautus Elianus one of the chiefe Priests going before him, hallowed the floore with a solemne sacrifice of a swine, a sheepe and a bullocke, and laying the entrailes vpon a greene turfe, calling first vpon Iupiter, Iuno, Minerua, and the rest of the gods protectours of the Empire, that they would prosper the worke, exalt and aduance this their own habitation, begun by the deuotion of men, with their diuine and celestiall power, he put his hand to the fillets and ropes, wherein a huge mightie stone was fast tied, and withall the rest of the magistrates and priests, the Senate and Gentlemen, and a great part of the people preasing with great desire and ioy, drew the stone to the foundations, throwing in withall ingots of golde and siluer, and oare neuer tried in the furnace, but rawe as it grewe: for the soothsayers forewarned that the worke should not be defiled with stone, or gold which had been destinated to any other vse. only the roofe was made hyer: that alteration alone was not disallowed by the gods, and the former temple, for want of proportion that way, was thought to lacke stateliness, and maiestie conuenient for a building, wherein such a masse of men shoulde be holden.

^c From his father at Alexandria: for thither he accompanied his father, and from thence returned backe to Caesarea: which voiage is particularly described by Iosephus in the last words of his fourth booke of the Iewish warre.

^d Cic. de diuinatione. cum imperator exercitum, censor populum lustraret, boni nominibus qui hostias ducerent eligebantur: quod idem in dilectis consules obseruant, ut prius miles fiat bono nomine.

¹ He committed the charge thereof] Most of the other writers affirme contrary to Tacitus, and to the truth, as I thinke, that Vespasian was present at the laying of the first foundation of the Capitoll. Sueton. ^a Vesp. *Vespasianus restitutionem capitolij aggressus ruderibus purgandis manus admonuit, ac suo collo quaedam exulit.* Xiphilin. τὸν ἑαυτὸν τὸν ἐν καπιτωλίου ἐκτὸς δινοδομεῖν ἤρξατο, αὐτὸς πρὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀποφύσσας. That is, he forthwith began to build the temple in the Capitoll, himselfe first carying out some part of the rubble. And yet by Tacitus the greatest man present in this action was Heluidius Priscus Prætor urbanus, the hiest office in the absence of the Consuls. And

surely beside the credit of Tacitus, who may ouerwaigh twenty such writers at randon, I cannot see how in possibility Vespasian could well be in Rome before the one and twentieth of Iune: for at Alexandria he attended certaine moneths, saith our autour, *cursa maris opperiens*. Now from the eleventh day of Nouember to the tenth of March, saith *Vegetius, lib. 4. maria clauduntur*: from the tenth of March to the fifteenth of May *periculosè maria sentiantur*, and not lightly ventured vpon but by marchants: so that before the middle of May or thereabout it is not likely he set out of Alexandria. Zonaras seemeth to say, that he staid a great while longer in Egypt, then otherwise he would haue done; vpon hope that Hierusalem might haue bene won before his departure, and so Titus should haue accompanied him also to Rome. Againe, the viage of Vespasian to Rome was long, and much of it performed by lande, and many great busineses dispatched in the way. Iosephus *αλφ. 7. cap. 5. and 10*. Suetonius and others. So that in all reason his entrie into Rome was toward the later ende of the sommer, and so he not present at the foundation of the Capitoll.

XXI. *The Treueri and Lingones, at the instigation of Cladius, Tutor, and Sabinus, assembling secretly in counsell at Coleyn, determine to reuolt from the Romans. Vocula remooueth from Magontiacum to Coleyn. Claudius Labco maketh a roade against the Caninefates without great effect.*

WHEN the death of Vitellius was heard of in Fraunce and Germanie, it doubled the warre. For Ciuilis now laying aside dissimulation declared himselfe, and made open warre against the Roman Empire. The Legions which had serued Vitellius wished rather for raine bondage, then to haue Vespasian their Prince. The Frenchmen conceiued courage, and hope of freeing themselves from the yoke, supposing that the same fortune was befallen to our armies in al places alike: and indeede a rumour was noised that our standing campes in Pannonia and Moesia were straitly besieged by the Sarmatians and Dacians: the like was reported of Britannie. But nothing perswaded them so much to beleue, that the Roman Empire was come to an end, as the burning of the Capitoll. For the cittie had beene once before taken by the French, but the seate of Iupiter then being vntaken the Empire stooode and remained: whereas now by this fatall fire a manifest signe of the gods heauie wrath, and displeasure was giuen. And the Druides out of their vaine superstitious learning did prophesie that the Empire of the worlde was to passe, and be seated beyond the mountaines. Moreouer a common fame went, that the ^a noble men of Fraunce, when they were sent by Otho against Vitellius, did couenant together before their departure, that in case the Roman common wealth ceased not thus to be torne by multiplying of ciuill warres, and domesticall troubles one straight succeeding another, they woulde iointly attempt to recouer their ancient libertie againe. But before the murder of Hordeonius Flaccus nothing brake out whereby the conspiracie might be perceiued: after his death there passed messages, betweene Ciuilis and Cladius captaine of the wing of the Treueri. Cladius in birth and wealth farre exceeded the rest of that quarter, he was extract from the line of their ancient kings, his auncestours renowned in war and in peace, and himselfe boasted to be descended of enimies to the people of Rome, rather then friends. Vnto him in this action adioined themselves Iulius Tutor, and Iulius Sabinus, the one of Triers, the other a Lingon. Tutor was appointed by Vitellius ouerseer of the bancke of Rhene. Sabinus besides a naturall vanitie was pricked forward with the vain-glōrie of a supposed kinred; that his great grandmother for hir beautie had pleased Iulius Cæsar, when he warred in Fraunce, and was by him carnallie known. These three by secret conferences searched the mindes and inclinations of the rest: and when they had made acquainted, and associated to them such as they supposed fit for the purpose, they appointed a meeting in Coleyn, in a priuate house: for the publicke state of the cittie vterly abhorred all such attempts. Notwithstanding

^a *Primores Galliarum ab Othone aduersus Vitellium missos, who these primores Galliarum were, and when and frō whence sent by Otho against Vitellius, I conceiue not: vnlesse it be ment of the Roman Senators, whereof many were French by birth, whom Otho assumed into his train against Vitellius: but men of their quality we think should haue no great cause to seeke so great an alienation.*

withstanding certaine of the Vbij and Tungri were present at the consultation; but the strongest part and that which caried the matter was of the Treueri and Lingones. Neither made they any long deliberation, but all with one voice cried amaine, that the Romans did nothing^b but rage in ciuill diffensions; that the Legions were slaine, Italie wasted, and the cittie of Rome euen taken; that all the armies were helde occupied euery one with their severall warres: and if the Alpes were fortified with good & sufficient garrison, and so their libertie won and assured, then might France determine at leysure what course to take of further proceeding, and how farre they list to enlarge. This was no sooner saied then allowed: a scruple remained concerning the remnant of the Roman souldiers. Many were of minde that they were to be put to the sworde, as mutinous, and faithlesse persons, and polluted with the blood of their leaders: but the opinion of sparing them preuailed, least hope of pardon being taken away they would become desperate. So it was thought more conuenient by faire meanes to allure them to the partie, and that the Lieutenants alone being made away, the common souldiers would easily be wonne to the side vpon guiltinesse of their owne misdeedes, and hope of impunitie. This was the forme of their first consultation, and some were sent abroad into Fraunce to kindle and stirre vp the warre: they themselves pretended all subiection and obedience to Vocula, that they might oppresse him at the more vnawares. Vocula had secret intelligence hereof, but he had not forces to punish it, his Legions being both thinne, and vnted fast. So betweene vntrue souldiers, and secret enemies, supposing it the best way that now he could take to vse their owne artes against them, he dissembled the matter and went downe to Coleyn. Thither Claudius Labeo was escaped, hauing corrupted his keepers; who as before we haue saide was taken, and confined out of the way into Frisia, and promising that if he might haue men he would go into Batavia, and reunite the greatest part of the cuntry againe to the Roman Empire: hauing a pretie companie of horsemen and footemen assigned, he durst not enterprise any thing amongst the Batavians, but drew certaine of the Neruij and Bethasij after him into the field, and rather by stealth, then by way of open inuasion, made some incursions vpon the Caninefates and Marsaci.

^b Ioseph. lib. 7.
chap. 3.

XXII. *Classicus and Tutor corrupt Voculaes souldiers. Vocula at Nouesium is forsaken by his souldiers, and slaine, who immediately sweare fidelitie to the Empire of France.*

VOCULA allured by the fraude of the Frenchmen remooueth towardes the enimie. When they approched to Vetera, Classicus and Tutor pricking before vnder colour of discovering met with the German captaines, and concluded the bargaine, and thereupon encamped their companies with a seuerall trench from the Legionarie souldiers. At which signe of manifest contempt and reuolt Vocula conceiuing great indignation, cried aloud, that the Roman state was not by ciuill warres brought yet to so low an ebbe, as that the Treueri also and Lingones neede to despise it: so many cuntries continuing faithfull, our armies being victorious, the fortune of the Empire standing entier, and the gods ready to reuenge this perfidious part: so long ago Sacrouir and the Aedui, so of late Vindex and France were ouerthrowen, each at one blowe, and now also the perfidious breakers of treaties so solemnly sworne were to looke for againe the same gods and the same fall. Iulius and Augustus knew better their crooked inclinations: Galba, and the abatement of their tributes hath made them our enemies. Now they are foes be-

^a In the fourth yeare of Tiberius Caesar. Tac. 3. Ann.
^b A plaine punishment assigned in Tacitus, for Galba did not diminish but rather increase the tributes of the Lingones and Treueri, and diuersely afflict them, to some other cities of France true it is, that he abated a fourth part of their ordinary tribute, but that was nothing to this audience.

cause their yoke is too gentle, but when they shall be ransackt and stript of their wealth, they will be our friends and subiects againe. When Vocula had thus spoken with great spirit and courage, seeing Classicus and Tutor notwithstanding to continue in their traiterous purpose, he retired backe to Nouesium. The Frenchmen sat downe two miles from the towne in the fieldes, to which place the Centurions and souldiers resorting from Nouesium were bought, and corrupted to a villanie neuer heard of before, that a Roman armie shoulde sweare allegiance to strangers, and for a pledge of so wicked a part, either kill their Lieutenants, or deliuer them prisoners. Vocula, albeit many counsailed him to withdraw, chusing rather to sticke to it manfully, then cowardly to flee, called an assembly, and spake to them in this maner.

“ I neuer at any time spake vnto you, either more carefull for you, or carelesse
 “ for my selfe. That my destruction is purposed I am well contented to heare, and
 “ accept death in these troubles as an ende of my miseries. Of you I am ashamed, and
 “ you do I pittie, not bicause any martiall exploit, or matter of armes is intended
 “ against you; for that were agreeing to a souldiers profession, and according to the
 “ lawe of the field at an enemies hand: but bicause Classicus with your hands hopeth
 “ to fight with the Romans, and abuseth your simplicitie with the goodly oath and
 “ imaginary Empire of France. * Are we so farenow fallen, not onely from our fortune
 “ and courage, but euen from our ancient precedents too? For how oft did the
 “ Roman Legions chuse rather to die then to yeelde one inch of ground to the enemy?
 “ Our allies haue many times suffred their citties to be razed, themselues, their
 “ wiues & their children to be consumed to ashes, without gaining other reward, saue
 “ only to keepe their faith & their fame. The Legions at Vetera support with all patience
 “ hunger & siege, and yeeld neither for fear nor faire words. We, besides men and
 “ armour, and a campe strongly fortified, haue prouision and vittrailes sufficient for a
 “ long warre, if neede were. Money lately we had, not onely for pay, but also to serue
 “ for donatiue too: which whether you list to accept as comming from Vespasian, or
 “ from Vitellius, sure both waies it came from a Roman Emperour. If you do it for
 “ feare of the battaile (albeit it be no admittable reason in you who haue foiled so oft
 “ ten at Gelduba, at Vetera, and so many times ouerthrowen the enemy) we haue
 “ trenches, and walles, and waies to prolong till more strength and supplie come
 “ from the cuntries about vs. If it be for displeasure at me, you haue other Lieutenants
 “ and Tribunes, nay Centurion or common souldier, make your choise of anie
 “ so he be a Roman to leade you. Let neuer for shame so prodigious a thing be bru-
 “ ted throughout the whole world, that Ciuilis and Classicus shoulde innade Italie,
 “ hauing a gard of Romans attendant. What if the Germans and Frenchmen should
 “ leade toward the wals of the cittie? will you fight against your owne natie soyle,
 “ and sharpen your speares against the wombe of your mother? The onely conceite
 “ of so great an impietie striketh an horrour into my mind. Shall Tutor of Triers haue
 “ watch and ward as a Prince? shall a Barauian giue you the signe of the battell? will
 “ you be caried about for supplements to the German regiments? and what end will
 “ you finde of your treason? when the Roman Legions shall march out against you,
 “ what shall become of you then, but of fugitiues to be fugitiues againe, and traitors
 “ of traitors, betweene your old oath and your new an abomination to the gods and
 “ to men? O thou most mightie and mercifull Iupiter, whom with so many triumphes
 “ these eight hundreth and twenty yeeres we haue adored and worshipped: and thou
 “ Romulus the founder and father of the cittie, I pray and most humbly beseech you,
 “ that if it be not your heauenly pleasures, that vnder my hand and gouernment this
 campe

* Aded nos, si fortuna in presens virtusq; deseruit, etiam vetera exempla deficiunt?

campe should be kept vncorrupted and cleane, yet at least you will not permit it to be polluted, and stained by Tutor and Classicus: and that it would please you to inspire to the Roman souldier, either a minde to follow honourable courses, or els a speedie and harmelesse repentance. The oration was diuersely taken, as of men diuersely affected betweene feare, hope, and shame. After the speech Vocula withdrew himself, and consulting vpon his end was by his freedmen and bondmen staied from voluntarie preuenting of a most shamefull death: for Classicus sent by and by AEmilius Longinus a fugitiue of the first Legion to dispatch that piece of seruice. As for the Lieutenants, ^c Herennius, and ^c Numisius, it seemed sufficient to put them in prison. Then Classicus assuming the markes and ornaments of the Roman gouernors, came into the campe: and albeit he were hardened to all kinde of desperate mischiefe, yet would not his vtterance then serue him any further, but barely to recite the words of the oath. All that were present sware fidelitie to the Empire of France. Then he aduanced the murtherer of Vocula to a higher place, and the rest he rewarded, ech according to the lewde seruice they did.

^c Herennius
Lieutenant of the
first Legio, whose
standing campe
was at Roma, and
Numisius of the
sixtenth at Ne-
posium.

XXIII. *Tutor bringeth Coleyn and all vpper Germanie to the oath of France.
The Legions of Vetera surrender the place to Ciuilis with con-
dition only of sauing their liues: which not with-
standing is not performed.*

AFTER these things Classicus and Tutor diuided charges. Tutor with a strong power lay about Coleyn, and brought both them, and all the souldiers which lay vpon the vpper bancke of the Rhene, to the same oath, slaying the Tribunes at Magontiacum, and driuing away the Camp-master which refused to swear. Classicus suborned certaine of the lewdest companions of those which had yeelded themselves, commanding them to goe to Vetera, and there to proclaime pardon to all those, that would submit themselves to follow the present course: otherwise to looke for no hope but sworde, and famine and all extremities. They which were sent vsed also their owne example as a motiue vnto them. On the one side the respect of their loyaltie, on the other their present necessitie, distracted the persons besieged, betweene the two courses of honour and shame. While they delayed to resolute, their foode failed them both vsuall and vnusuall: they had eaten their mules and horses, and other creatures, which being otherwise abhorred and loathed, hunger had made sauourie and sweete: and lastly feeding of branches, and sprigs, and pulling of grasse which grew in the wals, they were a patterne of miserie and patience, till such time as sending Embassadors to Ciuilis for life, they stained their honorable actions with a shamfull and dishonorable end. Neither was their petition admitted, before they sware fidelitie to France. Then he graunted them life, reseruing the spoile of the campe to himselfe, and appointed keepers to stay the money, the seruants, and stuffe, and others to conduct the souldiers emptie away. About fise miles off the Germans lying in ambush, rose sodainely and set vpon them vnawares: such as were most valiant and made resistance were slaine where they stood: many were cut off in the flight, the rest recouered the campe. Whereupon Ciuilis made complaint and rebuked the Germans as hauing wickedly broken their faith: whether it was but a countenance of his, or else hee could not bridle them in their fury it is not assuredly knowen. When the campe was ransacked they set it on fire, and all the men that escaped in the field, were burned therein.

XXIIII. *Ciuilis*

XXIIII. *Civilis vpon performance of his vow cutteth his bearde. Of Velleda queene of the Bructerians. Two Legions of them which forsooke Vocula and yeelded themselves to Cladius, namely the sixteenth and the first, the one from Nouesium, the other from Bonna their standing camps, are by commandement transported to Triers.*

*2 Tac. de morib.
Germ. Alijs Ger-
manorum populi
vitiis rari &
privata cuiusq;
audentia apud
Catos in consen-
sum vertit, ut pri-
mam adoleuerint,
crimen barbarum
summittere, nec
nisi hoste caeso ex-
mere vocatum ob-
ligatumq; virtuti
vra habitum.*

CIVILIS vpon a barbarous vow when first he entred warre with the Romans, suffred his yellow haire to grow long without barbing, and now, as vpon ^a accomplishment thereof caused it to be cut, when the slaughter of the Legions was perfourmed: and it was reported, that hee set vp as markes certaine of the captiues, for his little sonne to shoote and darte at in sport. Neuerthelesse neither did he sweare, nor caused any Batauiian to take the oath of Fraunce, trusting in the strength and assistance of the Germans, and if there should happen hereafter contention to grow with the French about the Empire, accounting himselfe both of more name and abilitie. Mummius Lupercus the Lieutenant of a Legion among other presents was sent to Velleda, a virgin of the Bructerian nation, and queene ouer many cuntreyes: for so the olde maner of the Germans is, to beleue many of their women to be prophetesses, and so, superstition increasing, goddeses. And at that time the autoritie of Velleda was growen in more reputation, by reason that shee had tolde before hande the Germans should prosper, and the Roman Legions should be destroyed. But Lupercus was slaine in the way: a few Centurions and Tribunes French borne were reserued as a pledge of alliance & amitie. The standing camps of the cohorts, wings and Legions, were ouerthrowen and burned, those onely excepted which were at Magontiacum and Vindonissa. The sixteenth Legion with the Auxiliaries, which at the same time yeelded themselves, was commanded to depart from Nouesium to Triers, and a day set downe, before which they should auoide the campe. The meane time was spent in sundrie cares. Some of the cowardliest were terrified with the late example of them which were slaine at Vetera, in their issuing out; the better sort blushed for shame, to thinke of the infamous and dishonorable iourney, whom they must follow for guides, and how all things should be at the simple pleasure and discretion of those, whom they had made Lords ouer their life and death: others without respect of dishonour packed about them money & such things as were of most price: others made readie their harnessse & buckled themselves to their weapons as though they were going to field. While they were thus musing, and casting their cards, the houre of remooue was come, more grieuous and dolefull then was imagined. For within the trench the deformitie of the spectacle was not so apparent: the field and the day discovered the shame, the images of the Emperours being plucked out of their places, the ensignes tied vp; whereas contrarily the French banners glistered and plaid on euerie hand: in summe a silent and sorrowfull troupe, and as it were a long funerall pompe. The conductor Claudius Sanctus augmented the indignitie, one eied, ill fauoured in countenance, and weaker in wit. The dishonour was doubled, when as the first Legion relinquishing their campe at Bonna, vpon the like commandement adioined themselves to the other: and the cuntreymen, that a little before quaked for feare at the verie name of a Roman, when the fame of the Legions captiuitie was noised, ran out of their houses, and fields from all quarters, to gaze and feede their eies with

so strange a sight. The Picentine wing could not endure the ioy, and insulting of the people, but neglecting as well the threats as the promises of Sanctus, turned to Magontiacum; and meeting by chance in the way Longinus the murtherer of Vercula with their darts flew him for a beginning of future amends. The Legions went forward in their purposed iourney, and sate downe before the wals of Triers.

XXV. *An embassage of the Tencterians to them of Coleyn.
Coleyn yeeldeth to Ciuilis and Velueda vpon reasonable composition.*

CIVILIS and Classicus puffed vp with prosperous successe made a question, whether they shoulde permit the cittie of Coleyn to bee sacked by their souldiers. Their naturall inclination to crueltie and couetousnes drew them that way, but the pollicie of warre was against it, and especiallie the opinion of clemencie needfull in those which are to found a new Empire: the remembrance also of a priuate benefite made Ciuilis more tractable toward them, bicause in the very beginning of the troubles taking his sonne in their towne they committed him to honourable custodie. Notwithstanding the nations beyond the Rhene enuied the riches, and growing of the citie, and iudged there could be no end of war, vnlesse that towne were either made a common habitation for all Germans indifferently, or else razed to the ground, and so the Vbij also dispersed. Wherefore the Tencteri, a people onely seuered from them by the riuer, sent an embassage, with instruction to declare their charge in the common councell of Coleyn, which one of the most imperious among the embassadours vttered in this peremptorie maner. We thanke our gods and yours, and Mars chiefe of al gods, that you are returned into the corps and communitie, and name of Germanie; and we reioice for your sakes, that you shall at length liue as freemen among freemen. For hitherto the Romans haue shut both water and lande, and in a maner the very heauen it selfe betweene you and vs to hinder our conferring and meeting, or else which is more contumelious to martiall men, that we should neuer haue access to your cittie but vnarmed, and naked almost and that garded and paying a toll. But now, to the ende that this mutuall league of alliance and friendship may stand & continue for euer, we require of you to pull downe the walles of your towne, the bulwarkes of your bondage, for euen wilde beasts shut vp forget their accustomed valour and vertue. Next we require you to kill all the Romans within your territorie: libertie and Lords cannot dwell together. Then to bring out all their goods and diuide them in common, that no man should hide any thing, or seeke to seuer his cause from the rest. Moreouer that it may be indifferent both for vs and you, as it was in times past to our fathers, to conuerse and inhabite vpon both sides of the riuer. As nature hath communicated the day and the night to all men, so hath she laied open all landes of the world to valiant mindes. Resume your ancient customes and lawes, laying aside all your effeminate pleasures, by which meanes, more then with armes the Romans subdue nations and countreies. So shall you be a people vncorrupt, without admixtion of foreigne maners or bloud: so shall you forget seruitude, and either liue in libertie, or be lords ouer others. The Agrippinenes taking a time to deliberate: seeing neither future feares would permit them to yeeld to the conditions, nor their present estate plainly to refuse them, made answere in this maner. We haue taken, you see, the first opportunitie of recouering our libertie, perchance with more haste then good speede, that we might be ioyned with you, and the rest of the Germans our kinsmen:

kinemen: but seeing the Roman armies do gather of all sides against vs, it is meeter
 and safer to strengthen, then to pull downe the wals of our cittie. As for strangers,
 Italians or other, which liued amongst vs, either they are slaine in the warres, or fled
 home to their countreies. To them which be ancient inhabitants amongst vs, and
 are lincked with vs in mariage, and to their ofspring, this countrey is their owne na-
 ture soile: neither do we thinke you so vnreasonable as to wish vs to kill our parents,
 our brethren, or children. For taxe and rallage we acquite and discharge you for
 euer: you shall passe and repasse without all impeachment, but onely in the daie
 time, and vnarmed, till our rawe and newe amitie be ioyned, and confirmed by con-
 tinuance and custome. Ciuilis and Velleda shall be arbiters: to their knowledge we
 referre the cause, and the conclusion of the whole treatie. The Tencteri being
 thus in part pacified, embassadours were sent to Ciuilis and Velleda with presents,
 who obteyned all things as they of Coleyn desired: onely they were not admitted
 to haue access, or speech with Velleda, nor suffered to see hir, for more keeping of
 state, and to maintaine a more reuerend conceit in the harts of the people. She was
 lodged in a high tower, and one of hir kinred appointed to carie as from a goddesse
 hir oracles and answers.

XXVI. *The Bethasij, Tungri and Neruij yeeld
 to Ciuilis.*

CIVILIS thus strengthened with new increase of confederats, resolved to as-
 sociate the cities adioining, or to warre against them if they resisted. So he
 tooke in the Sunici, and composed their able men into cohortes: but as hee
 purposed to haue passed further, Claudius Labeo with a raw companie of Bethasij,
 Tungri, and Neruij, hauing seised vpon the bridge of the Mose, and trusting to the
 aduantage of the place, opposed himselfe and stopped his passage. The euent of the
 skirmish was doubtfull in the straites, till the Germans swimming ouer the riuer
 came vpon Labeoes backe: and withall Ciuilis, whether vpon a bold venture, or
 vpon a set match, rushed into the midst of the Tungri, and with a lowd voice pro-
 tested, that the war was not vndertaken to that end, that the Batauians and Treueri
 should be soueraine lords ouer al other nations: Far be al such arrogancie (quoth he)
 from our thought: onely receiue vs as your good friends and allies. Lo here for my
 part I commit my selfe to your hands, employ me as you list, either for a captaine or
 a common souldier. The common people was much mooued at these words, and
 put vp their swords, and Campanus and Iuuenalis chief men of the Tungrians yeel-
 ded the whole nation vnto him: Labeo before he was compassed in fled away. The
 Bethasij also and Neruij yeelded themselues: whom Ciuilis adioyning to his power
 became verie puissant and strong, all the cities either fearing, or fauouring him vo-
 luntarily.

XXVII. *Iulius Sabinus with his Lingones giueth battaile to the
 Sequani, and is ouerthrowen.*

IN the meane season Iulius Sabinus, breaking downe the monuments and records
 of the Roman alliance, tooke vpon him the stile and title of Cæsar, and led after
 him a huge and rude companie of his countrey folkes, the Lingones, against the
 Sequani, a state bordering vpon them, and faithfull to vs. Neither did the Sequani
 refuse to wage battaile; wherein fortune fauoured the better side, and the Lingones
 were

a *Xiphilus* eis
 ἀναμνησιν ἱστορίας
 καὶ τῶν, ἐκείνων
 τοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐννοεῖ
 ἰστορίας τῆς γυ-
 ναϊκῆς, καὶ πάλιν
 εἰς αὐτῆς δύο ἀν-
 τιστοιχίας ἐκείνων.
Plusar. ἐροῦμαι.
 setteth downe at
 large the whole
 story with many
 notable circum-
 stances.

41

▪ *Iosephus* *ad. s.*
7 ca. 11. differeth
from *Tacitus* in
some little cir-
cumstances, and
no doubt erreth;
as that *Cerealis*,
whom *ex. d. d. d.*
Caesar *Augustus* was
sent Lieutenant
into Britanny,
(*ἀρχὴν ἐπιστάτην*)
and in his way
finding the Ger-
mans and French
reunited, compo-
sed the matter.

b Sueton. Domit.
ca. 2. expeditionem
quoq; in Galliam
Germaniaq; neq;
necessariam. &
diffidensibus pa-
ternis amicis, in-
choavit (Domitia-
nus) tantum ut
fratri se. & operi-
bus, & dignatione,
adequaret.
c Vide annot.

146. 147.
d Some before
Cerealu, and some
after him, as it ap-
peareth in this
booke and the
next.

with

with mightie monarchies are vsually charged, sparing no spite of words, nor art to aggrauate matters against them; a factious person and apt to stirre troubles, and willingly heard of the multitude, by reason of his eloquence such as it was. But Iulius Auspex, one of the noblemen of Rheims, discoursing of the puissance of the Roman power, and the great commodities of peace, and affirming that warre might be commenced by cowardes, but must be fought with the hazard of the most valiant men; and that euen now the Roman Legions were vpon their backs, by this graue speech stayed them all: the wiser sort with respect of duety and faith, the yoonger of danger and feare. And so they commended the courage of Valentinus, but followed the counsaile of Auspex. It is certaine that the Treueri and Lingones had the worse audience in France, bicause in the comotion of Vindex they had sided themselves with Virginius. Many were discouraged by reason of the emulation that would ensue betweene the prouinces; what should be the head of the warre, from whence should lawe and souerainty be deriued; and if they did conquere which should be the seat-towne of the Empire. They were not yet conquerours, and yet were they at discord brawling about the preface: some alleaging their treaties & ancient leagues, some their riches and present strength, and some their antiquitie. Whereupon the whole counsell detesting the future confusion, affirmed and ratified the present estate. Letters also were written vnto the Treueri in the name of the common counsell of Fraunce to desist from armes, whilest pardon might be easily obtayned, and many would become suters in their behalfe if they repented. But Valentinus refused the curtesie, and at his returne stopped the eares of his city against this good motion, being a man rather plentifull in orations and speeches, then carefull for other prouision of war.

* Vindex aspi-
cimus, petere.

XXIX. *The one and twentieth Legion surnamed Rapax commeth into Germanie. Sextilius Felix with his cohorts ouerthroweth Tutor and the Treueri. Valentinus returning from the Diete stirreth up the war againe. The two Legions transported from Nouesium and Bonna to Triers depart to the Mediomatrici.*

IN like maner neither did the Treueri, nor Lingones, nor the rest of the states that reuolted, cary themselves as the weight of the cause and the danger required: euen the captaines themselves conferred not counsailes together. But Ciuilis wandred about the wildes of Belgium to catch Claudius Labeo, or els to chase him out of the cuntrey: Classicus lay for the most part idle and lazie, and as it were took the fruition of his supposedly gotten kingdome. Tutor also slacked to make himselfe strong vpon the vpper bancke of the riuer, and with garrison to possesse the passages and heights of the Alpes, whilest in the meane time the one and twentieth Legion brake in from Vindonissa, and Sextilius Felix, with the Auxiliarie cohorts by the way of Rhoetia: vnto whom a wing of horsemen called Singulares (who marching at the first by Vitellius appointment toward Italie reuolted afterward to Vespasian) adioyned themselves. Their captaine was Iulius Briganticus Ciuilis sisters sonne, mortally hating his vnckle, and hated againe: as commonly the enmities of nearest kinsfolkes, if once they fall out, are most dispitefull and deadly. Tutor increased his power consisting of Treueri with a fresh supply of Vangiones, Caracates, and Triboci, and that which added most strength with olde experienced Legionarie

narie souldiers, both footemen and horse, some corrupted with hope, and others awed with feare: who at the first killed a cohort sent before by Sextilius Felix, and anone when the Roman captaines and armies approched, redeeming their former fault fled ouer to them, and were followed by the Triboci, Vangiones and Caracates. So Tutor being left alone with his Treueri eschewing Magontiacum fled to Bingium, trusting vpon the strength of the place, because he had broken downe the bridge of the riuer Naua: but Sextilius with his cohortes following his footesteps, and finding a forde discried his power, and ouerthrew it. This discomfiture vterly discouraged the Treueri: and the common people casting their weapons away returned to their husbandry. And certaine of the nobility that they might seeme to be foremost in laying hostilitie aside, fled to those citties for refuge which had not broken with the Romans. The Legions, which, as before we declared, went by commaundement from Nouesium and Bonna to Triers, voluntarily resumed the oath to Vespasian. These things were done in the absence of Valentinus: who at his returne, in a desperate furie and rage stirred the coales, and kindled the fire anew. Whereupon the Legions got them away to the Mediomatrici, a state in league with the Romans: and Valentinus & Tutor perswaded the Treueri to take vp their weapons againe, and goe to the fielde, hauing first killed Herennius and Numisius the Lieutenants, to the intent that being without all hope of pardon, they might bee more fastly vnited together in their wicked conspiracie.

XXX. *Petilius Cerealis ouerthroweth the Treueri, taketh Valentinus aliue, adioyneth the two Legions from the Mediomatrici, and maketh an oration to the Treueri.*

THIS was the state of the warre, when Petilius Cerealis came to Magontiacum, and by his presence rayfed great expectation, and hope of our side. Cerealis himselfe was desirous of the battaile, and hauing a better grace sometime to contemne the enemies, then alwaies to beware them, with lustie couragious wordes he inflamed his souldier, as purposing, so soone as he could ouertake the enemies without delay to ioine issue in fielde. A supply of souldiers sent out of Fraunce hee turned home againe, willing them to signifie so much to the rest in his name, that the Roman Legions sufficed for the defence of the Roman Empire: and that all our good friends and allies should returne to their peaceable businesse, without further care, assuring themselves that the warre, now that the Romans personally vnder-tooke it, was as good as already dispatched. That increased the obedience of the French: for hauing receiued their men backe againe, they supported more easily all taxes and tributes, and were the more readie to performe all points of their duty, because they saw their helpe was not needed. But Ciuilis and Classicus, whenas they heard of the ouerthrow of Tutor, the slaughter of the Treueri, and the good successe euerie where of their enemies, al in a fright and haste seeke to vnite their dispersed powers, sending messengers in the meane time to Valentinus one after another, warning him to take heede to the maine chance, and not rashly to venture and hazard the battel. With so much the more expedition Cerealis dispatched to the Mediomatrici, lying nearer vpon the enemy, certaine to leade the two Legions thence to assaile them on that side: and assembling all the souldiers at Magontiacum, and the power which he had brought with him ouer the mountaines, himselfe marched forward, and at the third remooue came to Rigodulum, a place naturally strong by reason of the high situation, and the riuer Mosella closing it in: where Valentinus

lentinus with a great power of Treueri was encamped, and had made it stronger by arte, casting trenches and ditches about it, and mightie huge stones to hinder the passage. But these fortifications terrified the Roman captaine nothing at all, but boldly he had the footmen breake thorow, and appointed his battell of horsemen to clime vp the mountaine, despising the enemy, whom he knew to be raw, and vnskillfull in seruice, & not to haue that aduantage by the difference of place, that himselfe had by the difference of men. At the going vp of the hill some little stay was made, vntill the enemies had spent their arrowes & dartes: then coming to handie strokes, they were driuen downe headlong, and tumbled one ouer another, as it were stones at the fall of a building: and part of the horsemen fetching about by easier ascents tooke many of the chiefe nobilitie of Belgium prisoners, and amongst others Valentinus Generall that day of the field. the next day Cerealis entred the town of Triers. The soldiers were extremely desirous to raze the city, alleaging, that here Classicus, here Tutor was borne: here were the men through whose wicked conspiracie the Legions were besieged & slain. what had poore Cremona deserued so greatly, as to be rooted out of the body of Italy, bicause it differred the victory onely one night? here in the confines of Germanie stood the seat-towne of rebellion entier, & triumphing with the spoiles, & slaughter of our armies & generals. As for the spoile he might at his pleasure dispose of to the Princes behoofe, they could be contented with the burning, & ruines of that rebellious colony, to requite therby in some part the destruction of so many camps. Cerealis for feare of infamy, if he shuld be thought to noose his souldiers in licentiousnes & crueltie, repressed their anger, and they obeyed, being become now they had left off ciuill warre, of more modest behauiour also in forreine. Then the miserable and pitifull spectacle of the Legions, which came from the Mediomatrici, drew mens minds to the consideration thereof. Vpon the guilt of their offence they stoode with a sad and sorrowfull countenance, casting their eies down to the ground, no ioyful greeting when the armies met, nor answering ought to those that sought to encourage and comfort them, but hiding themselues in their tents, not abiding to looke on the light: not so much amazed with danger or feare, as with the shame and discredit. and euen the conquerours were astonished at the sight, who not daring to speake, begged their pardon with silence and teares, till such time as Cerealis with comfortable words reuiued their spirits; affirming that those things, which indeed came to passe through the mutinousnesse of the souldiers, or the dissention of the leaders, or the malice of the enemies, were but fatall mischances, which could not be escaped: and therefore that day they should account the first both of their seruice, and oath: their former facts neither the Prince, nor he would remember. Then were they receiued into the same campe, and a proclamation made throughout all the bands, that no man in contention or anger should obiekt to any of them their misdeeds or mishaps. Then calling the Treueri and Lingones to an assembly, he spake vnto them in this wise. I was neuer practised in the arte of speaking: my profession is armes, and with armes I haue made good prooffe of the vertue of the Romans. But because words preuaile so much with you, and I see you esteeme good and euill, not by their owne natures, but by the speeches of factious persons, I thought it expedient to say some thing, which now that the warre in a manner is finished may be more behouefull for you to heare, then for vs to speake. The ^a Romans, their Captaines and Leaders, entred your countrey and the rest of France, not pricked by any desire of theirs, but requested thereto by your predecessors, at what time ciuill dissensions had tired and ruined them, and the Germans called in by one side brought both into thraldome. How many battailes wee haue fought

fought against the Cimbri and Teutones, what paines our armies haue taken, and with what successe we haue handled our selues in the German warres for your sakes, it is notoriously knowen; neither do we therefore with so much expense of money and men garde the Rhene for the safety of Italie, but lest some other Ariouistus should passe and conquere the kingdome of Fraunce. Or do you thinke your selues better beloued of Ciuilis and the Batauians, and the Germans ouer the Rhene, then your fathers and grandfathers were of their predeceffours? the same causes still are remayning, and so will be for euer, to mooue the Germans to passe into France; to wit, satisfiing of their pleasures and lusts, avarice, and desire of changing seate, that leauing their mires and deserts, they may take possession of this fruitfull countrey, and you the inhabitants thereof. yea but libertie and glorious shewes are pretended. Where was euer any, I pray you, that sought to enthrall or vsurpe ouer others, but he cloaked his purposes with such goodly titles? France neuer was without petty tyrans and wars, till yee came vnder our iurisdiction. We, albeit we haue beene often prouoked, haue put that onely as conquerours vpon you, wherby peace might be maintained. For neither peace can bee maintained without armes, nor armes without wages, nor wages without tribute: all other things are alike to vs both. you commonly gouerne our Legions, you are the Presidents of these and other prouinces, no prerogatiue is kept from you, or reserued for vs. Againe, they which dwell farre off, feeble the commoditie alike of a good Prince, whereas tyrannes oppresse most the nearest. As you endure and support with patience a barren yeare, if it happen, and vnseasonable weather, and such other defects of nature; euen so tolerate a little and beare with the riotous life or avarice of gouernours. Faults will be so long as there be men: but neither are they continuall, and amends is commonly made by better which follow. Vnlesse peraduenture you hope for a more moderate, or easier gouernment vnder the raigne of Tutor and Classicus, or that with lesse tribute, then now is paid, armies can be maintained to hold out the Germans and Britans. For if the Romans, which the gods defend, should be dispossessed, what els can ensue but wars of nations against nations, and the confusion of the whole world. This frame is the workmanship of eight hundreth yeares, good fortune, and discipline, which cannot be dissolued without the destruction of the dissoluers; but your danger, which haue gold and riches the chiefeft causes of warre, of all is the greatest. Therefore embrace you peace, and loue that cittie whereof both you and we are members alike. You haue prooued both fortunes: let them be a warning vnto you to chuse rather subiection with safetie, then rebellion with ruine. With this speech he settled their minds, and lightened their harts, who feared a heauier doome.

XXXI. *Ciuilis and Classicus write to Cerealis.*

AT the time that the Roman army was within Triers, Ciuilis and Classicus sent letters to Cerealis. The contents were, that Vespasian was dead, although the Postes concealed the matter: that Rome and Italie were consumed and wasted with inward warre. As for Mutianus and Domitian they were nothing else, but vaine names without forces: if Cerealis list vndertake the Empire of France, it were his best course, and they would not be against it, contenting themselves with their owne citties and confines, or if battaile pleased him better, euen that they would not refuse. To these points Cerealis answered nothing to them, but sent the messenger, that brought the letters, away to Domitian.

XXXII. *Ciuis with his confederates ouerthrowen by Cerealis at Triers.*

IN the meane season the enemies began to march, and approached on euery side in feuerall companies: whom Cerealis permitting to ioine, was blamed by many for suffering them to vnite, with whom he might haue fought single, and defeated them easily being diuided. The Roman army cast a ditch and trench about their campe, in the which they were before vnadvisedly lodged without any defence. Among the captaines of the other side there was diuersitie of opinions, and the matter debated both waies. Ciuis thought it expedient to stay for the Germans comming which dwelt ouer the Rhene, the terrour of which nations would treade vnder foote the Roman powers: as for the Frenchmen it mattered not much what way they went, being nought else but a pray to the conquerours; and yet the strength of France, the Belgians, had either openly declared for them, or at least secretly wished them well. Contrarily Tutor affirmed, that by delay the Romans would growe and increase, so many whole hostes comming in from euery side, one Legion being already transported out of Britannie, others sent for out of Spaine, and many Legions at hande out of Italie, not of rawe souldiers, but olde and well expert in warre: as for the Germans they looked for, what were they else but a kinde of vnprofitable troubles of a campe, out of all awe and obedience to superiors, that would not be commanded nor ruled, but doe all as they listed themselues? Now for money and gifts, the onely meanes to corrupt the Germans, the Romans had more abundance, and no man was so hasty to fight, but would rather chuse quietnesse then danger with the same hire. Whereas if they would presently fight, Cerealis had no other Legions as yet, but onely the remnants of the German army entangled with an oath to the Empire of France. And moreouer this their late vnlooked for successe against Valentinus, and his rude vntrained company, would be a baite vnto them and their Generall to further rashnesse, and therefore they would without doubt venture againe, and so fall into the handes not of an vnskillfull youth, better seene in words and babble, then armes and militare feates, but of Ciuis and Classicus; at the very sight of whom the enemies would tremble, calling to remembrance their former feares, and flightes, and famines, and how oft they had beene taken and pardoned their liues. Neither doe the Treueri and Lingones keepe in with the Romans now vpon loue and goodwill, but for feare: which take ye away and they will resume their weapons againe. Classicus approuing the opinion of Tutor decided the controuersie, and forthwith they proceede to execution. The middle battell was assigned to the Vbij and Lingones, on the right side stood the Batauians cohorts, on the left the Bructeri and Tencteri: in this array partly from the mountaines and part¹ betweene the way and the riuer Mosella they assailed our army so sodainly, that Cerealis, lying abroad that night out of the campe, had word brought to his chamber and bed all at one instant, that the battell was begun, and his men ouerthrowen, rating at the first their dastardlinesse that brought in the newes, vntil with his owne eies he sawe the whole message clearly confirmed, the campe of the Legions broken vp and entred into, the horsemen defeated, the bridge ouer Mosella in the midst of the towne possessed by the enemy. In which confusion Cerealis behauing himselfe without all feare, with his owne handes drew backe them which fled away, and manfully, albeit vnarmed among so many weapons, with his fortunate rashnesse, and the assistance of some valiant souldiers comming in, recovered the bridge, and left

left a chosen company of men to garde it. Then returning to the campe he founde the bandes of the Legions, which were taken at Bonna and Nouesium, disbanded and scattered, few souldiers at their ensignes, and the standers almost circumuented. Whereupon being full of indignation and wrath, You forsake not (quoth he) Hordeonius or Vocula, you can alleadge no falsehood or treason in me: neither euer did I commit any act that needed excuse, saue onely in affirming you had forgotten your oath to France, and remembred your allegiance to the Roman Empire. I shall, and so am contented to be numbred with Numisius and Herennius, that all your Lieutenants may be saied to haue died either by the handes of their owne souldiers or else of the enemy. Go tell Vespasian, or which is nearer Ciuilis and Classicus, that you haue left your Generall in the field: Legions shortly will come, doubt ye not, which shall neither suffer me to be long vnreuenged, nor you unpunished. The accusation was true, and the Captaines and Tribunes spake, and vrged to the same purpose. So they rallied and made head by cohorts and bandes, for the whole battell could not be displaid, partly because the enemy was vpon them, and partly by reason of their tents and stufte, which hindred them greatly fighting within the trenches. Tutor and Classicus and Ciuilis ech in their seuerall quarters animated their men to fight, the Frenchmen for libertie, the Batavians for glorie, and the Germans for spoile: and all went with the enemy, till the one & twentieth Legion knitting together in a more open place then the rest, valiantly receiued the aduersaries charge; and recharging by and by draue them from their ground. It was not without the speciall helpe of the gods, that our enemies being victorious so sodainly altered their minds, and turned their backes. They affirmed afterwarde the sight of the cohorts terrified them, which at the first ioyning being defeated vnited again in the hill tops, and seemed a new supply in their sight. But indeed the chiefe impediment of their victorie was, that they left of to deale with the enemy, and quarrelled foolishly among themselues for the spoile. Cerealis as he had almost vndon all by negligence, so by diligence and constancie he recouered it againe, and following his fortune tooke the same day, and razed the enemies campe.

¹ Betweene the way and the riuer] Tacitus might wel in this place, after the example of the most approued story-writers, haue set vs downe a more plaine and particular chorography of the place wherein this battaile was fought, of whether side of the riuer the Roman campe stode, and how in respect of the towne: for as it is written, it is, in my fansie, hard to conceiue, not onely to vs now, but euen to them for whose vse he wrote it, vnlesse wee will suppose that euery common man that liued in Rome in those times knew this *via*, which hee telleth vs of here, and such other petty matters in the site of Triers necessarie for the full conceiuing of the place. beside that perchance, alter the site as you list, some obiections may be picked out of the text here hardly answerable.

XXXIII. *They of Coleyn kill the Germans which they finde in their towne: and cut a cohort of Ciuilis lying at Tolbiacum in pieces. The Caninefates fight prosperously against the fleete of Britanny, and Ciuilis against some of Cerealis horsemen.*

THE souldier without any long intermission was straightwaies called to a newe seruice. They of Coleyn requested their helpe, and offred to surrender the wife and sister of Ciuilis, and the daughter of Classicus, which were left with them as pledges of mutuall amitie, and in the meane season slew the Germans which lay dispersed in their towne: wherupon growing into extreme feare they had iust cause to crie for aide, before the enemies gathering new strength should resume courage, or prosecute the reuenge. For Ciuilis also purposed thitherwarde, beside other

competent forces, vpon confidence principally of his most couragious cohort composed of Chauci and Frisij, which was not present in the ouerthrowe, and laie at Tolbiacum in the territorie of Coleyn, but he was diuerted from that determination by a sorrowfull message, that the cohort was massacred by the fraude of the Agrippinenses, who when the Germans had filled themselves with wine and good cheere, and so were laied to sleepe, shut vp the doores, put fire to their lodging, and burned them aliue: and withall Cerealis was come himselfe with speede to relieue them. Moreouer another feare troubled Ciuilis minde not a little, least the fourteenth Legion together with the nauie of Britannie should waste and spoile the Barauian border that lyeth vpon the Ocean. But Fabius Priscus the Lieutenant, hauing crossed the seas at the thortest cut, led forth the Legion by land into the coasts of the Neruij and Tungri; and those countries yeelded themselves to the Romans. As for the nauie, the Caninesates venturously made out against it, and tooke or suncke the greater part of the ships: and the same Caninesates defeated a multitude of Neruij, voluntarily gathered together to fight in fauour of the Romans. Classicus also against certaine horsemen, which Cerealis sent before to Nouesium, skirmished prosperously. Which small but often losses did dimme and diminish the glory of the victorie lately obtained.

XXXIIII. *The sonne of Vitellius is slaine. Antonius Primus discontented saileth from Rome to Vespasian lying at Alexandria.*

ABOUT the same time Mutianus commaunded the sonne of Vitellius to be slaine, pretending that a perfect vnion could not grow, vnlesse all seedes of warre were vtterly rooted out. Moreouer he would not permit that Antonius Primus should be assumed into Domitians traine in the voiage of France, hauing him in ielousie, by reason of the souldiers loue towards him, and bicause of the mans hautie proudnature, who could not abide any equal, much lesse a superior. So Antonius mal-content went to Vespasian, who receiued & intertained him in good sort, albeit not according to his expectation. The merits of the man, by whose conduct doubtlesse the war was consummate & ended, distracted him one way, & Mutianus letters another: and withall the rest put forward, inueying against him as an insolent and intolerable person, ioyning thereto the faults of his former life. And he for his part by his arrogant behauour ceased not to prouoke displeasure, odiously inculcating at euery worde, what things he had done, and how greatly he had deserved of the cause, despising the rest as men of no seruice in warre, and Cæcina as a dishonoured captiue, and yeelded person. Whereupon by little and little he began to be in lesse credit, and lightlier esteemed of the Prince, notwithstanding outwardly he countenanced him as before.

XXXV. *Certainemiracles which happened whilest Vespasian staid at Alexandria attending for a good vvinde, and a seasonable time of the yeere.*

*Suet. Vesp. c. 7.
auctoritas & quasi
maiestas quedam,
ut sc. inopinato &
adhuc nouo prin-
cipi deerat, hec
quoque accessit:
e plebe quidam
luminibus arba-
nti, item alii de-
bituræ, &c.*

IN those monethes which Vespasian staid at Alexandria, attending the ordinarie sommer winds, and a sure season by sea, many miracles happened, whereby the speciall fauour of the gods and their good will towards Vespasian was euidently signified. A certaine poore blinde man of Alexandria, known in all the towne

towne by reason of his infirmitie, warned by the god Serapis, whom that superstitious nation adoreth aboue other gods, fell downe at the feete of Vespasian, and humbly besought him with teares to remedy his blindnesse, praying him to vouchsafe with the spittle of his mouth to wet his eyes round about. Another lame of a hande, by the commandement of the same god, praied Vespasian that it would please him to treade vpon him with his foote. Vespasian at the first skorned and reiected their suites. But when they persisted still instant vpon him, he began to doubt with himselfe, fearing on the one side discredit, and opinion of vanitie, on the other vpon the importunatenesse of the diseased, and speeches of flatterers, entring into some hope, at the last he willed the Phisicians to consider, whether such blindnesse and lamenesse were possible by humane helpe to be cured. The Phisicians according to their custome disputed the point diuersely; discourfing out of their learning, that it might be, the blinde mans eyes were not perished, but onely ouergrown with some skin, which being remooued the sight would returne: likewise the other mans limmes were dislocated, and might with force conueniently vsed be set right againe; and perchance it was the pleasure of the gods to restore them to health, and to chuse the Prince for the meanes of performing the same. finally if the remedie had good successe the glorie would redounde to the Prince that did it: if not the skorne should light vpon the poore patients that importuned him. Whereupon Vespasian supposing all things feaseable to his good fortune, and nothing now incredible, stepped forth with a merrie countenance, and in the presence of a great multitude, that stonde by attending the euent, did as they had desired him to doe, and presently the lame recouered the vse of his limmes, and the blinde of his eyes. They which were present at both affirme both to be true, euen nowe at this time when nothing is gotten by lying. Then Vespasian became more desirous to visite the sacred seate of the god, and there to aske counsaile concerning the affaires of the Empire; and commaunding all to voide, he entred into the temple, and as he was busie about his deuotion sodainly he saw behinde his backe, as he thought, one of the noblemen of Egypt named ^b Basilides, whom he knew to be sicke in his bed many daies iourney from Alexandria. Then he enquired of the priests whether Basilides that day had entred the church, and of others whom he met, whether he had beene seene in the cittie or no: at the last sending horsemen of purpose to see, hee found that the same moment Basilides was no lesse then foure score miles off: then he perceiued it was a diuine vision, and out of the name of ^c Basilides deriued an answer. The ^d originall of this god hath not hitherto beene declared by any of our writers. The Egyptian priests do report the historie thus: that Ptoleme the king; he which first of the Macedonians ordered the kingdome of Egypt, when he had walled the lately built cittie of Alexandria, erected temples, and instituted religious rites, sawe in his sleepe a faire goodlie yoong man much taller then the ordinarie stature, who warned him to send into Pontus of his most trustie friendes, and fetch thence his image; that it would bring great prosperity to the whole kingdom, and that place would especially flourish where the image should be receiued: and straightwaies the yoong man seemed to be caried vp into heauen out of his sight in a great flame of fire. Ptoleme mooued with so great and prodigious a miracle, declared his vision to the Egyptian priests, who are wont to interpret such things. But when he sawe them vtterly ignorant of Pontus and forraine matters, he asked Timotheus an Athenian one of the Eumolpidæ, whom he had sent for from Eleusis to haue the chiefe gouernment of matters of religion, what deuotion or what god that might be? Timotheus, conferring with some which had trauelled in Pontus,

^b Some thinke it to bee the Priest in mount Carmel mentioned ² Hist but the circumstances do hardly agree.

^c Deduced of *Basilius*.

^d The same story is recorded by *Plus lib. de Iside et Osiride*, with some difference in circumstances: and by *Eusebius* in his comment vpon *Dionysius* more agreeably to the tradition here.

tus,

tus, vnderstood that there was a cittie called Sinope, & neere vnto it a temple of ancient name among the inhabitants dedicated to Pluto: for there stood by it the image of a woman commonly named Proserpina. But Ptoleme, as the vsuall manner of kings is at the first prone to feare, and quickly returning to former securitie, as being more addickt to pleasures then to deuotions, neglected the matter and cast his cares elsewhere, vntill the same vision appeared in more terrible & vehement manner, denouncing destructiō peremptorily to him & his kingdom, if he performed not his cōmandements. Then Ptoleme sent an embassage with presents to Scydrothemis the king of Sinope, willing them at their departure to go by Delphos and aske counsaile of Apollo. Their iourney by sea was prosperous, & Apolles answer without ambiguitie; namely that they should goe forward, and bring with them away his fathers image, but leaue his sisters. When they came to Sinope, after they had presented their gifts to Scydrothemis, they declared at large their cōmission, & what the king their master requested at his hands. Scydrothemis was doubtful in minde: somtimes he feared the wrathful displeasure of the god, somtimes the threats of his subjects, who were vtterly against the granting of it, & somtimes he had a fauorable respect to the presents & promises of the embassadors. And so three yeers being spent in this negotiation, Ptoleme notwithstanding continued an earnest suiter sending more honorable embassadours, mo ships, & more store of gold. At the last a fearful and threatning vision appeared to Scydrothemis, charging him no longer to hinder that, which the god had determined: and as notwithstanding he protracted, many mischiefes befell him, and diuerse diseases, and the manifest wrath of the gods vexed him daily more and more. Then calling an assembly of all the people he declareth vnto them the will of the god, his owne and Ptolemes visions, and also the mischiefes which otherwise hung ouer their heads. The common people withstood the motion, enuying at Egypt, and fearing their owne state, and so beset the temple about: whereupon a strong report goeth, that the god without handes conueyed himselfe into the ships, which lay there at ancker: and, which is maruellous to be reported, sayling from thence thorow so vast seas, they arriued the third day at Alexandria. So a ^d temple was built answerable to the magnificence of the cittie, in a place called Rhacotis, where had beene a chappell of ancient time consecrated to ^e Sarapis and Isis. And this is the most famous opinion concerning the originall of the god and his transportation. I know that some hold he was brought from Seleucia a citie of Syria, in the raigne of Ptoleme the ^f thirde: others that the same Ptoleme was the transporter, but it was from Memphis a famous citie, in auncient times the glorie and strength of olde Egypt. The god himselfe many suppose to be ^g Aesculapius because hee cureth diseases; some Osiris the oldest god known of those nations; many Iupiter, as soueraine lord ouer all; most Pluto, by notes that manifestly appeare in him, or otherwise by collection gathering arguments of their coniecture.

^a Dionysius ap-
proueth. Εἰς τὰ Σι-
νοπίδα δὲ με-
γάλο μῆλα ἔστη
Χρῖς· πρὸς τὴν
κακορμίαν. ὅτι αὐ-
τὸν εἶπε Νῆος ὁ αἰ-
θερῶσι διὰ τὴν
ἐστ' ἄλλοις ὅτιοι.
^e Or rather to O-
siris and Isis, or
els we shall haue
a Sarapis before
Sarapis came,
which perchance
were an inconue-
nience.

^f Sumamed insip-
idus.
^g But whatoe-
uer god he was
indeed, the Egyp-
tians called him
vsually Sarapis. ὁ
δὲ ἐκ σινώπης ἐν-
ταῦς ὡσεὶ ἑμῶς
ἵκειν, saith Plut.

Li de Isis & Osiri-
de. ἀλλ' εἰς ἀλγε-
ὰς ῥῆσαι κομῶντες
τὸ πᾶν αἰγυπτι-
ακοῦ νομοῦ τὴν πᾶ-
ντος ἐκτίστατον
τοῦ σαράπι.

^a cap. 20.

The ordinary sommer winds. *Statos æstiuus flatibus dies & certamariis opperiens.*] *Certamariis* are from the fifteenth or seauen and twentieth of Maie (for Vegetius lib. 4. cap. 39. nameth both) to the fourteenth of September: from the fourteenth of September to the eleuenth of Nouember *nauigatio*, *sed incerta*: from the eleuenth of Nouember to the tenth of March *maria clausa*: and from thence to the fifteenth of Maie *nauigatio periculosa*. So that Vespasian, as it may seeme, set not out before the later end of Maie. Ioseph. 4. εἰλῶς. cap. 42. αὐτὸς ὑέτης (ὑέτης σπανός) εἰς τὴν ῥώμην ἀρμήτο λῆξαντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀνάγεται. That is, Vespasian set forward for Rome at the end of winter. Now whereas some learned men for *statos æstiuus flatibus dies*, reade *statos Etesiarum flatibus dies* it is anouerficht. for *Etesie* are contrary windes to the course. Tac. 2. Hist. and Cæsar. 3. ^a de bello civili: Ipse necessariō Etesijs tenebatur, qui Alexandria nauigantibus sunt aduersissimi venti, and to stay till they were past, that is till the later end of August, were to stay very neare the termes of *incerta nauigatio*, and be sure of *incertissima* before he could come home.

XXXVI. *The voyage of Domitian and Mutianus with their traine to Lions.*

BV T Domitian and Murianus before they came to the Alpes receiued the newes of the prosperous battaile against the Treueri: and for a sure prooffe of the victorie Valentinus the Generall of the enemies was withall deliuered into their hands, who in his aduersitie retained his former courage, declaring in countenance what stomacke once he had borne. He was permitted to speake for himselfe, onely that his nature and gifts might be seene, and so adiudged to die. At his execution one vpbraided vnto him that his cuntry was taken, then shall I die, quoth he, with greater contentment. Then Mutianus cunningly induced speech as proceeding from the present occasion, being indeed that which long time he had projected before: that seeing through the great ^a fauour and goodnesse of the gods the forces of the enemies were broken, it were vnseemly for Domitian, now that the war was almost at an ende, to intercept the glorie of another mans trauailes: if the case stood so that the state of the Empire or safetie of Fraunce were in danger, it were requisite that the Princes sonne should stand in the fildes: but to fight against the Caninefates and Batauians would be committed to commanders of lower degree; he himselfe should stay at Lions, & from thence in a reasonable distance make shew of the Princely puissance and state, neither venturing his person in matters of small moment, and if any greater should happen, readie at hand. The arte was vnderstood, but seeming not to vnderstand it was a point of obedience. And so they came to Lions; from whence it is thought that Domitian sent a secret message to Cerealis, to prooue his loyaltie, whether if he came thither in person hee would deliuer him his army and gouernment: what he intended thereby, to make war with his father, or to strengthen and fortifie himselfe against his brother when the time should serue, it is not certainly knowen: for Cerealis with good and discrete answer shifted off this fond and childish request. Domitian perceiuing his ^b youth contemned of the elder men, ceased from meddling any more in affaires of estate, euen of the meaner sort, and such as before vsually passed thorow his handes: withall, vnder colour of simplicity and modestie, sequestering himselfe to a close and solitarie kind of life, pretending desire of learning and loue of poetrie, thereby to couer his disposition, and auoide all emulation and cause of vnkindnesse with his brother, whose vnlike and far more curteous nature he construed contrarily.

^a Ioseph. 7. ad. 12.
c. 11. falsely and
flatteringly attri-
buteth the glorie
of finishing this
war to Domitian.

^b Being about
seuenteene or
eigheteene years
olde at that time.

THE

THE LIFE OF IVLIVS AGRICOLA WRITTEN BY CORNELIVS TACITVS.

TO report and deliuer to posterity the doings and demeanours of excellent personages, a thing vsuall in ancient times, euen our age, though carelesse otherwise of her owne, hath not omitted then and so oft whenas any great and eminent vertue hath ouergrown two vices, to little and great common wealths common alike, ¹ignorance of that which is good, and enuying at it. But in the daies of our ancestours as it was farre more easie and open to atchieue actions worthy of writing, so likewise their finest wits, without fauour or flattery, vpon an vpright conscience, without other reward, were led to record and chronicle the same: yea diuerse vpon confidence of their owne proceedings haue thought it no presumption to set downe in writing themselves their owne liues. Neither were Rutilius and Scaurus a whit more misliked, or lesse beleeeued for that: so certaine it is, that vertues are then valewed most rightly, whenas they doe growe in most plenty. But now it fareth with me farre otherwise: who hauing here to describe the life of a man already deceased, ²am first of force to beg pardon; a thing which indeede I would haue forborne, were I not to meete and fall in with a time so terrible, so capitall an enemy to vertue and honour. We reade that Arulenus Rusticus for praising Pætus ³Thrasea, and Herennius Senecio for commending Heluidius Priscus were both put to death: and beside the writers, ⁴against the bookes also seuerity was vsed, charge being giuen from authority to the Triumuiui, that the workes of those noble wits should be in the market place solemnely burned. Belike they supposed they could with that fire quench the speech of the people of Rome, abolish the liberty of the Senate, and suppress the common knowledge of whole mankind; expelling withall the ⁵professours of wisdom, and banishing all good learning and artes, lest any sparckle of honesty should by mischance remaine within view. For certaine we gaue great prooffe of our patience, and as our ancestours attained and sawe the highest pitch and perfection of liberty, so we of seruility, being depriued by intelligencers and spies of the commerce of hearing and speaking together: yea memory also, as well as tounge we had lost, had it lyen in our power as well to forget as it did to keepe silence. Now at the length our former spirits begin to reuiue: howbeit although Prince Nerua, straight at the first entry of this most happy age, hath wisely matched and mixed together two things heretofore insociable, the soueraynty of one with the liberty of all; and Traian his sonne, proceeding in the same traine, maketh the Empire dayly more supportable and easie; so that not onely we may hope and conceiue prayers for the publicke security, but see and touch the effect of our prayers assured and confirmed vnto vs; yet notwithstanding by prooffe it is found (such is the nature of mans imbecility) the remedies to be of slower operation, then were the diseases. And as our bodies waxe and gather strength by leysure, perish in a moment; so good wits and good learning are sooner cut downe then raised againe. For the sweetnesse and pleasing of idlenesse, and of doing nothing, creepeth into our senses: and sloathfulness which at the first we detest, by custome obtaineth our fauour and loue: to
omit

omit that in ^a fifteene yeeres, a great part of mans age, many haue beene wasted by casuall chances, the most sufficient and forward by the crueltie of the Prince, a few of vs onely remaining that haue ouerliued, as I may say, not onely others, but also our selues, hauing so many yeeres subducted out of the midst of our life, in which we proceeded in silence from yoong men to aged, from aged almost to the graue. And yet peradventure it shall not repent me to compose, though in rude and vnframed speech, a ^b memorie of our late thraldome, and a testimonie of our present felicities. In the meane while this treatise I haue specially vowed to the honour of Agricola my father in lawe; and therefore as being in discharge of duetie, and carying profession of kindnes, it shall either abroad purchase praise, or be couered at least with some curteous excuse.

^a For so long Domitian was Emperour.
^b By a memorie of their thraldome, he meaneth, as I suppose, his books of *Hist.* by a testimonie of their present felicitie, a volume intended by him of *Nero* and *Traian* time (as it appears in the preface of the historie) but neuer, I thinke, performed.

¹ Ignorance of that which is good, and enuying at it] As small objects of weak eyes, so small vertues are not conceiued of common capacities: but as there, a certaine quantity and bignesse is requisite, before the dull sense can be pearced; so here, before the vulgar conceite. Now as soone as vertue is growen out of ignorance, she entrencheth by and by into enuy, till mounting aloft, as the sunne being verticall abate all shadowes, so shee, in the top and height of perfection, all enuy.

² Am first of force to beg pardon] Belike then he stood in some feare. And of what? of falling in with those *seua and infesta virtutibus tempora*; ² vnder Domitian. but he wrote this treatise in Traians time, in *beatissimi seculi luce*, as he termeth it; and I see no sufficient cause, the times being safe wherein he wrote, to feare the times whereof he wrote. nor of that which followeth; We reade that Arulenus Rusticus &c. being things so lately done, and all in his memorie, and, as it may seeme, in his sight. for so he saith himselfe in the end of this booke. *Non Maurici, Rustique visus, nos innocenti sanguine Seneci perfudit.*

³ Thrasea] Put to death by Nero *virtutem ipsam exscindere concupiente*, saith ^b Tacitus: Heluidius Priscus by Vespasian for obeying no better the good counsaile was giuen him by Eprius Marcellus in the Senate some yeares before, and recorded by ^c Tacitus in these wordes. *Suadere etiam Prisco, ne supra principem scanderet, ne Vespasianum senem triumphalem, iuuenem liberorum patrem preceptis coerceret. Quomodo pessimis imperatoribus sine fine dominationem, ita quamvis egregijs modum libertatis placere.*

⁴ Against the booke also] ^d Clithenes king of the Sicyonians, purposing to make warre against the Argiui, forbade the verses of Homer to be redde or lunge in his city, because they conteyned almost euerywhere commendation of Argos and the Argiui; wisely foreseeing what great alteration a poeme so sweetly endited might worke in the mindes of his subiects, euen against the good of the state. And the Romans likewise among all instruments of innoation seeing none fitter to worke trouble in a settled state, then by way of libels and booke to sowe seedes of sedition and nouelty, appointed the Aediles and Triumuii capitales to foresee that no preiudice should grow to the common wealth by that meanes. In the second Punicke warre, new religions being brought in by the meanes of certaine lewde booke of prophetes, saith ^e Liue, *Incessanti grauius ab senatu Aediles, Triumuirique capitales, quod non prohiberent.* and as in this place of Tacitus the Triumuii had the charge, so in another of the same Tacitus we reade the Aediles. ^f *Libros Cremuij Cordi per Aediles cremandos censuere patres.* The vsuall and solemne place of this execution was in Comitio, a part of Forum Romanum, *Liui. lib. 40. Libri Numae de iure Pontificio in Comitio, igne a victimarij facto, in conspectu populi cremati sunt.*

⁵ The professours of wisdom] *Suetonius & Domitiano. h. Iunium Rusticum (interemiss Domitianus) quod Patri Thraseae, & i. Heluidij Prisci laudes edidisset, appellaretque eos sanctissimos viros, cuius criminis occasione philosophos omnes vrbe Italiaque summonit. Sulpicia a poetesse of that time:*

*Nunc igitur quires Romanas imperat inser
Et studia, & sapiens hominum nomenque, genusque,
Omnia abire foras atque vrbe excedere iussit.*

Xiphilinus: *Ρήτορον Αρουλίου ἀπέκτεινεν ὅτι φιλοσοφῆεν, καὶ τὸν Θερσίου ἱερὸν ἀνέμαζεν, καὶ Ἐρηνίου Ζερεικίωνα ὅτι τὸ Πέλοπος τὴν Εὐρυπύλου ἀνέμαζεν. ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν αἰτίας συχοῖ διαλόντες, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐξ ἡλᾶθσαν αὐθις ἐκ τῆς Ρώμης.* That is, Nero put Arulenus Rusticus to death because he studied philosophy, and because he termed Thrasea Virum sanctum. he put also Herennius Senecio to death, because he had written the life of Heluidius Priscus, and many other beside for this crime of philosophy lost their liues. and all of the profession were banished out of the city.

^a Or peradventure it was ment generally of that age; left as it was capital in Domitians time to haue written the liues of Thrasea and Heluidius, albeit they were both put to death by other Princes, so it might be to Tacitus vnder some other tyrant to haue written his life, who died vnder Domitian, as it was supposed by povson.
^b *Annal. 16.*
^c *Hist.*
^d *Herodot. Terpsich. 196.*
^e *lib. 25.*
^f *Tacit. 4. Ann. cap. 10.*
^g *Arulenu Rusticum in Tac.*
^h According to Tacitus not of Heluidius Priscus but of Thrasea alone.

ⁱ *Seneca de bene. sic. lib. 2. Si exemplo magni animi opus est, utemur Graeci Iulij viri egregij, quem C. Caesar occidit: ob hoc unum, quod melior vir esset, quam esse quem tyranno expediret.*
^k The same man, as I suppose, whose aueritic is so much alledged by Columella in matter of husbandrie.

CNEVS IVLIVS AGRICOLA was borne in the ancient and noble colonie of ¹ Forum Iulium: both his grandfathers had beene the Princes Procurators, an honourable gentlemans place. His father ^a Iulius Græcinus was by calling a Senatour, for eloquence and wisdom famous: by reason of which qualities he incurred the displeasure of Caius the Emperour, being willed by him to preferre accusation against Marcus Silanus; which bicause he refused he was put to death. His mother Iulia Procilla, a mirrour of rare chastitie: vnder whose wing and motherly care Agricola being brought vp, passed ouer his infancie and youth in the exercise

exercife of all good qualities and artes. And befide his owne difpofition clearly and wholly giuen to good, it was a good meanes to withholde him from the allurements of vice, that he hapned to haue the towne of ^b Maffilia for the place of his firft aboad and studie in youth, a cittie compounded of Greeke ciuilitie and provinciall frugallitie well fortified together. I haue heard him fay, I remember, that being yoong he had addicted himfelfe to the studie of Philofophie in earnefter fort, and beyond the meafure of a Roman and Senatour, had not the wifedome of his mother corrected and cooled, the heate of that humour. That noble and hawtie minde of his was caried to embrace, with more feruencie then difcretion, the beautie and gaie fhew of that high and glorious profeflion: but reafon anone and riper yeeres reformed his iudgement: and fo he retained, a point moft hard to be kept, of wifedome a meane.

His first seruice in warre was in Britannie vnder Suetonius Paullinus; into whose traine being assumed he was of that diligent and discreet leader well liked: not spending the time in riot after the maner of youthes, which conuert warfare into wantonnesse; nor accepting the title of tribuneship without skill in the seruice, as a calling of ease for pleasure and gadding abroad; but wholly directing his minde to know the prouince, to be knowne of the armie, to learne of the skilfull, to followe the best, to desire no imployment vpon vainglorie, to refuse none for feare, ioyntly to shew himselfe both carefull and earnest in action. Neither did our affaires in Britannie stande at anytime in the like termes of doubt and distresse: our old soldiers were slaine, our colonies burned, our armies entrapped, then we fought for to liue, afterward for to winne. All which exploits, though perfourmed by the counsaile and conduct of another, and consequently the credit of the cause, and glory of recouering the countrey appertaining to the Lieutenant, yet were they occasions to increase in the yoong man skill, experience, and desire of militare renowne, a quality not so acceptable in those seasons, wherein great vertues were greatly suspected, and a great fame endangered more then a bad.

From Britannie departing to Rome to beare offices he ioyned himselfe in marriage with Domitia Decidiana, a woman of honourable birth: which mariage was a countenance, and a strength to his further purposes: and they liued together in marueilous vnitie with mutuall loue, and "yeelding preeminence the one to the other; a point otherwise not greatly materiall, sauing that a good wife is a great commendation, as well as an ill a reproch. Being Questor his lot fell in Asia with Saluius Titianus the Proconsull. Neither was he withdrawen by that meanes from his wonted integritie, although both the prouince was rich and readily ministred matter to offende, and his Proconsull a man of insatiable greedinesse would with any remission willingly haue redeemed at his hands mutuall conniueance and couering of faults. There his wife bare him a daughter both to his stay & his comfort, for the son she brought him before was alreadie deceased hauing liued but a little. After his Questorship till he was created Tribune of the people, and the yeare also of his Tribuneship he passed ouer in rest & quietnesse, well weying the nature of Neroes time, ^dwherein sloth was a vertue, and to do nothing the greatest wisdome of al. His Pretorship also he passed ouer in the same sort, with the like silence: for ²none of the iudiciall places happened vnto him. The ³plaies and vanities of the office he gouerned and executed by the rule of reason and measure of wealth: farre from excessse, and yet not without magnificence and honour. Anone afterward being elected by Galba to view and suruey the iewels and gifts belonging to the temples, by most diligent and straite search he procured full restitution of all, saue onely of those which Nero had taken.

The

The yeere following wounded his minde, & plunged his house in a heavy mishap. For Othoes fleete roving at large licentiously, in wasting Intemelium a part of Liguria, slew the mother of Agricola in her own grounds, spoiled the grounds, & caried away most part of the wealth which was the cause of the murther. As Agricola went to solemnize the funerals he receiued aduise, that Vespasiana was in armes for the Empire, and without more aduise ioyned himselfe to the side. Domitian as yet was but young, & challenged not, as an Emperors sonne, any thing els saue onely licentious life. The affaires of the Empire & state of the city were gouerned at the beginning, & wholly directed by Mutianus alone. By cōmission from whom Agricola being sent to take musters, & behauing himselfe in that charge with great integritie and courage, he was by the same Mutianus, vpon message receiued of the seditious demeanour of Roscius Coelius, made in his place Lieutenant of the twentieth Legion, a Legion which slowly had sworne to Vespasian, & was out of awe, or awed much rather euen the Lieutenants generall; much lesse was the Legions Lieutenant of power to refraine them, whether through the weaknes of his own arme, or hard mouth of his soldiers, it is not assured. Thus being elected both to succede and reuenge, he shewed an example of most rare moderation, in chusing to seeme rather to haue found, then to haue made, them dutiful soldiers. At that time Vectius Bolanus was Lieutenant of Britannie, gouerning in a gentler & milder maner, then was fit for so fierce a countrey. Vnder him Agricola cunningly conforming himselfe to that humour, & not vnlearned to ioine profitable counsailes with honest, tempered the heate of his nature, & restrayned from growing his hawty desires. Soone after Petilius Cerealis was appointed Lieutenant Generall there: vnder whom the vertues of Agricola had a large field and free scope to shew themselues in. For Cerealis communicated and imparted vnto him, first himselfe & his counsailes, then actions of labour & danger, and lastly glorie also; committing oftentimes for a prooffe to his leading some portion of the army, sometimes many more, according to the successe. Neither did Agricola at any time brag of his doings as seeking to win fame for himselfe, but humbly alwaies as a minister referred to his superiour, and Generall, the good fortune and honour of all his exploits. So by his vertue in valiantly doing his charge, & his modestie in sparingly speaking thereof, he was without enuy, but not without glorie.

Vpon his returne from the Lieutenantship of the Legion, Vespasian of sacred memory elected him into the company of the 4 Patritians, and afterward sent him Lieutenant Generall into Aquitania, an honourable roome, both ~~in respect~~ of the office it selfe, and as being a way to the consulship by the Prince purposed vnto him. The receiued opinion is, that militare wits are not refined to that sharpenesse and subtletie, that is practised in pleas and courts of iustice, because the martiall law is but grosse and blunt, executing most by the hand: notwithstanding Agricola, though brought vp in the field, vpon a naturall wit and discourse of reason, among those peaceable men, caryed himselfe easily with great vprightnes and iustice. Now the seasons of affaires and vacations he diuided discreetly and well: in times of audience and iudgements graue, heedfull, austere, and yet mercifull too: that duetie performed, no face any more nor shew of autoritie: sowre looks and stately, strait and hard dealing were layde apart: in such sort, that neither his gentle and curteous behauour weakned the reuerence due to his person, nor his severity the loue: a thing rarely so seene. To speake of integritie, and forbearing of briberie in so great a personage, were a wrong to his vertues: euen glorie, vpon which good men also oftentimes doate, he neuer affected by ostentation of vertue, or by artificiall meanes: far from emulation with his colleagues, farre from contention with the Procuratours;

^e Of this matter we read in Tacitus, 2. Histor.

^f For Aquitania was then a peaceable province, void of wars and souldiers.

whom to overcome he esteemed no honour, and to be overcome a foule shame. In that Lieutenantship having spent scarcely three yeeres, he was called home to be Consull, the opinion going also, that Britannie should be assigned him, without any speech given out by himselfe to that purpose, but because he seemed sufficient and meete: fame faileth not alwaies, sometime she chuseth aright. Being Consull he assured to me his daughter, even then of rare hope, and after his Consulship solemnized the mariage: and strayght thereupon was made Gouvernour of Britannie, having besides a Pontificall dignitie annexed.

The site of Britannie and dwellers, described by sundrie writers, I purpose heere to declare, not to compare in finenesse or wit, but because it was then first thorowly subdued: so that such things, as our elders without perfect discoverie have polished with pen, shall now be set faithfully downe vpon knowledge. Britannie, of all Ilands knowne to the Romans the greatest, coasteth by East vpon Germanie, by West toward Spaine, and hath France on the South: Northward no land lying against it, but only a vast & broad sea beating about it. The figure and fashion of whole Britannie, by Liuy of the ancient, and Fabius Rusticus of the moderne, the most eloquent authors, is likened to a long dish or two edged axe: and so is the part shapen indeed of this side Caledonia, whereupon the same went of the whole, as it seemeth: but there is beside a huge and enorme tract of ground, which runneth beyond vnto the furthestmost point, growing narrow and sharpe like a wedge. This point of the utmost sea the Roman fleet then first of all doubling discovered Britannie to be an Iland, and withall found out and subdued the Iles of ^b Orkney before that time neuer known. Thyle also was lookt at aloofe, which snow hitherto and winter had couered. The sea thereabout they affirme to be dull and heauie for the oare and not to be rayfed as others with winds: belike because lande and mountaines are rare, which minister cause and matter of tempests, and because a deepe masse of continuall sea is slower sturred to rage. To examine the nature of the Ocean, and tides pertaineth not to this worke, and many have done it before: one thing I will adde, and may safely auowch, that the sea no where in the world rangeth and ruleth more freely, carying by violence so much riuer water hither and thither, and is not content to flow and to ebbe so far as the bancks, but inserteth and windeth it selfe into the land, shooting into the mountaines and cliffes as to his owne channell. Now what manner of men the first inhabitants of Britannie were, forreyne brought in, or borne in the lande, as among a barbarous people, it is not certaynely known. Their complexions are different and thence may some coniectures be taken: for the red haire of the dwellers in ⁱ Caledonia, and mighty limmes import a German descent: ^k The coloured countenances of the ^l Silures, and haire most commonly curled, and site against Spaine, seeme to induce, that the old Spaniards passed the sea and possessed those places. The nearest to Fraunce likewise resemble the French, either because they retaine of the race from which they descended, or that in cuntreyes butting together the same aspects of the heauens do yeelde the same complexions of bodies. But generally it is most likely the French being nearest did people the land. In their ceremonies and superstitious perswasions, there is to be seene an apparent conformatie: the language differeth not much: like boldnesse to challenge and set into dangers; when dangers are come, like feare in refusing: saving the Britans make shew of more courage, as being not mollified yet by long peace; for the French also were once, as we read, redoubted in war, till such time as giuing themselves ouer to peace and idlenesse cowardise crept in, and shipwrack was made both of manhood and libertie together: and so it is also befallen to those of the Britans which were

subdued

g Xiphil. Tit. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

subdued of olde; the rest remaine such as the French were before. Their strength in the field consisteth in footemen; some cuntreyes make war in wagons also: the greater personage guideth the wagon, his waiters and followers fight out of the same. Heretofore they were gouerned by kings, now they are drawen by petty Princes into partialities & factions: and that is the greatest helpe we haue against those puissant nations, that they haue no common councell together: seldome it chaunceth that two or three states meete and concur to repulse the common danger: so whilest one by one fighteth, all are subdued. The skie verie cloudie and much giuen to raine without extremitie of cold. The length of the daies much about the measure of our climate. The nights light, and in the furthest part of the Ilande so short, that betweene the going out and comming in of the day the space is hardly perceiued, and when clouds doe not hinder they affirme that the sunshine is seene¹ in the night, and that it neither setteth nor riseth but passeth along: because belike the⁷ extreme and plaine parts of the earth proiect a lowe shadow and raise not the darkenesse on height; so the night falleth vnder the skye and the stars. The soile, setting aside oliue and vine and the rest, which are proper to warmer cuntreyes, taketh all kind of graine and beareth it in abundance: it shooteth vp quickly and ripeneth slowly; the cause of them both is the same, the ouermuch moylture of the soile and the ayre. Britannie beareth gold and siluer, and other mettals to enrich the conquerour. The Ocean bringeth forth⁸ pearle also, not orient, but duskish and wan, which proceedeth, as some do suppose, of lacke of skill in the gatherers, for in the red sea they are pulled panting alieue from the rockes; in Britannie cast out by the sea and so taken vp. For my part I do rather beleue the nature of the pearle not to yeeld it, then that our couetousnes could not finde out the way to gather aright. The Britans endure leuies of men and money and all other burdens imposed by the Empire patiently and willingly if insolencies be forborne, indignities they cannot abide, being already subdued as to be subiects, but not to be slaues.

The first of the Romans which entred Britannie with an army was Iulius Cæsar, who although he terrified the inhabitants with a battaile which went on his side, and gained the shoare, yet may seeme rather to haue shewed the place to posterity, then deliuered to them the possession thereof.

Then ciuill warres ensued, and bandings of men of great qualitie against the free state, and long after that lay Britannie forgotten, euen in peaceable times. Augustus termed it⁹ policie, and chiefly Tiberius.

That Caius had a meaning to inuade Britannie it is certainly knowen: but his rash running head and hasty repentance, and chiefly his great attempts against Germany turning to nothing, euerted that purpose.

Claudius^m did first with effect prosecute the matter, transporting Legions and Aides, and assuming Vespasian into the action, which was the beginning of the greatnes whereunto he after attained: some cuntries were subdued, some kings were taken, and Vespasian made knowen to the world.

The first Lieutenant Generall was Aulus Plautius, then Ostoriusⁿ Scapula, both excellent warriors: and so by little & little was the nearest part of the iland reduced to the forme of a prouince; and besides a^o colonie of olde soldiers established there. Certaine citties were also bestowed in pure gift vpon king Cogidunus (who remained most faithfull euen to our daies) according to an olde^p custome anciently receiued of the Romans to vse euen kings themselues for instruments of bondage.

Then Didius^q Gallus succeeded in place, who kept that which his predecessors had gotten, and builded some few castels further in the lande, to win by that meanes

¹ It is maruaile how it can bee sight, when the sunshine is seene, but you must beare with a man out of his profession, for that which hee addeth, *non occidere, & exurgere, sed transire*, is true in sommer in the climate of *Æthiopia*: but no part of *Britannie* reacheth so far.

^m Who being requested by one *Ericus* a fugitiue of *Britannie* sent *Plautius* before, of whom, and of the acts of *Claudius* in *Britannia* read *Dio lib. 40.* where mention is made also of *Vespasian*.

ⁿ *Tac. 12. Ann.*
^o *Camalodunum.*
^{12. Annal.}
^p *Perseus* in his embassy to *Eumenes* complained, *Pop. Romanum regis viribus reges oppugnare. Attalo adiutore patrem suum oppressum: Eumene adiun- te, & quadam ex parte Philippo patre suo, Antiochum oppugnatum: in se nunc Eumene & Prusiam armatos esse.* *Liuy lib. 44.*
^q *Tac. 12. Anna.* where also he calleth him *Didius*.

a fame of augmenting the office.

After Didius succeeded ^r Veranius, who died within one yeare.

^r Tac. 14. Anna.
^s Of the successe
 of his affaires
 read Tac. 14. Ann.
 where they are
 more largely de-
 scribed.
^t Anglesey.

Then ^r Suetonius Paullinus for two yeares space behaued himselfe fortunately, subduing the nations and establishing garrisons. Vpon confidence whereof going to assaile the ile of ^r Mona, which ministred supplie to the rebels, hee dis furnished the cuntrey behind, and laied it open to all opportunities of the enimie. For through the absence of the Lieutenant, the Britans free of feare began to discourse the mi- series of bondage, to lay their iniuries together, and aggrauate them by constructi- ons. that their patience had profited them nothing, saue onely to drawe heauier burdens vpon them, as men that would gently beare. that whereas in former times they had onely one king, now were there two thrust vpon them, the Lieutenant to sucke their bloud, the Procuratour their substance: whose disagreeing was the tor- ment of the subiects, their agreement their vndoing; the one vexing by souldiers and captaines, the other by wrongs and indignities. that now their couetousnesse and lust layed holde, without exception, of all: and whereas in field he that spoileth is commonly stronger, now were they by cowards and weaklings for the most part dispossessed of their houses, bereft of their children, inioyned to yeelde souldiers for other mens behoofe, as though they were men, that knew how to do any thing els, saue ouely to die for their owne cuntrey. For otherwise what a small handfull of soul- diers were come ouer, if the Britans would fall to reckon themselues! that ^a Ger- many so had shakt off the yoke, hauing no Ocean sea, but onely a riuer, for their de- fence. that their causes of taking armes were vrgent and iust, their wiues and chil- dren, their parents, and cuntrey, whereas the Romans had nothing to mooue them to warre, but their owne couetousnesse and wanton lust: and that they would doubt- lesse depart, as Cæsar Iulius had done, if the Britans would imitate the vertues of their progenitours, and not be dismaied with the doubtfull euent of one skirmish or two. that men in miserie had more courage and vehemencie to attempt, more con- stancy to continue: and now euen the gods seemed to pitie the poore Britans estate, hauing sent the Roman Captaine out of the way, and confined the armie, as it were, into another ilande. that now being assembled to aduize and deliberate together, they had attained the hardest point, in an action of that nature, wherein without question it were more danger, to be taken consulting, then doing. With these and the like speeches inciting one another, by common consent they resolute to take armes vnder the conduct of ^x Voadica a lady of the bloud of their Kings: for in matter of gouerning in chiefe they make no distinction of sexe. And first pursuing the souldiers which lay diuided in garrisons, and winning the fortes, they inuaded anone the colonie it selfe, as being the seate of their slauerie: in sacking whereof no kinde of crueltie was omitted, which either anger or the rage of victorie might in- duce a barbarous people to practise. And vnlesse vpon knowledge had of the reuolt Paullinus had come to succour with speede, Britannie had then beene lost, the which with one prosperous battaile he restored to her former obedience, and patient bea- ring the yoke, some few keeping out and remayning in armes, whom the guilt of the rebellion excluded from all hope of pardon, and some feare also of the Lieutenants priuate displeasure: who though otherwise a singular man, yet seemed to shewe too much hauty and hard dealing toward those which yeelded themselues, & to reuenge in a sort his owne iniurie. Vherupon ^y Petronius Turpilianus was sent in his place as a more intreatable person, and a stranger to their faultes, and therefore more rea- dy to receiue their repentance: who hauing composed the former troubles, and daring no further, deliuered Trebellius Maximus the charge.

^a In the battell
 against *Quintili-
 us Varus.*

^s 14. Anna. her
 name is written
*Boodica, & Bou-
 dicca, in Xiphil.
 copy Boudicca.*

^y Tac. 14. Anna.

^r Trebellius

^a Trebellius a man vnfit for action, and altogether vnexpert in seruice, by a kinde of curteous and milde regiment intertaind the countrey in quiet. For now the Britans also had learned the good maners, not rudely to repulse the sugred assaults and flatterings of vices; and the disturbance of ciuill dissentions ministred a lawfull excuse for his dooing nothing. But the souldier accustomed to warfare waxt wanton with ease, and grew to be mutinous. Trebellius by fleeing away and hiding himselfe eschewed their first indignation, and anone resuming his place without maiestie, without authoritie, he ruled by way of intreatie, & at his soldiers discretion: & so coming as it were to a capitulation, the armie for licence to do what them listed, the captain for safetie of his owne life, the mutinee ended without any bloudshed.

^a Vectius Bolanus succeeded in place, and in the same loosenesse of discipline, the ciuill warres continuing still; like default against the enemy, like licence in the camp, sauing that Bolanus a good honest man, not odious for any crime, in steede of obedience had gotten good will.

But when as Vespasian with the rest of the world recovered Britannie also, great Captaines, good souldiers were sent, and the hope of the enemy was greatly abated. For straightwaies Petilius Cerealis strooke a terrour into them, by inuading vpon his first entrie the Brigantes, the most populous state of the whole prouince. Manie battailes were fought, and some bloudie, and the greatest part of the ^b Brigantes either conquered or wasted.

And whereas Cerealis would doubtlesse haue dimmed the diligence and fame of another successour, Iulius Frontinus a great man, as he might after that predecessour, sustained the charge with reputation and credit, subduing the puissant, and warlicke people of the Silures: where he had, beside the vertue of the enimie, to struggle with the straites and difficult places.

In this estate Agricola found the prouince, and the warres thus farre proceeded in, when as about the middest of the sommer ^c he passed the seas: at what time the souldier, as if the season were past, attended an ende for that yeare of his trauaile, and the enimie a beginning to hurt. The Ordouices a little before he entered the lande had cut a wing almost wholly in peeces, which lay in their borders. Vpon which beginning the countrey being awaked, as men desirous of warre, allowed the example: some staid to see how the new Lieutenant would take it. Agricola although the sommer was spent, and the bands lay dispersed in the prouince, and his souldiers had fully presumed of rest for that yeare, which hindered much, and crossed directly the vndertaking of warre, diuerse also being of opinion rather to keepe & assure the places suspected, all this notwithstanding he resolued directly to encounter the danger: and gathering the ensignes of the Legions, & some fewe Auxiliaries, bicause the ^d Ordouices durst not descend into indifferent ground, himselfe first of all, to giue others like courage in the like danger, led vp to encounter the enimie. And hauing destroied almost the whole nation, knowing right well that fame must with instance be followed, and as the first should fal out, so the rest would succede, he deliberated to conquere the island of Mona: from the possession whereof, as before I haue rehearsed, Paullinus was reuoked by the generall rebellion of Britanny: but as in a purpose not purposed before, ships being wanting, the pollicie and resoluteness of the Captaine deuised a passage, commanding the most choise of the Aydes, to whom al the shallowes were known, and who after the vse of their countrey were able in swimming to gouerne themselves with armour and horses, laying aside their cariage, to put ouer at once and sodainly inuade them. Which thing so amazed the enimie attending for ships and such like prouision by sea, that

^a Tac. 1. Hist.^a Tac. 1. Hist.^b Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmerland, Cumberland, and the Bishopricke of Durham.^c Agricola went into Britanny, as it may be gathered by some circumstances in this booke, in the very yeare before Vespasian died, & returned about the fift or sixt of Domitian, of whose gests in Britanny, beside Tacitus, Xiphilinus, Tacitus, maketh honorable mention, and others.^d Northwales.

* A thing vsuall
in those dispat-
ches wherein any
notable victorie
was signified, as it
appeareth by Li-
uy. l. 45. in the be-
ginning, & *Am-
mianus Marcelli-
nus*, l. 16.

surely beleeuing nothing coulde be harde or inuincible to men which came so minded to warre, they humbly intreated for peace and yeelded the ilande. Thus Agricola at his first entrie into his prouince (which time others consume in vaine ostentation or ambitious seeking of ceremonies) entring withall into labours and dangers became famous indeed & of great reputation. Neither did he abuse the prosperous proceeding of his affaires to vanity or brauing in speeches. He termed it not an exploit or a conquest to haue kept in order persons subdued before: he ^e bedeckt not with lawrell his letters of aduertisement, but stopping and suppressing the fame he augmented the same, when men began to discourse vpon what great presumptions of future successe, he shoulde make so light an account of such great actions already performed.

Now as touching his ciuill gouernement, Agricola knowing right well the disposition and minde of the prouince, and taught also by experience of others, that armes auayle little to settle a new conquered state if iniuries and wrongs be permitted, determined to cut off all causes of warres and rebellions. And beginning at home, his house first of all he reformed and restrained, a point of more hardnesse to some then to gouerne a prouince. He committed no maner of publicke affaires to bondman or freed: he receiued no souldier neare to his person vpon priuate affections of partiall suiters, nor vpon commendation or intreatie of Centurions, but elected the best, presuming the same to be the most faithfull. He would see into all things, not exact all things to the rigour: light faults he would pardon, and the great seuerely correct: not alwaies proceeding to punish, but often content with repentance: chusing rather not to prefer to office and charge such as were like to offende, then after the offence to condemne them. The augmentation of tribute and corne he mollified with equall diuiding of burdens, cutting away those pettie extortions which grieved the subiect more then the tribute it selfe. for the poore people were constrained in a mockery to waite at the barnes which were locked against them, and first to buy ¹⁰ corne, then after to sell at a price. Seuerall waies were inioyned, and farre distant places by the purueyours commandements: that the countrey shoulde carie from the nearest standing campes to those which were farre off and out of the way, till that which lay open to all and at hand was turned in fine to the gaine of a fewe. By repressing these abuses straight in his first yeere, a good opinion was conceiued of the peace, which either by the negligence or conniueance of former Lieutenants was now no lesse feared then war. But when the sommer was come assembling his armie together, those which in marching behaued themselves in modest sort he commended, & checked the loose & dissolute straglers: the places for pitching the camp he designed himself, the firths & the thickets he prooued the first in his ^f own person: not suffering in the meane season any corner in quiet in the enemies countrey, but wasting and spoiling with sodaine excursions and roades, and when he had thoroughly terrified them, then woulde he againe spare and forbear, alluring thereby their mindes to friendship and peace. Vpon which kinde of proceeding many states, which before that day stood vpon termes of equalitie, gaue hostages, and meekely submitted themselves, receiuing garrison and permitting to fortifie; which he so wisely with such great foresight and reason performed, that nothing was euer attempted against them, whereas no new fortified place in al Britannie escaped before vnassailed.

f An error in
Agricola being
Generall to do it,
and a double er-
ror in *Tacit.* to
set it downe for a
point of cōmen-
dation. *de iud.* c. 1.
Kabē tūwē tōi
as n pācē tūa
qūōn, nē cī tū
ēē tūwē tōi nē
daē. sūē tū Pol-
bius libro decimo
speaking of the
like.

The winter ensuing was spent in a most profitable and pollicke deuise. For whereas the Britans, were rude and disperfed, and therefore prone vpon euery occasion to warre, to induce them by pleasures to quietnesse and rest, he exhorted them

in

in priuate and helpt them in common to builde temples, and houses, and places of publicke resort, commending the forward and checking the slow, imposing thereby a kinde of necessitie vpon them, whilst ech man contended to gaine the Lieutenants goodwill. Moreouer the noble mens sonnes he tooke and instructed in the liberall sciences, preferring the wits of the Britans before the students of France, as being now curious to attaine the eloquence of the Roman language, whereas they lately reiected the speech. After that our attire grewe to be in account, and the Gowne much vsed among them: and so by little and little they proceeded to those prouocations of vices, to sumptuous galleries, and bathes, and exquisite banquettings; which things the ignorant termed ciuilitie, being indeede a point of their bondage.

In the third yeere of his wars he discouered new countreies, wasting along, till he came to the firth of ^a Taus. Which thing so terrified the enimies, that although the armie had beene toiled with cruell tempests, yet they durst not assaile them, and the Romans moreouer had leysure and space to fortifie there. They which were skilfull that way obserued, that neuer any captaine did more aduisedly chuse his places: no castell planted by Agricola euer was either forced by strength, or vpon conditions surrendred, or, as not defensible, forsaken. Many times they issued foorth: for against a long siege, they were stored with a whole yeeres prouision. So they wintered there without feare, euery garrison garding it selfe, and needing no helpe of their neighbours; the enimies assaulting somtimes, but in vaine without any successe, and driven thereupon to despaire. For the losses of sommer they were commonly woont to repaire with winter euents: now sommer and winter alike they went to the worse. And in all these actions Agricola neuer sought to draw to himselfe the glorie of any exploite done by another, but were it Centurion or of other degree, he would faithfully witness the fact, and yeelde him alwaies his due commendation. By some he is saied to haue beene somewhat bitter in rebuking: and indeede the man was, as towarde the good of most sweete disposition, so to bad and lewde persons vnpleasant and fowre: but his choler passed away with his words: closenesse in him and silence you needed not feare: he esteemed it more honest to offende, then to hate.

The fourth sommer was spent in perusing & ordering that, which he had ouerrun: and if the valiant minds of the armies, and glorie of the Roman name could haue permitted, or accepted it so, they needed not to haue sought other limit of Britannie. For ^b Glota and ^c Bodotria, two armes of two contrarie seas shooting mightilie into the lande, are onely diuided asunder by a narrow partition of ground, which passage was garded and fortified then with garrison and castell: so that the Romans were absolute lordes of all on this side, hauing cast out the enimie, as it were, into another island.

The fift yeere of the war Agricola first taking sea went ouer, and subdued, with many and prosperous conflicts, nations before that time vnknownen, and furnished with forces that part of Britannie, which lieth against Irelande, more in hope then for feare. For Ireland if it might haue beene wonne, lying betweene Britannie and Spaine, and fitly also for the French sea, woulde aptly haue vnited, to the great aduantage of the one and the other, these strongest members of the Empire together. In bignesse it is inferiour to Britannie, howbeit bigger then the islands of ^d our sea. The soyle and temperature of the aire, the nature and fashions of the people, differ not much from the British. The portes and places of access are more knowen, by reason of more frequenting of merchants. Agricola had receiued before a Prince of that countrey driven out by ciuill dissension, whom vnder colour of curtesie and friendship he retained till occasion should serue. I haue heard

him

^a Twaede, as it is thought by some

^b The firth of Dunbreston.
^c Edinborow firth.

^d He meaneth the Mediterran, and the Ilands there, as Sicily, &c.

him oftentimes say, that with one Legion and some few Aydes, Ireland might be won and possessed, and that it were also a strength for our Brittish affaires, if the Roman forces were planted echwhere, and libertie, as it were, banisht out of sight.

Now in the sommer, which began the sixt yeere of his office, because a generall rising in armes of all the further nations beyonde Bodotria was feared, and passages were all beset with the power of the enemies, he manned a fleete to search the creekes and harboroughs of the ample region beyond it, backing then first of all with a nauy the rest of his strength, and with a goodly braue shew bringing war both by land and by sea. And oft so it chanced, that the horseman and footeman and the sea souldier met, and made merrie in the same campe, extolling and magnifying ech their owne prowesse and aduentures: making their vaunts and comparisons soldier-like, the one of the woods and high mountaines, the other of dangers of tempests and waues: the one of the land and the enemy, the other of the Ocean, subdued. The Britans, as by the prisoners it was vnderstoode, were amazed also at the sight of the nauie, as though now the secrets of their sea were disclosed, and no refuge remained if they were ouercome. Whereupon the Caledonians arming with great preparation and greater fame, as the maner is of matters vnknownen, assayed our castels as challengers, brauing and putting in feare: insomuch that some of our side, which would seeme to be wise being dastards indeed, counselled the Generall to retire on this side Bodotria, and rather to depart of his owne accord, then to be repelled with shame. In the meane season Agricola hath knowledge, that the enemies ment to diuide themselves, and to giue the onset in seuerall companies. Whereupon lest he should be inclosed about, and intrapped by their multitude and skill in the countrey, he marched also with his armie diuided in three. Which when it was knowne to the enemy, changing aduise on the sodaine, and vniting their forces together, they iointly assaulted by night the ninth Legion, as being of weakest resistance: and hauing slaine the watch, partly asleepe and partly amazed with feare, brake into the campe. And now were they fighting within the trenches, when Agricola hauing vnderstood by spyes what way the enemies had taken, and following their footsteps, commandeth the lightest horsemen and footemen to playe on their backes and maintaine the skirmish, and anone the whole army to showte. And when it drew neare to be day, the glittering of the enseignes was seene. So the Britans being quayed with a double danger, the Romans recouered courage againe, and being out of perill of their persons, fought now for their honour; freshly assaying their late assayers, and driuing them to the gates: where in the straites the conflict was sharpe and cruell, till in the ende the enemies were forced to flee, whilest both our armies contended, the one to seeme to haue helped their fellowes, the other to haue needed none other to helpe them: and if the bogges and woods had not couered their flight, that victorie had ended the warre. Vpon this battaile so manfully fought, so famously won, the armie presuming that to their prowesse all things were easie and open, cryed to lead into Caledonia, and to finde out the limit of Britannie with a course of continuall conquests: and those which erewhile were so warie and wise, waxt forward enough after the euent, and grew to speake bigly: such is the hard condition of wars: if ought fall out well all challenge a part, misfortunes are onely imputed to one. Contrariwise the Britans presupposing that not valour, but the cunning of the Generall, by vsing the occasion, had caried it away, abated no whit of their stomacke, but armed their youth, transported their children and wiues into places of safetie, and sought by assemblies and religious rites to establish an association of the cities together. And so for that yeare both parties departed

ted incensed away.

The same sommer a cohort of Vſipians, leuryed in Germanie, and ſent ouer into Britannie, committed a haynous and memorable act. For hauing ſlaine a Centurion and certaine ſouldiers ſet ouer them for direction in diſcipline, they fled and embarked themſelues in three veſſels, compelling the Maſters by force to execute their charge: and onely one doing his office, the other two being ſuſpected and thereupon ſlaine, this ſtrange going out, the fact being yet not noyſed abroad, was gazed and wondred at. Afterward being driuen vncertainely hither and thither, and aſſayling the Britans which ſtoode in defence of their owne, often preuayling and ſometimes repulſed, they came at the laſt to that miſerie, that they were inforced to eate one another, firſt of the weakeſt, then as the lot lighted. And thus floating about Britannie, and leeſing their veſſels for lacke of gouernment, they were intercepted firſt by the Sueuians, and then by the Friſians, as pyrats and robbers, and ſome of them being bought by merchants as ſlaues, & by change of maſters brought to our ſide of the riuer, grew into a name by giuing firſt notice of ſo great and ſo rare an aduenture.

In the beginning of the ſommer Agricola was deeply touched with a grieuous miſchance, which happened in his owne houſe: for he loſt his owne ſon being about a yeare olde. Which infortunate happe he neyther bare out, as ſome great men haue done in the like, vaingloriouſly, nor tooke it againe ſo impatiently as women are wont: and amidſt his mourning and ſorrowes vſed the warre as one of his remedies. Therefore ſending his navy before, which by ſpoyling in ſundry places ſhould induce a greater and vncertayner terrour vpon them, he made readie and followed himſelfe with his army, ioyning thereto ſome of the valianteſt Britans, whom by long experience in peace he had found moſt faithfull, and ſo arriued at the mount ¹ Grampius, where the enemies were lodged before. For the Britans not daunted with the euent of the former battaile, and attending for nothing els but reuenge or ſeruitude, and being taught at the length that common danger muſt be repelled with concord, by leagues and emballages had aſſembled the power of all the cities together, aboue thirtie thouſand armed men, the view being taken, beſide an endleſſe number of youth, which dayly flocked to them, and luſtie old men, renowned in warre and bearing the badges due to their honour: at what time Galgacus, for vertue and birth of all the leaders the principall man, ſeeing the multitude hoatly demaunde the battaile, is ſayed to haue vſed this ſpeech.

¹ Now called
Grantzaine.

When I view and conſider the cauſe of this war, and our preſent neceſſitie, I haue „
reason, me ſeemes, to preſume, that this day, and this your agreeing conſent, will „
giue a happie beginning to the freedom of the whole iland. For both haue we all „
hitherto liued in libertie, and beſide no land remaineth beyonde, no ſea for our ſafe- „
tie, the Roman nauie thus, as you ſee, ſurueying our coaſts: ſo that combate and „
armes, which men of vertue deſire for honour, the daſtard muſt alſo vſe for his ſecuri- „
tie. The former battailes, which haue with diuerſe euent beene fought with the „
Romans, had their refuge, and hope reſting in our hands. For we the flower of the „
Brittiſh nobilitie, and ſeated therefore the furthermoſt in, ſawe neuer the coaſts of „
the countreyes which ſerued in ſlauerie, euen our eies are kept vnpolluted, and free „
from all contagion of tyrannie. Beyonde vs is no lande, beſide vs none are free: „
vs hitherto this corner and ſecret reſeſſe hath defended. Now the vitermoſt point „
of the lande is laied open: and things the leſſe they haue beene within knowledge, „
the greater the glory is to atchieue them. But what nation now is there beyonde „
vs? what els but water and rockes, and the Romans Lords of all within lande, whoſe „
intollerable

"intollerable pride in vaine shall you seeke to auoide by seruice and humble behavi-
 "our: robbers of the world, that hauing now left no lande to be spoiled, search also
 "the sea. If the enemy be rich, they seeke to win wealth: if poore, they are content to
 "gaine glory: whom not the east, nor the west haue satisfied: the onely men of all
 "memorie that seeke out all places, be they wealthie or poore, with like ardent affec-
 "tion. To take away by maine force, to kill and to spoile, falsely they terme Empire
 "and gouernment: when all is waste as a wilderness, that they call peace. His chil-
 "dren and bloud ech man by nature holdeth most deare: those are pressed for souldi-
 "ers, and caried away to be slaues elsewhere. Our sisters and wiues, though they
 "be not violently forced as in open hostilitie, are in the meane while vnder the colour
 "and title of friends and guests often abused. Our goods and substance they drawe
 "for tribute, our corne for prouision: our bodies and handes they weare and con-
 "sume, in paining of bogges and of woods, with a thousand stripes and indignities.
 "Slaues which are borne to bondage are solde but once, and after are fed at their
 "owners expences: but Britannie daily buieth, daily feedeth, and is at charges with
 "her owne bondage. And as in a priuate retinue the freshman and last commer is
 "laughed and scoffed at by his very fellow-seruants, so in this olde seruitude of the
 "whole world our destruction onely is sought, as being the latest and most vile in ac-
 "count. We haue no fieldes to manure, no mines to be digged, no portes to trade
 "in: and to what purpose then should they reserue vs aliue? Moreouer the manhood
 "and fierce courage of the subiect pleaseth not much the ielous Soueraine: and this
 "corner being so secret and out of the way, the more security it yeeldeth to vs, in them
 "it workes the greater suspicion. So seeing all hope of pardon is past, at the length
 "take courage, to defende and maintaine your safetie as well as your honour. The
 "Brigantines led by a ^m woman fired the colonie, forced the castels: and if such a
 "luckie beginning had not ended in sloth and securitie, they might haue with ease
 "shakt off the yoke. We as yet neuer touched, neuer subdued, and borne to be free,
 "not to be slaues of the Romans, let vs shew straight in the first ioyning what maner
 "of men Caledonia reserued in store for hir selfe. Or do you thinke the Romans to be
 "as valiant in warre as they are wanton in peace? No, not by their vertue, but by our
 "iarrings and discordes they are growen into fame: and the faults of their enemies
 "they abuse to the glory of their owne armie composed of most diuers nations, and
 "therefore as by present prosperitie holden together, so if fortune do frowne it doubt-
 "lesse dissolueth: vnlesse you suppose the Frenchmen and Germans, and, to our shame
 "be it spoken, many of our owne nation, which now lend their liues to establish a for-
 "reyne vsurper, and yet haue beene enemies longer then seruants, to be led and indu-
 "ced with any true harted and faithfull affection. No, it is terrour and feare, weak
 "workers of loue, which if you remooue, those which shall haue ceased to feare will
 "straight begin for to hate. All things to incite to the victorie are on our side. No wise
 "to encourage the Romans: no parents to vpbraide them if they flee: most haue ei-
 "ther no cuntrey at al, or some other: a few fearefull persons, trembling and gazing at
 "the strangesse of the heauen it selfe, the sea and the woods: whom the gods haue
 "deliuered mewed vp, as it were, and fettered into our handes. Let not the vaine
 "shew and glittering of golde and siluer terrifie vs, which neither defends nor offen-
 "deth. Amongst the enemies we shall finde of our side: the Britans will agnize their
 "owne cause: the French will remember their freedome and former estate: the rest
 "of the Germans will leaue and forsake them, as of late the Vsipians did. And what
 "else then haue we to feare? the castels are emptie, the colonies peopled with aged
 "and impotent persons; the free citties discontent and in factions, whilst those
 "which

m *Yodas*, who
Tacitus himselfe
 maketh wife to
 the king of *Iseni*,
 people of Nor-
 folke &c. and not
 of the *Brigantes*.
 14. Ann.

which are vnder obey with ill will, and they which do gouerne rule against right. Here is the Generall and here the armie, there tributes and mines, and other miseries inseparably following them which liue vnder subiection of others: which whether we are to continue for euer, or straight to reuenge, it lieth this day in this fiede. Wherefore going to battell beare in your mindes, I beseech you, both your^a ancestors and your posteritie.

This speech was cheerefully receiued, with a song after their barbarous fashion, with confused acclamations and noyses. And as the companies clustered together, and glistening of armour appeared, whilest some of the boldest auanced forward, and withall the ranckes were putting themselves in array, Agricola albeit his souldier was glad of that day, and scarce could with words be withholden, supposing yet best to say somewhat, encouraged them in this wise.

Fellow-souldiers and companions in armes, your faithfull seruice and diligence, these^o eight yeeres so painfully shewed, by the vertue and fortune of the Roman Empire hath conquered Britannie. In so many iourneyes, in so many battels we had of necessitie to shew our selues either valiant against the enimie, or patient and laborious aboue and against nature it selfe. In which exploits we haue borne vs both hitherto so, that neither did I desire better souldiers, nor you other captaine. We haue exceeded the limits, I of my predecessours, and you likewise of yours. The end of Britannie is found, not by fame and report, but we are with our armes and pavilions really inuested thereof: Britannie is found and subdued. In marching when the passing of bogges, or mountaynes, and riuers, troubled and tired you out, how oft haue I heard the valiant souldier saie, When will the enimy present himselfe? when shall we fight? loe they are now put vp out of their holes: and here they are come: your wish loe here, and place for your vertue, and all things to follow in an easie and expedite course, if you winne; if you leese, all against you. For as to haue gone so much ground, escaped the woods, passed ouer the firthes, is honourable forward, so if we do flee, the vantages we haue this day will become our most disadvantage. For we are not skilled so well in the countreyes, we haue not the like store of prouision, but hands we haue and weapons, and therein all things included. For my part I am long since resolved, that to shewe their backs is neither safetie for souldier nor Generall: and therefore a commendable death is better then life with reproch; and suretie and honour are commonly dwelling together: or if ought shoulde mishappen, euen this will be a glorie, to haue died in the vttermost ende of the worlde and nature. If newe nations, and souldiers vnknown were in the fiede, I would, by the example of other armies put you in courage: now recount you your owne victorious exploits, and aske your owne eies. These are the same men, which the last yeere assailed one Legion by stealth in the night, and were by a blast of your mouth ouerthrowen: these of all other Britans haue beene the most nimble in running away, and therefore haue scaped the longest aliue. For as in Forrests and woods the strongest beasts are chased away by maine force, the cowardlie and fearefull are scared by the noise of the hunters, so the valiant of the Brittish nation we haue already dispatched, the rascal heard of dastardly cowards onely remaineth: whom at length you haue found, not as hauing intended to stay and make head, but as last ouertaken, and by extreme passion of feare standing as stocks, presenting occasion to vs in this place of a worthie and memorable victorie. Make an end therefore of your warfare, and to^p fiftie yeeres trauailes let this day impose a glorious conclusion. Approoue to your cuntrey, that the army could neuer iustly be charged either with protracting the warre, or pretences for not accomplishing the conquest. As Agricola was yet speaking, the souldiers gaue great tokens of seruencie, and

when

^a Your ancestors, which lived in the happy estate of libertie: and your successors, which vntill this day shall liue for euer in most miserable seruitude.

^o And yet this was but the seventh yeare of his office, as appeareth before.

^p From the first entry of Claudius into Britannie seemeth not to haue beene above fower or fife and fortie yeeres.

when he had ended accompanied the speech with a ioyfull applause, & ran straightwaies to their weapons. Agricola seeing them sufficiently animated, and rushing furiously forward, ordered his men in this maner. With the Auxiliarie footemen, being eight thousand, he fortified the middle battell: three thousand horse he put on both sides in the wings; commanding the Legions to stand behinde, before the trench of the campe, to the greater glorie of the victorie, if it were obtayned without Roman blood, otherwise for assistance and succour, if the vantgard should be repelled. The Britans were marshalled in the higher ground, fitly both to the shew and to terrifie, the first batalion standing on the plaine, the rest in the ascent of the hill, knit & rising as it were one ouer another: the middle of the field was filled with the clattering and running of * charets and horsemen. Then Agricola perceiuing the enemy to exceed him in number, and fearing lest he should be assailed on the front and flankes both at one instant, displayed his army in length: and although by that meanes the battell would become disproportionably long, and many advised him to take in the Legions, yet being more forward to hope, then yeelding to feare, he reiected the counsaile, and leauing his horse auanced himselfe before the ensignes on foote. In the first encounter, before the ioyning, both sides discharged and threw: wherein the Britans employing both arte and valour, with their great swords & little targets, auoyded our throwes, or shooke them, darting withall great store against vs of theirs: till at length Agricola spying his vantage exhorted three Batauan cohorts, and two of the Tungrians to presse forward, and bring the matter to handie strokes and dint of the sword; a thing which they in respect of long seruice were able readily to performe, and contrarily to the enemies preiudicial, and hurtfull by reason of their little bucklers, and huge swords: for the swordes of the Britans, being blunt pointed, were no way fit for the close or for open fight. Now as the Batauians began to deale blowes, to strike with the pikes of their bucklers, to mangle their faces, and hauing ouerborne in the plaine all that resisted, to march vp the mountaines, the rest of the cohorts gathering courage vpon emulation violently bet downe all about them, and many halfe dead, or wholly vntouched, were left for haste of winning the fielde. In the meane time the charets mingled themselves with the battaile of the footemen, and the troupes of the horsemen beganne for to flee: who albeit they had lately terrified others, were now distressed themselves by the vneuenesse of the ground, and thicke ranckes of their enemies. Neither was the forme of the fight like a loose skirmish of horsemen to and fro, but standing still and maintaining their places they fought by maine weight of horses, to breake and beare downe one another. The wandring wagons also, and masterlesse horses affrighted, as it happened them by feare to be guided, ouer-bare many times of their friends which met them, or thwarted their way. Now the Britans, which stoode aloofe from the battell on the height of the hils, and at their good leysure disdayned our fewnesse, began to come downe by little and little, and to compassse about the backes of our men, which were now in traine of winning the field: but Agricola suspecting as much, opposed against them fower wings of horsemen purposely retrained about him for sodain dispatches, and chances of warre, and repulsd them back as sharpely, as fiercely they ran to assaile. So the counsaile of the Britans turned vpon their owne heads: and the wings were commanded to forsake the battell and follow the flight. Then might you haue seene in the open fields a grievous and pitifull spectacle, pursuing, wounding, taking, and killing of them which were taken when others were offered. Now whole regiments of the enemies, according to their feuerall dispositions, though armed and more in number, turned their backes to the

fewer

* *Couinarius*.
Mela lib. 3. cap. 6.
Dimicant Britanni non equitatu modo aut pedite, verum & bigis & currib. Gallice armati, couinarius vocant, quorum saltatus axis. utantur. by *Cæsar* and *Tully* they are called *effedarij*.

fewer: others vnarmed sought their owne death, offering themselues voluntarily to the slaughter. Euery where weapons lay scattered and bodies, and mangled limbs: the ground euery where imbrued with blood: & somtimes euery in them which were ouercome, appeared now at their ende both anger and valour. When they approached the woods, vniting themselues, they intrapped vnawares some of the foremost of our men, which vnadvisedly followed, not knowing the cuntrey: and vnlesse Agricola had with his presence euery where assisted at neede, setting about them of his brauest and most readie footemen, as it were in forme of a toyle, and commaunding some of his horsemen to leaue their horses where the passages were narrow, and others where the wood was thin to enter on horseback, no doubt we had taken some blow by our ouermuch boldnesse. But after they saw our men againe in strong array to follow the chace in good order, they fled, not in troupes as before, and attending ech other, but vtterly disbanded and single, eschewing all company, toward the desert and farre distant places. The night and our fulnesse of blood made an ende of the chace. Of the enemies side [¶]ten thousand were slaine: three hundred and fortie of ours; amongst whom was Aulus Atticus capitaine of a cohort, vpon a youthfull heate, and through the fiercenesse of his horse, being caried into the middest of his enemies. That night the winners for their partes solaced themselues with the victory and spoyle: and the Britans being vtterly broken, crying and howling, men and women together, take and draw with them their hurt persons, call the not hurt, forsake their owne houses, and in despite also set them on fire themselues, chuse out holes for to lurke in, and straightwaies forsake them, communicate some counsailes together, and then haue some glimring of hope: somtimes at the sight of their dearest beloued they are moued to pitie, more often stirred to rage: and certaine it is that some, as by way of compassion and mercy, slew their owne children and wiues. The day following discovered more plainly the greatnesse of the victorie. Euery where desolation and silence: no stirring in the mountaines: the houses fired and smoking farre off; no man to meete with our spies; who being sent abroad into all quarters found by their footesteps the flight was vncertaine, and that they were no wherein companies together. Whereupon Agricola because the sommer was spent, and the warre conueniently could not be diuided, bringeth his army into the borders of the [¶]Horrestians, where receiuing hostages he commanded the Admirall of the nauie to saile about Britannie, lending him souldiers and strength for that purpose, and the terroure of the Roman name was gone already before. Himselfe, with easie and gentle iourneyes, to terrifie the new conquered nations with the very stay of his passage, disposed his footemen and horsemen in their wintering places: and withall the nauy with prosperous winde and successe arriued at the port [¶]Trutulensis, from whence it [¶]departed, and coasting along the nearest side of Britannie returned thither againe.

This state of affaires in Britannie Agricola signified by letter, without any amplifying termes, to Domitian : who after his maner with a cheerefull countenance, and grieued hart receiued the newes, being inwardly pricked to thinke, that his late counterfaite triumphe of Germanie, wherein certaine slaues bought for money were attired, and their haire dressed as captiues of that cuntry, was had in derision and iustly skorned abroad, whereas now a true and great victorie, so many thousands of enemies being slaine, was currant and famous in euerie mans mouth : that it were indeed a most perillous point, if a priuate mans name should be exalted above the name of the Prince. In vaine then had he suppressed, the study of Oratorie, and all other woorthy politicke artes, if he should in militare glory be disseised by another :

for other matters might more easily be passed ouer, but to be a good commander of an army was to bee aboue priuate estate, that being a vertue peculiar for a Prince. With these and the like cares being tormented, & musing much in his closet alone, which was a token and signe of some crueltie intended, he thought it yet best for the present to dissemble and put ouer his malice, vntill the heate of his glorie and loue of his souldiers were somewhat abated; for as yet Agricola remayned in charge. Wherefore he commanded that all the honours of triumphall ornaments, * image triumphal, and what els vsually was conferred in lieu of triumph, should be awarded vnto him in Senat in most ample & honorable termes: & sending a successour caused withall a bruite to be spred, that the prouince of Syria, which then lay voide, by the death of Atilius Rufus the Lieutenant, and was reserued for men of great qualitie, was purposed vnto him. And a common opinion went, that Domitian sending one of his most secret and trustie seruants to Agricola, sent withall the patent of Syria, with instruction, that if he were in Britannie it should be deliuered: and that the same man meeting Agricola as he crossed the seas, without speaking vnto him, or deliuering his message, returned againe to Domitian. Whether this were true, or fayned and surmized probably, as correspondent to the Princes disposition, I cannot affirme: but in the meane season Agricola had deliuered to his successour the prouince in good & peaceable state. And lest his arriual at Rome should be noted, by reason of the multitudes of people which would go out to see & to meet him, cutting off that curtesy of his frieds, he entred the city by night, & by night, as he was willed, came to the palace. Where being admitted to the Princes presence, & receiued with a short salutation and no speech, he sorted himselfe with the rest of the waiters. Now to the end he might temper and qualifie with other good parts his militare renowne, a vertue vnpleasant to men of no action, he gaue himselfe wholly to quietnes and medling with nothing; being in apparell moderate, affable in speech, accompanied vsually but by one or two of his friends: so that many, which commonly iudge of great men by the outwarde apparence and pompe, seeing and marking Agricola, missed of that which by fame they conceiued, fewe aimed aright at the cause. Often was he in those daies accused to Domitian in absence, and in absence acquitted. The cause was neither matter of crime, nor complaint of partie aggrieved, but the renowne of the man, and the Princes disposition hating all vertue, and ¹¹ the most capitall kinde of enemies commendens, procured the perill. And in truth those times ensued in the state, which would not suffer Agricolaes name to be buried in silence: so many armies in Moesia, Dacia, Germanie, Pannonia, either through the rashnesse or cowardlinesse of the Generals cast awaie: so manie good souldiers, with so manie cohortes defeated and taken. Neither was it the question then for the vttermost boundes of the Empire and bancke of the Riuer, but the standing camps of the Legions, and the prouinces themselues were in danger of leeing: so that losses beeing heapt vpon losses, and euery yeare becomming notorious for some calamitie and ouerthrowe, Agricola was required by the speech of the people for Generall, euery man comparing his quicknesse, resolutenesse, and experience in warre, with their insufficient and dastardly dealings: with which kinde of talke, it is certainly knowen, Domitians eares were not vnacquainted; his faithfullest seruants vpon loue and alleageance, the rest vpon spite and enuie pricking him forward, being of himselfe prone to the worse. So Agricola partly through his owne vertues, and partly the vices of others, was drawn headlong perforce into glorie. Now the yeare was at hand, whenas the Proconsulship of Asia or Africke should be allotted vnto him, and vpon the late murdering of ¹² Ciuica, nei-

* *Illustris statu-
honorem. 1. Hist.
triumphalis statu.*

¹¹ *Suetonius Do-
mitiano. c. 10.
complures senato-
res, in his aliquot
consularis intere-
mis, in quibus Ci-
uicam Cerealem
in ipso Asia pro-
consulatu.*

ther

ther could Domitian faile of example to follow, nor Agricola of direction what he should doe. Some also priuy to the Princes secret intents offered speech of themselves, and asked him whether he could be content to accept of the gouernement: commending at the first a farre off a quiet life and voide of busines, and proffering anone their mediation to the Prince to allow his excuse. At the last declaring their purpose in plaine termes, by perswasion and threats they induced him to become a direct suiter in that behalfe to Domitian: who setting a fained countenance vpon it, and composing himselfe to keepe mailestie and state, both heard his humble petition excusing himselfe from that charge, and when the excuse was admitted suffred himselfe to be solemnly thanked, and was not ashamed of so odious a benefite. Howbeit the pension, which was wont to be offered to men of that quality, and by him had beene granted to certaine, hee did not bestowe vpon Agricola: either being offended it was not sued for, or vpon the guiltinesse of his owne conscience, lest thereby he should seeme to haue bought out * that thing, which he had forbidden. It is the property of mans nature to hate those whom he hath hurted: beside Domitian was prone and headlong to anger, and the more close the more irreuocable, yet was he notwithstanding altered and mollified by Agricolaes discretion and warie behauiour: for he did not with obstinacie, nor vaine ostentation of libertie, neither hasten his fame nor his fall. Let them well knowe that are wont to admire those things alone, which are done against the streame of the time, that great men may be found euen vnder bad Princes; that dutiful obedience and modestie, if industrie and valour bee ioyned, may attaine to that degree of praise and renowne, which some following dangerous courses haue aspired vnto by an "ambitious death, without any further profit at all.

The end of his life brought mourning to vs, and grieve to his friends, and euen by strangers and persons vnknownen was lamented: the cōmon sort also, and this retchles people of ours, both came oft to his house, and in all publicke places & meetings had it in speech, neither did any person, when he heard of his death, either reioice or sodainly forget it. And that which procured the greater compassion was a constant report, that he was made away by poyson. Of mine owne knowledge I dare assure nothing: this onely, that during the time of his sicknesse there came from Domitian, oftener then vsually are wont from Princes, who visit by others, both of his secretest seruants and neereest phisicians to see him, whether as of carefulnesse, or only to spie I leaue it vncertaine: certaine it is, that the day of his death, euery degree of his going away was caried in post to the Prince; and few men beleeued the newes should be hastened so much, that he would be sorie to heare. Notwithstanding he made shewe of sorrow in minde and in countenance, being now out of danger y of that which he hated, and one that more easily coulde dissemble his ioy then his feare. When Agricolaes testament was read, wherein he made Domitian coheire with his most deare wife and most dutifull daughter, it was certaine he greatly reioiced thereat, as if it had beene a signe of honour, or proceeded of iudgement: so blinded he was, and so greatly corrupted by continuall custome of flatteries, that he coulde not perceiue, that no good father did euer appoint for his heire any Prince but a tyranne. Agricola was borne the thirteenth day of Iune, Caius Cæsar being thirde time Consull, and died the 2 fixe and fiftieth yeere of his age, the fower and twentieth day of August, Collega and Priscus being Consuls. Of personage (if posteritie desire to be informed thereof) he was rather well proportioned then tall, with an assurednesse and great grace in his countenance: 12 a good man you would easily thinke him, and willingly a great. And although he died in the middle course of

* That is, his going into the province.

"Meant, as I take it, principally by Heliodorus & Thraseas, whom Martial also noteth in an Epigramme to Decianus much to this purpose. *Quod magni Thraseæ, consummatæ, Cæsonis Degmata sic sequeris, alius ut esse velis, Pectore nec nudo strictos incurris in enses, Quod fecisse velum te Deciane facis. Nolo verum, facili redimat qui sanguine famam: Hunc volo laudari qui sine morte possit.*

y That is, of the vertuous qualities of Agricola.

2 Fower and fiftieth, at the most, for from Caius Cæsar. 3. cons. to Collega & Priscus Consuls were no more but fiftie three yeares, but so is the fashion not only of Tacitus, but of other History-writers, to misrecken in a manner alwaies to the more.

his ripe age, in respect of honour and glorie he liued with the longest: for of all the parts of true felicitie, which consisteth in vertue, he had fulfilled the measure: and hauing obtained beside Consulare and triumphall ornaments, what more coulde fortune annexe to his estate? excesse of riches he delighted not in; honourable he had and according to his degree. Yea happie may he be thought and happie indeed, that escaped those tempests which followed, leauing behinde him a daughter and wife, his honour not stained, his fame not touched, his friends and allies in flourishing state. For as in our hearing he wished and hoped to liue and last to the light of this most blessed age, and see ^a Traian established Prince, so his hastned death had this great comfort, that he liued not to see that last and most miserable time, in the which Domitian, not at seasons and by fittes, but with a continuall course and at one blowe, as it were, ruined the state. Agricola liued not to see the Senate-house beset, the Senate enuironed with souldiers, and all in one fury the death of so many Consulare personages, the banishments and flights of so many great women.

^a Then it must be by way of prophecy, not of discourse: for in Domitian's time there was no likelihood at all of that succession

^b Carus & Messalinus instruments of Domitian's cruelty: and so was Messala afterward. *Plin. l. 1. ep. 11. & 4. ep. 22. Iuuenal.*

^c *De repetundis*: the province of Berycia being plaintife, Senecio & Pliny accusers: as the same Pliny writeth, *l. 7. ep. 33*. ^d Exiled by Domitian, and restored vnder Nerva. *Plin. l. 4. ep. 22.*

Carus ^b Metius had obtayned as yet but one conquest, and Messalinus bloudie sentences kept themselves within the manour of Alba, and Massa Bebius himselfe was then ^c called in question. Anone after our handes led Heluidius into prison; the sight of ^d Mauricus and Rusticus pierced our harts; Senecio besprinkled vs with his guiltles bloud. Yet Nero withdrew his presence, and commanded cruelties, looked not on: the principall part of our miseries vnder Domitian was to see and be seene; when our secret sighes were registred, when that cruell countenance and red visage, with which he armed himselfe against blushing and shame, could endure to note and marke the feares and palenesse of so many persons. Thise happie then maiest thou, Agricola, be counted, not onely for the renowne of thy life, but also for the opportunitie of thy decease. Thou diddest as they do affirme, which were present at thy last speeches, accept thy death most patiently and willingly, as though for thy part thou wouldest haue cleered the Prince. But I and thy daughter, beside the losse of so deare a father, we haue a further cause to be grieved, that it was not our chance to be by in thy sicknesse, to cherish thy weaknesse, to satisfie and content our selues with seeing and embracing thee. Some counsaile no doubt, and some precepts we should haue receiued in charge to print and engraue in our harts: this is our grieve, this our speciall misfortune: to vs, in respect of our long absence fower yeares before, thou wast lost. And albeit thy most louing wife the best of all mothers fate by, and furnished no doubt al things in most honourable sort, yet wast thou laied vp with fewer teares, and at thy last hower thine eies missed somewhat. If there be any place for the ghosts of good men, if, as wise men define, the soules of great persons die not with the bodie, in peace maiest thou rest, and recall vs thy posteritie from impatient and womanish wailings to the contemplation of thy vertues, which are in no sort to bee sorrowed for, or bewayled, but rather admired.

* * * * * This is true honour indeed, and this is the dutie of neereft kinsfolkes. So I would counsaile thy daughter and wife to reuerence the memorie of their father and husbände, with often remembring his doings & words, recognizing the glorie and image of his minde, rather then of his bodie: not that I dislike of images cut in marble or mettall, but as mens faces, so the images of faces are mortall and fraile; the shape of the minde is eternall, which we may represent and expresse, not by matter and arte borrowed abroad, but by our owne manners within. That of Agricola which we did loue, which we admired, remaineth, and so will remaine, in the mindes of men, in the continuall succession of ages, in fame and renowne. For manie of the ancients shall lie buried in obscure and inglorious obliuion,

obliuion, but Agricola shall liue recommended to posteritie, and continue for cuer.

Annotations vpon the life of Iulius Agricola.

¹ Forum Iulium] A towne seated in *littore Narbonensi*, distant from Massilia 75 miles, as Strabo ^a reckoneth. Of the same name there were also in Italie, but none so famous as this. The present estate whereof is described very well (as all other things) by that excellent chancellour of France, Michaell ^b Hospitalis.

^a lib. 4.

^b Epist. lib. 5.

*Inde forum Iuli paruum nunc venimus urbem:
Apparent veteris vestigia magna theatri,
Ingentes arcus, & thermæ, & ductus aquarum;
Apparet moles antiqui diuisa portus,
Atque ubi portus erat, sicum nunc litus & horti.*

² None of the iudiciall places] That is, he was neither *Prætor urbanus*, nor *peregrinus*, which were the two places of ciuill causes, properly called by the name of *iurisdicctio*. To the rest belonged cognition of criminall causes, as *de Ambitu*, *Repetundis*, *Falso*, *veneficijs*, &c. properly called by the name of *Quæstiones*, and vnder the Emperours handled before the *Præfectus vrbis*, rather then their owne *Prætor*, which at those times carried not much more then a bare name.

³ Plaies] To giue playes and pastimes to the people seemeth to haue been at the first the *Aediles* peculiar charge, and afterward common to all magistrates in a maner, *Quæstors*, *Prætors*, *Consuls* &c. Of *Prætors* it is plaine by these wordes of Cassius to Brutus in Plutarch: *ὅτι μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἐρασιγῶν ὀπίσθοις, καὶ σταγὰς, καὶ μονομάχας, ὅτι δὲ οὗ δὲ τὸ κατὰ λυσιν τὸ πρὸς νῆδος ἀπαιτεῖνται.* That is, Of other *Prætors* men doe expect and require largesse, stage-playes and *Gladiatores*. but at your hands they expect a matter of more importance.

⁴ Patritians.] One of the fundamentall diuisions in the Roman state was in *Patres*, *sine Patritios* & *plebeios*. The *Patritii* were all made by Romulus, as Liuy reporteth, *Senatours* and counsellours of state: as *Dionysius*, out of the *Patritii* the *Senatours* were elected. *Hostilius* vniing *Alba* to *Rome*, *Principes Albanorum* in *Patres*, *ut ea quoque pars reip. cresceret, legis, Iulios, Serrulios, Quinctios, Geganos, Curiatos, Clatios*. After whom the elder *Tarquinius*, non minus regni sui firmandi, quam augendæ reip. inemor, centum in *patres* legis, qui deinde *minorum gentium* sunt appellati. *Liuy lib. 1.* And when the kinges were cast out, *quo plus virium in senatu frequentia etiam ordinis faceret, cadibus regis deminutum Patrum numerum, primoribus equestris gradus lectis, ad trecentorum summam* ^c *expleuit Brutus*, and fve years after, *Appius Claudius*, fleeing with his faction from the *Sabins* to *Rome*, *inter Patres* ^c *lectus est*; being the last, I remember, vpon whom in the free state that honour was conferred, to be made a *patritian*. The emperours many yeares after vpon the like causes, or to pleasure their friends, renewed the custome. ^d *Iulius senatum suppleuit, Patritios allegit.* Then *Augustus*, *ὅτι τε τῶν ἐπαπειδῶν γένος συνεπαύδουσε, τῆς βαλῆς οἱ δὲ δὲν ὀπίσθους τὸ το ποῖται. ἐπειδὴ τὸ τε πλεῖστον ἀπολόλοι σφῶν. ἔδεν γὰρ ὅπως ὡς τὸ γενναῖον ἐν τοῖς ἐμμελίοις πλεῖστοις ἀναλίκεται.* That is, *Augustus* by permission, as he would haue it seeme, of the Senate, supplied the number of the *Patritians*, whereof the most part was decayed, nothing in ciuill warres going so much to the walle as the ancient nobility. *Dio. lib. 52.* And *Claudius*. *Isdem diebus in numerum Patritiorum ascensis Cæsar (Claudius) vetustissimum quemque è senatu, aut quibus clari parentes fuerant, paucis iam reliquis familiarum, quas Romulus maiorum, & L. Brutus minorum gentium appellauerat, exhaustis etiam quas dictator Cæsar lege Cassia, & princeps Augustus lege Senia sublegere.* Tac. 11. *Annal.* And lastly, as it may here appeare, *Vespasian*, after whose time I finde no mention of any such subrogation. onely I finde that *Constantine* the great vnder the olde name of *patritii* induced a new kinde of office, and honour superiour to the *Præfecti Prætorio*. *Zosimus*. *Ὅσας παρὰ Κωνσταντίνου τῆς ἀξίας τετυγχάνει τοῦ Πατρικίου, ὡς ἔτι τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπινοήσας, καὶ πλεῖστον, καὶ σεραβῆνδρον τὸς τῶν πρὸς ἡξιομένους τῶν τῆς αὐλῆς ἀσπασίων νομοθετήσας.* That is, *Optatus* had obtained the dignity of *Patricius* at *Constantinus* hand, who first denised this honour, and gaue them in that place *presence before the Præfecti Prætorio*. lib. 2. & of *Patritius* in this sense we read oftē in the times of the later Emperours.

^c Liuy lib. 2.

^d Sueton. c. 41.

⁵ A pontificall dignitie] Of all the colledges of Priests, in *Rome* being many in number, that of the *Pontifices* was of the supremest authority, consisting of fower, afterward fower more were added, and the number by *Sylla* further augmented, eligible in the free state by chapter, sometime by the people, afterward appointed by the Prince. The head of this colledge was called *Pontifex maximus*, an honour resiant in the Emperours person euen from the time of *Iulius*, in whom the Empire, and *Pontificatus* first by chance were vniued, and continued euen in the Christian Emperours, till *Gratian* cast off both the name and the attire. *Zosimus lib. 4.* *ὡς παρὰ Ζήνωνος αὐτῶν τῶν ποτιφικῶν καὶ τὸ σύνδεις πλεῖστον ἐρατικὴν σελὴν, ἀπεσείπτο πλεῖστον αὐτῶν, ἀδελφικὸν εἶναι χεῖριστῶν τὸ ὅλην νομοθεσία.* That is, When as the *Pontifices* brought vnto him according to the custome the *Pontificall* habise he reiecteth the suite, supposing it vnlawfull for a Christian to weare that attire, and afterward *Theodosius*, as the same *Zosimus* and *Symmachus* report, dissolued the colledge of the *Pontifices*, and all the rest of the Priests, and confiscated the reuenues. The name of *Pontifex*, saith *Varro*, lib. 4. *de lingua Lat.* is deduced a *ponte*, nam ab his *Sublucius* est factus *primus*, & *restitutus sepe*. *Zosimus* deriueth the name from an ancient custome amonge the *Thessalians*, where before the vse of temples, the images of the gods being placed vpon the bridge of the riuer *Peneus*, the priests thereof were named *πομπεῖοι*.

⁶ To a long dish, or two edged axe.] *Scutula*, vsed by *Tacitus* here, and *Martial*. lib. 11. *Epigram. 32.* and *scutella* by *Tullie*, signifieth a dish vually serued at table, and to *Scutella* is *ἐπεσπῆναι*, That is, A long square, by *Censorinus* cap. 18. resembled, whose definition by *Euclide* is this (for in *Censorinus* the place is corrupted) *τετραπλόγων ὁ ὁρθογώνιον μὲν ἔστιν, καὶ ἰσόμετρον δὲ.* That is, A figure enclosed with fower sides hauing all the angles right, but not all the sides equall. like to the figure. A. although by this place of *Tacitus* it may seeme, that not all *Scutulae* were *ἐπεσπῆναι*, but some of some other fashion for he addeth *longæ*, limiting as it were the generality of the worde. *Bipennis*, saith *Quintilian*, *Institut. orator. lib. 1. securis virinis habens aciem, a pinna quod est acutum.* Now how well the part of *Britanny* here described resembleth the axe, or the dish, or one of them the other (although two like to a third ought in good *Geometrie* to be like together) because

A

Scutula

Cuneus

The figure of whole Britanny according to Tacitus.

^e Aristotle 2.
Meteor. likeneth
the known part
of the world
Tympano.
xj εσσι οιον τυμ-
πανο. τριτον δο-
σθαι της γης.
f χλαμυδ οειδης.
g Condoni τοικιζ
h Versu. 277.

I see, not my selfe, I am content to leave it to others. One thing I see, that manie good writers haue had but ill lucke in such kinde of resemblances. Strabo ^e likeneth the known part of the world to a ^f cloake, and Dionysius Afer to a ^g sling (being much like the one to the other) and both of them Spaine to an oxehyde, Rutilius Numatianus Italie to an oken leafe; and the same Dionysius ^h Affrica and Europe to a Conus isosceles; Peloponnesse *πλαταγοςο μωβελζοτι πετήλω*. That is, To the mouse-leye-like leafe of a Playntree.

⁷ The extreme and plaine parts] A place in mine opinion very hard to be well vnderstood, or at least, made good. For he seemeth to say, that the extreme parts of the world being plaine, the night therefore is nothing, or short, which importeth as much, as if the night were nothing els, but when the sunne hideth it selfe behinde some mountaine or other. or els, that albeit the earth toward the middest was globe and bossed, yet was it toward the poles flattish and plaine. Very vulgar conceits in so great a man, and yet in the text *infra calum & sidera nox cadit*, by *nox* is ment, I suppose, *umbra terra*, as out of the bowels of art; and the lownesse of the shadow proiected is the cause of the shortnesse of the nights. but the lownesse proceedeth not neither of mountaine, nor plaine, but because the sunne in the summer season runneth his course almost all about ground in those cuntries toward the poles, and when it doeth set, by reason of the inclination of his circle to the Horizon, descendeth not directly, but passeth obliquely, razing as it were vnder their Horizon. yet one of the Panegyrist, as though Tacitus had deliuered vs here matter worthy of imitation, hath taken the paines to asume this hye point of learning *ad verbum* into his oration.

⁸ Pearles] Marcellus lib. 23. *Apud Indos & Persas margarite reperiuntur in testis marinis robustis & candidis, permixtione rovis anni tempore prestissimo concepte. Cupientes enim velut coitum quandam humoris, ex lunari aspergine capiunt densius oscitando. Exindeq; grana edunt minutas binas aut ternas, vel uniones sic appellatas quod eius terre conchule singulas aliquoties, pariunt, sed maiores. Idque indicium est aetherea potius deriuatione quam saginis pelagi hos eriri satis & resciri, quod guttae matutini rovis ipsam infuse clarescunt lapillos & teretes: resperitini vero, fluxuosos contra & rutilos, & maculosos interdum. Minima autem vel magna pro qualitate haustum figurantur casibus variatis. Concussae vero sepiissime metu fulgurum inanescunt, aut debilia paruum, aut certe rursus defluunt abortiuas. Capturas autem difficiles & periculosas, & amplitudines pretiorum illa efficit ratio, quod frequentari sueta litora propter piscantium insidias declinantes, & quidam coniungunt, circa densos scopulos, & marinorum canum receptacula delinunt. Quod genus gemmae etiam in Britannici secessibus maris gigni legi, licet dignitate dispari, non ignoramus.* And to the like purpose speaketh Pliny also lib. 9. *In Britannia parrhos atque decolores uniones nasci certum est: whereas the commendation of pearle consisteth in candore, magnitudine, orbe, leuore, pondere.* But in hope of the British, such as they were, Iulius Caesar, saith ^k Suetonius, first went into Britanny, & ex his contextum thoracem Veneti genitrici consecrauit. Plin.

⁹ Pollicy] *Consilium*. As in a naturall body too little is vnperfect; too great vnwealdy; so in a politicke, both the extremities are weake, and not defensible. although peraduenture as well in the one body as in the other, *πανθωρα*, That is, Fulnesse, induceth lesse danger generally, then *ενδεα*, Emptinesse, doth. This inconuenience Augustus wisely foreseeing in his time, whenas the Roman empire was growen to that greatnesse, *ut iam mole laboraret sua*, saith Liuy, restrained first of all that infinite desire of enlarging. of which act as a thing most aduisedly done Iulianus Caesaribus bringeth Augustus himselfe discoursing in these words. *οὐτω διεθέκεν τὸ ἀεὶ αὐτῷ, ὥστε εἶναι δι' οὐκ αἰσ, ὃ σποῖ, τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδελφάντων. Οὐ γὰρ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιθυμίας εἶναι, ἐπιπλάσσει πάρος αὐτῇ διανοήσας, ὅτι αὐτὸς διὰ τὴν οὐκ αἰσ, ἀπὸ τῆς οὐκ αἰσ, ἀπὸ τῆς οὐκ αἰσ, ἱσθον καὶ εὐφρατῶν ποταμὸς ἐβέβηκεν. εἴτα ὑποτιθεῖς τὸ Σκυθῶν καὶ Θερσῶν ἔθνος, ἐπιμετρεῖν τὸν οὐκ αἰσ, τοῖς βασιλεῖς, μοι τὸν χρόνον, καὶ πόλεμον ἄλλον ἐξ ἄλλης περὶ σκόπων, &c.* That is, The affaires of the Empire I settled, so that it was become as strong and as hard to make a breach into as a diamant. For I yeelded not to those vnmeasurable desires of conquering still more and more, but contented my selfe with those two limits, as it were appointed by nature, of Danubius and Euphrates. afterward the Gods sparing me longer life I vnderooke some necessary matters, and those dispatched sought not occasion to make still warre vpon warre. After the death of Augustus a booke was produced written with his owne hande, in the which, saith Tac. 1. Ann. *opes publica cōtinebantur, quantum ciuium sociorumq; in armis, quot classes, regna, provinciae, tributa, aut vestigia, & necessitates, ac largitiones, addiderat q; insuper Consilium*, saith he, vsing the same word in both places speaking of the same matter, *coercendi intra serminos imperij, incertum metu, an per inuidiam* Dio. lib. 56. *γνώμην τὴν αὐτοῖς ἐδωκε, τοῖς τε παρὶν ἀρκιόνην καὶ μηδαμῶς ἐπὶ πλείον τ' ἀρχὴν ἐπειρήσει ἐβελήσεν. συσφύλακτον τὴν γὰρ αὐτῷ εἶσθαι, καὶ κινδυνεύσειν ἐκ τῶν καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπολέσειν ἐστίν. τὸ το γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁντως αἰεὶ ποτὲ καὶ λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ ἐτίθει. παρὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν ἀποσπασσάσθαι, καὶ ὑθέμεναι.* That is, He gave them aduise to content themselves with their present estate, and in no case to seeke to enlarge the limites of the Empire. for it would be both hard to be kept, and endanger, he said, even that which they had, and this precept he alwaies obserued himselfe not only in word but in deede and effect, refusing, whenas with great facility he might, to conqueere any more of the barbarous nations.

¹⁰ To buy corne] The Romans, beside tribute, imposed vpon the cuntries subdued, such at least as yeelded commodity thereof, a proportion in corne, commonly the tenth part, and beside for the prouision of the Lieutenant, and souldiers maintained there, and other like purposes, at a resonable price. In gathering whereof the purueiours and takers, and sometime the head officers vsed many concussions and vnlawfull exactions, as appeareth at large in Tullies fifth oration against Verres. In Britanny it seemed the Romans had ingrossed all the corne of the cuntry, and instituting a monopoly therof compelled the poore Britans to buy at their handes and their price, and by laying a new charge vpon them, as to vittall the armie, or such like, to sell it againe vnder foote. Moreover the carttakers for carriage of prouision from Canterburie, for example, to London, would take vp carts at Caerlil, or make them pay well to be spared, whereas the same thing might haue been done without any molestation at all of the subiect, but not with like gaine to the officers. These abuses, or other of this kinde, are ment in this place, as I vnderstand it, submitting my iudgment herein to men of better experience that way.

¹¹ The most capitall kinde of enemies, commendeth] To hurt or disgrace by way of commendation, albeit it seemeth a strange position at the first sight, yet may be, and daylie is, both easily and diuersly performed. For example. To commend a man to his Prince for those qualities, wherein the Prince himselfe either by his place ought to excell, or otherwise vpon some speciall fancie affecteth to excell, and principally if he finde any weaknes that way in himselfe, is one of the most subtle, ready, and pernicious meanes to worke a great man in disgrace with

the study thereof remaining in schooles, that bastard Rhetoricke returned againe, yeelding vs in steede of the soundly contriued sentences of Demosthenes, Aeschines, Hyperides, the paintings of Aristidis, Philostratus, Dio Chrysostomus, and others, though not without opposition of many, as Dionysius, Lucian and such like. The auncient Romans sucking the best from the Greekes, when they were at their best sayled not much that way, vnlesse peradventure wee may reckon Hortensius as one of the number: for so Tully in Bruto seemes to describe him. But of the later, whom haue wee almost not infected with that heresie of stile begun by Seneca, Quintilian, the Plinies, and Tacitus, continued in their successours the Panegyristes, and lastly conueyed to Christian religion by Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustin, Bernard, &c? For a taste of this affectation in Tacitus, 1. Hist. *Rara temporum felicitate ubi sentire quae velis, & quae sentias dicere licet. Inchoauere annum sibi ultimum, reip. prope supremum. Secunde res acrioribus stimulis animum explorant, quia miseriae tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur. Quatriduo Caesar properata adoptione, ad hoc sanctum maiori fratri prelatum ut prior occideretur. Et vno amne discretis connexum odium. Redieruntque in castra inuicti neque innocentes. Nec illos priores & futuri principes terrere, quo minus facerent scelus cuius visor est quisquis successit. Quaeque alia placamenta hostilis irae non quidem in bello sed pro pace tendebantur.* 2. Hist. *Es Visellius credidit de perfidia & fidem absoluit.* 3. Hist. *Arserat & ante Capitolium, sed fraude priuata: nunc palam obsessum, palam incensum.* with many more of the same make.

F I N I S.

A VIEW OF CERTAINE MILITAR matters, for the better vnderstanding of the ancient Roman stories.



SERVICE in warre is by lande, or by water. The Roman seruice by land was either at home in the City, or externall abroad. The externall consisted principally in *Legiones* and *Auxilia*; a knowne diuision in the Roman stories. Lilius lib. 8. *Pro exercitu, legionibus, auxiliis* T. R. *legiones auxiliaque hostium mecum dijs manibus deuoueo.* most frequent in Tacitus. i. *Hist. infectis ca-*

tabes legionum quoque & auxiliorum motas iam mentes. 13. Ann. *Copia orientis ita diuiduntur, ut pars auxiliorum cum duabus Legionibus apud Quadratum remaneret, pars ceterum sociorumque numerus Corbuloni esset.* Where also we see hee varieth the wordes *legiones & auxilia* by two equiuallent

in the later member *cines & socij.* And Lilius lib. 7. *civilis exercitus and socialis catus,* meaning the Roman Legions and Latin *Auxilia.* *Legio,* saith Varro, lib. 4. *de lingua Latina, quod leguntur milites in delectu, dicta est.* The

Grecians translate it diuersely: some *στρατιώτης*; some others *πύγμα, τέλος, σύνταγμα, χατάλογος, λεγών, πολίτης, δύναμις,* or *πολιτική τεύχη* in respect of their standing camps, which were fortified and walled, and gaue occa-

sion in the later times to the founding of many great cities in the Empire

^a To this etymology of the word Galba no doubt alluding answered the souldiers, which demanded donatiue; *legi à se militem nō emi.*

^b The man that fighteth, the coachman, & two horses at the least

^c L. Florus lib. 1. cap. 18.

^d *δία τῶν ποδῶν ἡ ἀλκατρία.* Diodor. Sic. lib. 19

^e *Periē, saith Seruius: nam in legione non nisi 300 equites erant, per quod ostendit unam habuisse legionem Latinum.* *Romani equites* (saith the same Seruius) *primò trecenti fuerunt, de singulis enim Curiis deni dabatur, quas triginta fuisse diximus.*

^f *τῶν τριῶν στρατιωτῶν ἑκατὸν εἰς τετρακισχίλους πύγας.* ^g In the same Polybius lib. 1. of *legio Campana*, by *Gracius* named *Clauus.* ^h *ἡ πρώτη δὲ στρατιὰ ἐστὶν ἡ πρώτη τάξις, ἡ δὲ δεύτερη τῆς τετρακισχίλου ἑκατὸν.* ⁱ *ἡ ἑκαστὴ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐστὶν ἡ πρώτη τάξις.* lib. 3.

LEGIO was diuided into *Pedites* and *Equites*: although peradventure sometimes by Legions and also by *Auxilia* the footemen alone are intended, as being the more principall part. The other two kindes of seruice in field, by charets and Elephants, eyther were neuer in the Roman state, or were not ordinarie, and euen so were quickly laied downe. The maner of fighting out of charets, a matter so often recorded not onely by poets in those fabulous times, but also by the writers of the sacred storie, may seeme to haue beene in a sort proper to those *Heroica tempora*, and by generall consent of the world (some fewe barbarous nations excepted, who are alwaies best keepers of customes) laied aside, beside the vnwealdines, peradventure because to furnish out one fighting man in that case ^b foure mouthes were to be fedde, and fower bodies armed, of which any one sayling the seruice of all fower was at an ende. The other by Elephants was ancient, and continued long among the Easterne and Southerlie nations, the cuntries yeelding good store of those beasts: by the Romans seldome vsed, not for that they lacked the breed (for what would they lacke, that either could serue for vse or delite? and of those creatures they would kill for their pleasure hundreths at once in their Theatres) but because they vtterly disliked the seruice, as ambiguous, turning as oft to the hurte of the owner as of the enemy. Whereof they saw good prooffe in the army of Pyrrhus, who first brought them into Italie: in which, as ^c one sayeth, *eodem sepe, quæ primam victoriam Romanis abstulerant, secundam parem fecerant, tertiam sine controversia tradiderunt.* The Easterne nations also found them at the length vnseruiceable ^d for the tenderesse of their hoofes, and diuerse other respects: and so they remaine generallie layed aside. Now for the number of *Pedites* and *Equites* in a Legion, Romulus at the foundation of Rome, after the misfortune of Remus wherein many perished, had onely three thousand footemen, and three hundreth horsemen remayning. Dionys. lib. 1. and 2. of which number he composed his Legion at the very first beginning of Rome according to Plutarch. *κτισθείσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως, πρῶτον μὲν ὅσον ἦν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πᾶσι τοῖς συντάγματι στρατιωτῶν διέλεν. ἕκαστον δὲ σύνταγμα πέντε τριχίλων ἦν, καὶ τετρακισχίλων ἵππων. That is, Whenas the city was built, first of all he sorted the people such as were within yeares of seruice into Legions. euery Legion consisted of 3000 footemen, and 300 horse. Romulo, one Horseman for ten Foote. Varro lib. 4. *de lingua Lat. Milites,* saith hee, *à mile, quod trium milium primò legio fiebat, ac singula tribus Tatiensium, Ramnium, Lucerum milia singula militum militabant.* To that number of horsemen in a Legion of those times Virgil (whose maner is in fabulous narrations to enterlace the true Roman antiquities) alluded, and so Seruius noteth vpon these verses lib. 7.*

^e *Stabant trecentum nitidi in præsepibus alis.*

and lib. 9. ^f *Tercentum scintilli omnes Volscente magistro.*

Albeit, the number of footemen heereafter still rising sometime to fower thousand, sometime higher, we finde in later times often but two hundreth horse assigned to a Legion, hardly one horse for twentie foote, a very scant proportion. And such was the Legion at the first foundation of Rome. Afterwarde many of the *Cænienses*, *Antennates*, *Crustumerini* and *Sabins* beeing transferred by Romulus to Rome, the number of men dayly increasing, more Legions were made with the same number of men in a Legion, or little diuersity: though Plutarch respecting rather the vsage of the time wherein hee liued, then whereof hee wrote, determineth the matter farre otherwise: *στρατιωταδείσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως, εἰ λεγόνες ἐγένοντο πέντε μὲν ἑξακισχίλων, ἵππων δὲ ἑξακοσίων. That is, The city being doubled by incorporating the Sabins the Legions likewise were increased to 6000. foote and 600. horsemen a piece. Romulo, a number excessive and absurde, as in that age. In the free state the least number wee reade of to a Legion is fower thousand foote men, six thousand and two hundreth the greatest. The author of the increase from three to fower thousand I finde not set down, only it is not vnprobable, that Seruius Tullius, who made Rome *ἐν τετραῦς τῶς ἑτῆς, τετρασχυλον.* That is, Of three-tribed anciently four-tribed. Dionys. hoc est quadratum, made likewise the Legion of three thousand, fower thousand, called also quadrata according to Festus, because it consisted of fower thousand men: although, as it may seeme by Dionysius and Lilius, the mustering of men in his daies went more by wealth then by tribe, as heereafter shall be declared. Of fower thousand and thereabout we haue rule in Polybius, lib. 1. 8. and li. 2. example ^h in Dionysius lib. 6. ⁱ sixteene yeares after the kings were cast out. In Liuy, lib. 6. certaine yeares after that Rome was taken by the French: and againe. lib. 21. in the beginning of the second Punicke warre, and elsewhere. Neuertheless the solemne and iust number seemeth to haue bene precisely fower thousand and two hundreth footemen, and so Polybius in the sixt booke, where he handleth the question purposely, stuteth it. Of which number we haue example in Liuy lib. 7. *Anno urbis conditæ 406,* as hee seemeth to reckon, and in Polybius lib. 2. after the first Punicke warre. Now this number of fower thousand and two hundreth vpon ^k extraordinarie occasions was augmented, saith the same Polybius, sometime to fise thousand, sometime to a greater increase. Lyue somewhat differing*

from

1 Scribentur
autem fere legio-
nes quatuor millibus
pedum lib. 8.
2 Quina millia
ex veteri instituto
dabantur in sin-
gulas legiones.
3 In these
three places of
Appian the Hor-
men also were
comprised, the
number of the
footmen pertai-
ning to a legion
is according to
them somewhat
lesse, then we
haue set downe.
4 cap. 6.

p lib. 1. c. 3. & 6.
1 Liuy lib. 43.
2 καὶ τὰ δύο τὰς
πέντε καὶ ἐκατὸν
καὶ ἑξήκοντα αὐ-
τῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ
δύο.
3 ἐκ τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν
τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ τῶν
πρὸς ἑκατὸν ἵππων
καὶ ἑξήκοντα αὐ-
τῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ
δύο.
4 Sex Rufus. Ca-
sar cum decem
legionibus que
quaterina millia
militum testorum
habuerunt, Galli-
as subiecit.
5 Reliquas ceso-
rium ad ponem
Militum in nu-
merum legionis
composuerat. Tac.
1. Hist.
2 Dionys.
3 Polybius Libro
sexto. Liuius lib. 8.
4 cap. 3.

5 Polybius ἐκ τῶν
πέντε καὶ ἐκατὸν
καὶ ἑξήκοντα αὐ-
τῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ
δύο.
6 Or secundum
Triarium accor-
ding to some
learned men, al-
though Liuy see-
meth to call all
the Enseignes
of the Triarij
Primos Pilos in
that intricate
place in the
eighth booke,
where he hath
rather obfured
then expounded
the Roman foul-
dierie.

from Polybius, and from his owne both rules and examples, in the warres with the Latins about the yeare of the City 415. 1 maketh five thousand the ordinary number of that age, and lib. 42. 2 the custome of ancient times. And yet the same Liuy, as hauing forgotten himselfe, *Paulo & Varrone Cos.* in the second Punicke warre writeth: *numero quoz legiones tum auctas, millib. pedum in singulas adiectis, ut quina millia pedum essent.* Of five thousand we haue examples euery where: of five thousand and two hundred in Polybius, lib. 2. in the French warres: and in Appian. 1. 3 *Εμρ.* where he resolueth 23. legions of Sylla into one hundred and twenty thousand. Of five thousand and fower hundred in Liuius, lib. 37. in the warres against Antiochus. Of six thousand in the warre against Perseus: Liuius lib. 42. Appianus 4 Mithridatico resolueth the five Legions of Lucullus into thirty thousand. *Quinto* 5 *Εμρ.* after the warre at Philippi, Antonius interpreteth to the Grecians twenty eyght legions *κατὰ τὴν συντάξιν.* That is, with their associates in the field, that is, their *Auxilia*, to containe about one hundred and seuentie thousand persons; that is about six thousand a piece. *Six millium & ducentorum hominum primus C. Marius conscripsit legionem,* saith Festus. But Marius surely was not the first that gaue the example of that number. for the Elder Scipio (saith Liuy, a man of more credit, lib. 19.) *suppleuit ita eas legiones quas in Africa transfluxit, ut singule sena millia & ducentos pedites haberent.* Vnder the Empire six thousand or thereupon was the ordinary number. *Plena legio,* saith Vegetius, 6 lib. 2. speaking no doubt of that time, *pedum sex millibus centum fundatur,* at the lowest reckening. Where yet wee are to vnderstand, that the corpes of his Legion consisted onely of five thousand five hundred, the rest being officers, to wit, five hundred and fiftie Diziniers, and fiftie Centurions: the summe six thousand one hundred. Whereas contrariwise in the ancient times the Centurions and vnder officers, as it was in truth most meete, were taken out of the bodie of their companies, not by ambition and suite superinduced. And in the declination of the Empire vnder Honorius wee finde the saied number of six thousand retained. *Zosimus lib. 5. εὐδοξὲ τὸ βασιλεὺς πέντε καὶ ἑκατὸν δαλματίας στρατιῶν τετραμύρια ὄντι φυλακῇ τῆς ῥώμης ἐλθεῖν, τὰ δὲ τετραμύρια πάντα ἐπὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρες ἑκατομύριοι.* That is, It seemed expedient to the Emperour to send for out of Dalmauia five Legions to guard the city of Rome, in these Legions were six thousand men. For so I interpret the place distributing, as they call it, six thousand for euery one of the five Legions, especiallye the same. *Zosimus lib. 6. resoluing ἐξ τετραμύρια στρατιῶν into μυριάδας τετραμύρια.* That is, Six Legions of souldiers into 40000 persons. Now for horlemen 7 Polybius writing in and of the free state assigneth to euery Legion two hundred, and vpon extraordinarie occasion three hundred. Liuy likewise sometime two, sometime three hundred. Appian in Mithridat. giueth to five Legions one thousand six hundred horse. In the Macedonian warre, *Anno urbis Condite 581;* according to Liuius supputation, to a Legion were attributed 9 three hundred and thirtie horse. In *epitoma libri 130.* we haue in the warre of Antony in Parthia sixteene thousand horse to eightene Legions, as hauing to deale with a nation whose principall strength consisted in horlemen: and yet peraduenture of those sixteene thousand the smallest part was Legionary. In Appian, 3 8 *Εμρ.* in the ciuill warres after Cæsars death, two Legions in Africke had a thousand horse annexed, the ancient proportion belike seeming, as it was, too scant. Vnder the Empire, as it may be gathered by Vegetius, six hundred at the least were matriculated in a Legion, and six hundred and sixtie where *prima cohors* was *milliaria*, beside sixty six Decurions: summe, seuen hundred twenty six comprehending the officers. As for 9 Iosephus allowing to ech Legion but an hundred and twentie horse, it was an oversight. And thus much of the number of souldiers in a Legion, which we are to vnderstand at the first enrolment when it is entier, not diminished by warre, or misfortune, nor contrarily through ambition ouercharged. Cæsar in the ciuill warre had his Legions so worne, that they conteyned scarce three thousand a piece, and euen at the first enrolment 10 not aboute fower thousand. On the other side the *Legio classica* conscribed by Nero was so huge and enorme, that when seuen thousand of them were slaine at the entrie of Galba into the City, the rest *decumati*, yet the remainder sufficed Otho 11 to make vp a Legion. Such Legions Appianus, 4 *Εμρ.* seemeth to call *τὴν ἐν δόρυ τῶν ἀεθμοῖς, καὶ πλεονάζοντα.* So that of the number of the Legions in an armie, without due consideration of other circumstances, we may not haste to conclude the number of souldiers.

THE footemen in the Legion of Romulus were deuided, according to the tribes which yelded them, into *Ramnes, Luceres and Tatienses*, ech containing a thousand: and euery thousand into ten Centuries or 12 *Curias*. In the Popular Legion consisting as wee haue saied ordinarily of fower thousand and two hundred the footemen were 13 distributed into foure sortes, *ἡνελκίς.* The youngest and poorest sorte they named *Velites*, the next in age *Hastati*, the third being at the age of their principall strength *Principes*, the fourth somewhat elderlie *Triarij*. Of this last kinde in euery Legion altered or increased howsoeuer were six hundred onely: of *Principes*, *Hastati* and *Velites* twelue hundred a piece in an ordinary Legion, and proportionably in an increased. When this partition was induced I cannot precisely define. *Dionysius lib. 5.* straight after the kinges were expelled, maketh mention of *Triarij* as of a matter not new. *Valerius Maximus lib. 1. 2* writeth, that the vse of the *Velites* was first deuised by *Fuluius Flaccus* at Capua, in the second Punicke warre. In later times, and specially vnder the Emperours, this diuision so famous in ancient story was in a maner worne out. Now the *Hastati* were diuided againe into ten 14 *Enseignes*, or *ordines*, euery one in an ordinary Legion contayning an hundred and twentie persons. The first Enseigne or order whereof was called *primus Hastatus*, the second *secundus Hastatus*: and so forth *usque ad decimum ordinem Hastatum*. Likewise the *Principes* into ten Enseignes, *primum, secundum, tertium Principem*, &c. euery enseigne containing as before. And lastlie the *Triarij* were also diuided into ten Enseignes, ech one containing sixtie persons. The first Enseigne whereof was called *primus Pilus*, the second 15 *secundus Pilus*, and so forth to the tenth. The *Velites* were proportionably dispersed among all the Enseignes. Of these thirtie Enseignes called in Latin *Manipuli*, according to *Gellius*, lib. 6. cap. 4. and *Seruius* in 11. *AEntid.* (although *Plutarch*, in *Romulo* interpreteth *Manipulus*, *ἐκπεσὺς*, confounding it with *Centuria*, and *Vegetius* lib. 2. cap. 13. most absurdly maketh it equiualent with *Contubernium*, a company of ten or eleuen persons) ech one was diuided againe in *duas Centurias*, *Centuriam priorem* and *Centuriam posteriorem*, although in truth they conteyned not the full number of an hundred, but onlie in an ordinary Legion sixtie persons beside the *Velites*, and of the *Triarij* but thirtie. Liuy in describing these Centuries seemeth to vse an inuerfed kinde of speech, lib. 42. *Hic me imperator dignum indicauit, cui primum hastatum prioris centuriæ assignaret,* in place, as it may seeme, of *cui priorem centuriam primi hastati assignaret.* and in the lease following left it might be supposed as done by chance or negligence:

Thus much of the Legionarie soldiers, among whom none were enrolled but *cines Romani*, *ingenui*, *arvis*, *arvis* *ludicis* *experies*. As touching the first point it is cleere in story, that many hundreth yeares together all the *delectus* were *ex plebe Romana* alone, which in later times seldome was mustered, in the Empire scarce euer, nor almost anie Italian borne, but *cines Romani* *ex provinciis*. Herodianus lib. 2. ^a Caesar sometime in the French warre seemeth to haue enrolled of the transpadani into Legions, beeing then not citizens of Rome. Concerning the second point, they which were *libertini generis*, though *cines Romani*, were neuer enrolled, much lesse *serui*, but once or twise in extremities. For the third, according to Dionysius lib. 2. not only *Histrionica* disabled to Legionarie seruice, but all ^{*} sedentarie, mechanicall, and voluptuary artes. Agriculture was only allowed of, as the only nurse of fit ^{*} men for seruice in warre: not as in the practise of Sparta, and precepts of Plato one man to till at home, and another to fight abroad, but one and the same man in peace a good husbandman, and in warre a good souldier; no person by the opinion of many beeing more dangerous in a state, then he which maketh souldierie his occupation and trade. Furthermore it was requisite, that the Legionary souldier should be within the yeares of seruice, *ἐν σφαιροσίου ἡλικία*, and assested at least in the fift classis. The militare age was " from seuentene to fortie yue, as Dionysius saith, or forty six, as ^{*} Polybius, and in dangerous times to fiftie. *Seneca lib. de breuitate uite cap. 20, Lex a quinquagesimo anno militem non cogit, a sexagesimo senatorem non citat.* In which time the footeman might be compelled to serue fixteene or twentie yeares, if need so required, the horseman ten. In Augustus time, Dio. lib. 54. appointeth twelue yeares of seruice for the Prætorian souldier, and fixteene for the Legionarie: and in the booke following, as hauing forgotten himselfe, fixteene to the Prætorian, and twentie to the other. In Tiberius time the souldiers in Germany *missio data est*, saith Tacitus, 1. Annal. *vicena stipendia meritis: exauctorati, qui sena dena fecissent, ac resenti sub vexillo, ceterorum inuicem nisi propulsandi hostis.* which words peraduenture may reconcile in some part the repugnant places of Dio. Now for the classes, the manner of mustring, which in Romulus time went meere lie *tributum*, euerie tribe conferring his thousand, Seruius Tullius reduced to a matter of cense or taxe: according to which not onely the muster was taken, but all officers of importance in the state ^b elected, lawes established, and tributes imposed. The whole number of Citizens being digested into six ^c classes, in the first were all those, which in the taxe or subsidie booke were assested at an ^e hundred thousand *asses* and vpward. The second from an hundreth thousand downward to seuentie fye thousand. The third from seuentie fye thousand to fiftie thousand. The fourth from fiftie thousand to twentie fye thousand. The fift from twenty fye thousand to twelue thousand and fye hundred. And the sixt of all such as were vnder the last rate. Now whereas the first classis conferred eightene horse, and eightie footemen, the second conferred twentie footemen and two artificers beside, as smithes, carpenters, &c. The third classis twentie footemen. The fourth twentie, and two beside to sounde the trumpet, and strike the drumme, &c. The fift thirtie. The sixt classis ^d *immunis militia*, *σφαίρου* *αὐτὸν εἰσφορὰς ἀπελπίς*. That is, Free from all seruice in warre and all payments of Tribute. Dionysius lib. 4. although the same Diony. in the same place alloteth it by oversight one souldier in 193. true it is that the sixth classis had one voice in 193. in comitijs centuriatis, but it yielded no man to the muster at all. So that one course by this manner of mustering yielded a hundreth ninetie two men to the warre, whereof eightene were horsemen, fower artificers, and fifers, a hundreth and seuentie footemen: and so about againe, as the case required a greater or lesse armie, in the same proportion. Dionysius libro 4. With whom Liuy lib. 1. agreeing in the rest, differeth onely in the cense of the fift classis, which by him is but eleuen thousand *asses*, and furthermore the artificers Liuy ioineth to the first classis, and the fifers to the fift, whereas Dionysius putteth them to the second and fourth. The reason why this last and poorest fort was excluded from seruice is well set downe by Iulius Exuperantius. *Populus Romanus*, saith he, *per classes diuisus erat, & pro patrimonij facultate censebatur. ex his omnes quibus res eras, ad militiam ducebantur. diligenter enim pro victoria laborabant, qui præter libertatem, bona defendebant, illi autem quibus nullæ opes erant, caput suum quod solum possidebant censebantur, & belli tempore in manibus residebant. facile enim poterant existere proditores: quia egestas haud facile habetur sine damno.* This kinde of mustering *per classes* instituted by Seruius, was in later times, as it may be gathered by the ^e practise in the Roman stories and playne wordes of ^f Polybius, altered in part and reduced somewhat neerer to a matter of tribe, as being a more popular order, and more agreeable to the present government, yet so, that to Legionary seruice none could be mustred but such as were sessed at ^g fower thousand *asses* at the least, sayeth Polybius, which is indeede somewhat lesse then the cense of the fift classis limited by Dionysius and Liuy; whether it were that Polybius had forgotten the summe, or that the cense of the classis was abated for that both then and afterward regard was had of the classes in taking the muster it is cleere by the wordes of Salutt. in Iugurthino. *Marius interea milites scribere non more maiorum, neque ex classibus, sed rei cuiusque lubido erat, capite censos plerisque*, such as for lacke of wealth were censed onely by poll. After which time the classes were, as I take it, in little consideration in the muster of Legions, especially in the ciuill warres, and in the Empire vtterly neglected the cense also being abolished.

Now the Legion and Legionary being such as we have described remaineth to speak of the Auxiliary soldiers. *Auxilia*, τὸ συμμαχικόν, τὸ σπικευκόν, ξενικὴ δύναμις, ξενικὰ πύρρ', were soldiers which being not citizens of Rome

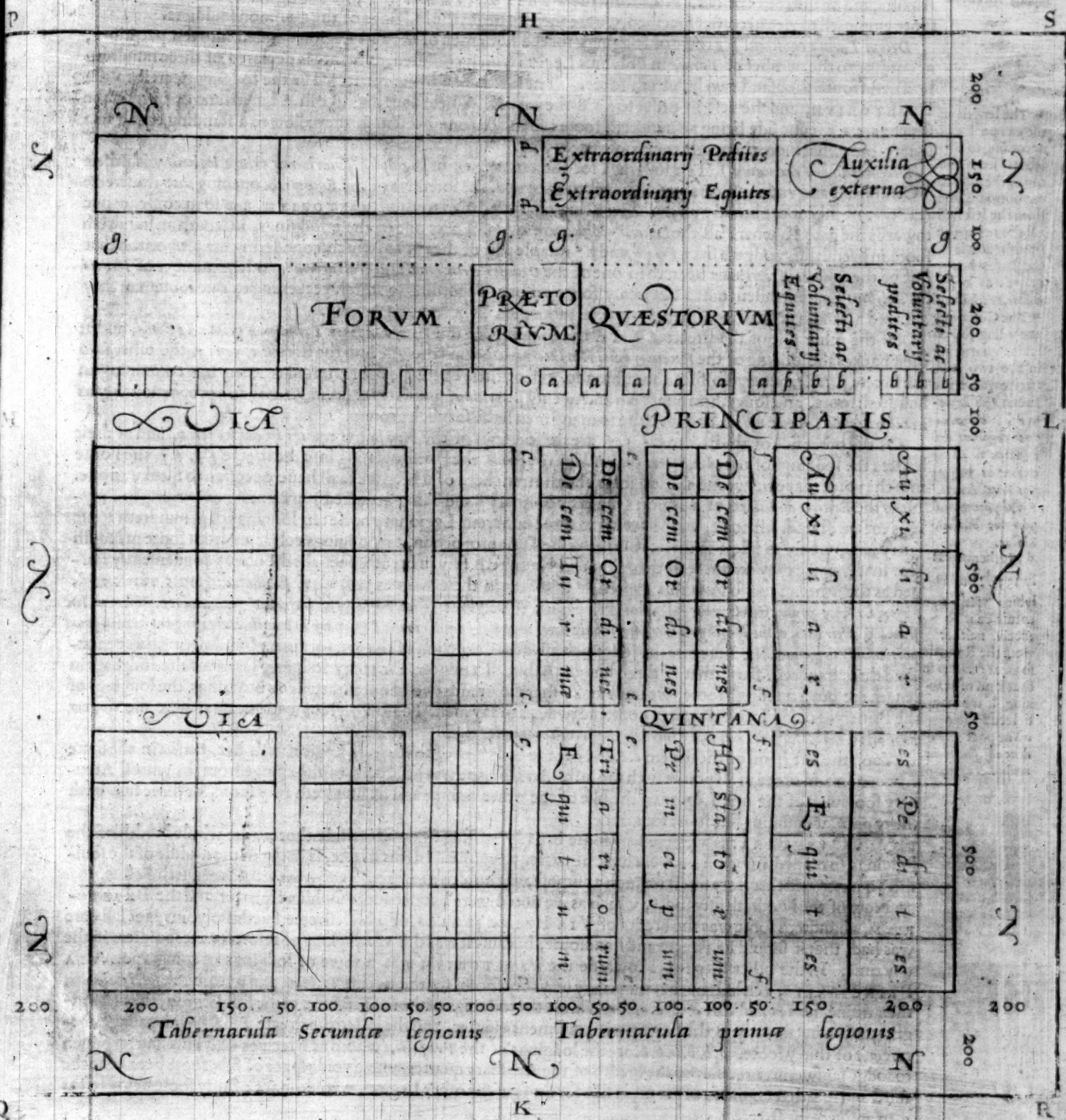
Rome served in the Roman campe. *Varr. lib. 4. de ling. Lat. Auxilium appellatur ab auxiliando, qui adjuvamento essent, alienigenae.* The first Aydes to purpose which the Romans vsed were of the Albans in Tullus Hostilius tyme. Dionys. lib. 3. And anone Alba the head and mother citie of the Latins being razed they chalenged as conquerors that superiority ouer the Latin nation, which the Albans before had enjoyed. In the tyme of Tarquinius Priscus the Latins served in the Roman Armie as Aides against the Hetrusci, and against the Sabins, the Hetrusci and the Latins. In the free state many hundreth yeares; the Latins onely and Hernici ministred *Auxilia gratium armatorum*, for archers and funditores; and *leuis auxilia* of other nations they did not refuse sometime to admit. After the third Punicke warre they admitted also *Auxilia ex sociis italicis à populis regibusque*. And after that time we finde sometimes mention, but no great reckening made in the free state of Auxiliaries. the reason, as I take it, was that the citie being communicated to the Latins and Italian allies in bello *Musico*, they served no longer in quality of Auxilia being now inuested with the right of Legionary service. Augustus and the Emperours fortifying the limits of the Empire with armies, and furnishing the Legions onely in a manner of provincially Citizens, established Auxilia againe, supplied out of their allies and subiects abroad, and generally out of all nations indifferently, making acquainted the barbarous people, and ancient enemies of the Roman Empire with their manner of service, not without notable prejudice to the state. In Tacitus vnder the first Emperours we haue in the Roman campe Auxiliaries *Transhenanis, Galli, Britannis, Numidis, Lusitanis, Batavis, Thracibus &c.* and vnder the later Emperours no militar matter in the whole Empire passed thorow other then barbarous hands; till at length the Romans, as great reason was, were forced to deliuer the Empire to them, to whom they had deliuered their armes. Theodosius, saith Zosimus τὰς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἰσθμὸν βαλβάρους ἐνέταξε τοῖς στρατιωτικαῖς τάξιν. That is, Made Legionaries the barbarians borne beyond the Danub. lib. 4. & again, τὰς δὲ ἐν τοῖς στρατοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἐξέταξε, ἐδὲ παλαιὰς δυνάμεις ἢ βαρβάρους. That is, There was no order obserued in the armies, nor difference made of Roman and Barbarian. and of Gratian, Αλαῖς πῶς αὐτομάτως δεδωκενός στρατὸς ἐκπατέλεζεν. That is, He received certaine fugitives of the Alani, and bestowed them in his armies. Synesius likewise a more indifferent person to the Christian Princes reprehendeth the too great facilitie of Theodosius in receiving to mercy, into his countrey, kingdome and armies the barbarous nations, reaping no other fruite of his clemencie but scorne at their handes, and thereupon he taketh occasion to exhort Arcadius his sonne to increase his Legions, and with the Legions his courage, making supply of his owne people and sending backe the Barbarians thither from whence they first came. But to returne to our Auxiliary souldier, Vegetius lib. 2. cap. 2. describing them vnder the Empire hath these words. *Auxiliares conducuntur ad praelium ex diuersis locis, ex diuersis muneribus venientes. Nec disciplina inter se, nec noxia, nec affectione consentiunt. Necesse est autem sardius ad victoriam peruenire qui discrepant antequam dimicent. Denique cum in expeditionibus plurimum proficiunt omnes milites unius praeccepti significatione coniecti, non possunt aequaliter in sua complere qui ante pariter non fuerunt. Tamen haec ipsa auxilia si sollemnibus diuersisque exercitijs prope quotidie roborentur, non mediocriter iuvant. Nam legionibus semper auxilia tanquam leuis armatura in acie iungebantur, ut in his praeliandi magis adminiculum esset, quam principale subsidium.* Of Auxilia we finde two principall kindes, externall and sociall. Externall sent from kings and forreine states, of which, as depending in most points vpon the voluntary disposition of the sender, I haue not to say. Sociall were either annexed to some Legion, or severally assigned to the garde of some place or countrey, where it seemed not necessarie to maintaine a Legionarie power. Concerning the *Auxilia legionum* in the free state, before bellum *Marsicum*, as often as the Romans armed their allies armed also *ex se* deere, footemen ordinarily as many, horse double. Ordinarily I say, because that rate was not perpetually obserued, as it appeereth by infinite places in Liuy, Appian and others, but more or lesse according to circumstances. Vnder the Empire *illaratio seruata est*, saith Vegetius, *ne vnquam amplius multitudo sociorum auxilium esset in castris, quam ciuium Romanorum.* In the free state the Legionary Auxilia were gouerned in steede of Tribuni by Praefecti, though different in name, yet of like auctoritie, and, as it may seeme, in Polybius time equall in number. For he assigneth twelue Praefecti to one Consul, to whom belonged two Legions, and therefore twelue Tribunes. Now the extraordinary bande being chosen out, at the discretion of the Praefecti, of the best men and fittest for service, of the footemen about the first part, the thirde of their horsemen, the rest of the Auxilia were diuided into two companies, the one called the Right horne, and the other the left. And this is all that Polybius hath written touching their partitions and officers. In Liuy the Latins making head against the Romans haue the very same diuisions and officers with the Roman Legions: but whether at other times also, and as in the nature of assistants they had them likewise, I cannot positively determine; it seemes rather otherwise. The most known diuision both in the free state, and vnder the Empire of Auxilia as well locall as Legionary, is in cohorts of footemen, and Ala of horsemen. And so doth Tacitus often resolute the worde *4. Hist. Cohortium, alarum, legionum hiberna*, i. *Auxiliorum & legionum*, 1. *Hist. Asciscuntur auxiliorum miles primò suspecti tanquam circumdatis cohortibus aliisque impetus in legiones pararetur.* The Auxiliary Cohorts are sometime to distinguish them from the Legionary called *sociae cohortes, leues cohortes, and alarie cohortes*: like as the Ala are also called *Alarij equites*. Nowe of these Cohorts and Wings how many belonged to a Legion usually I cannot precisely define. Vitellius at his entrie into Rome with eight battered Legions had onely thirty fower Cohorts. The Auxilia of the fourteenth Legion were eight Cohorts: which if it were ordinary, seeing the vse of that age beareth at least fixe hundreth footmen for a Cohort, the Auxiliarie footemen belonging to a Legion are fower thousand eight hundreth. And yet Agricola had for three Legions in his armie in Britannie no more but eight thousand, the rest peraduenture being disperfed in garrisons. *Equitum ala*, saith Vegetius, *ab eo dicitur quod ad similitudinem alarum prosequantur aciem.* Ala contained, as I suppose, about three hundreth horsemen. By Tacitus 2. *Hist.* it is plaine, that *ex quatuor equitum turmae* and *uniuersa Treuerorum ala*, some part being retained in *colonia Forontiense praesidij causa*, duodecim turmae aliter sus hostem iere. So that Ala was more then eight Turmae, that is, two hundreth and fortie horse. The ala equitum which followed Scipio into Africke consisted of three hundreth. And that Ala in these later daies was a number of importance it appeereth by the circumstances of ala *Syllana* touched by Tacitus, 1. *Hist.* Now to every Legion belonged two Ala of Auxiliaries at the least. Iosephus setteth downe fixe Ala as the Auxiliaries of three Legions, and Tacitus writeth of fixeene Ala in Illyricum, where at that present were but fixe or seauen Legions. Contrarily Vitellius to his eight broken Legions had but twelue Ala. Agricola in Britannie to three

i Dionys.
 k Hiero apud
 Livium lib. 22.
 l Salust Jugurth
 l As, in Tacitus
 epistles, Appian.
 &c. per chance
 phraser ex veteris
 formula. and by
 an ordinarie
 phrase of speech
 then otherwise.
 m Vide Tac. 4.
 Hist in bellocum
 Germanum.
 n ci tui mba Ba-
 stias eis t au-
 tpeato ex auge-
 rior.
 o tui dē t pāē
 dμyetai exen
 tpeitay au nst-
 tory mui t keta-
 ruy tūc dē xē-
 talyois tōi qe-
 tustoy, t tū-
 tūm dūc ay tū-
 tautay mātay.
 p c.
 q Seneca de
 beata vita: c. 8.
 R Corpori grata ē
 alimentia ē, no-
 bis loco sint, quo
 sunt in castris
 auxilia ē arma-
 tura levis.
 r Tacit. 1. Hist.
 Ocho Batavorum
 cohortes, 14. legio-
 nis auxilia.
 s 2. Hist. Liguri
 cohort: vetus loci
 auxilium.
 t Polyb lib. 3. lib. 6.
 l Polybicus lib. 6.
 having spoken
 before of the Tri-
 bunes, addeth, o
 d αυτην τρετον
 τιν αρχην μιν t
 τη αρχικτων
 αυτην συμμι-
 χας.
 u So that the ex-
 traordinary Band,
 επιχωρο ενδεος
 t συντακτος, con-
 sisted of 8, 0. foot
 men, & 200. horse.
 v Arrian, 2. De-
 morio Alexas.
 x lib. 6.
 y Caesar, Livius,
 Tacitus.
 b 2. Hist.
 c 1. Hist.
 d Tacitus.
 e A le diehe ex-
 ercitus equitum
 ordines, quod cir-
 cum legiones dex-
 tra sinistraque
 ratiqum ale in
 autum corporibus
 locabantur. Cane
 apud Gellii, lib. 16
 cap. 1.
 f lib. 2. cap. 1.
 g Livius lib. 29.
 h Arrian. c. 5.
 i 3. Hist.

Diobib. 53.
Tac. Annal. 16.
Diobib. 47. The
 Triumphant, ſaieth
 he, οὐ τῷ θεοῦ
 τῷ ἰσχυρῶτά
 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀντι-
 στασι βίβλια
 νομει παντα το
 ἐαυτῷ εὖτοι (Julio
 Caesar) νικησαν.
 καὶ τὸ το κενώθη
 πᾶσι τοῖς το κε-
 ρτος ἰσχυροῖς, καὶ
 ἐν αὐτῷ ποτε
 νικημένοι, καὶ με-
 τιπληθεύοντες γι-
 νεται. *Iub.* 57. there
 is mention of an
 oath not onely in
 affa of the pre-
 sent Prince but in
 agēda, τῷ θεῷ
 πιστεύω.

2

Q



PRAETORIUM.) a square plot, every side containing two hundredth foote, for the Generals lodging, and his traine: the ground so chosen as might be fittest both for prospect and a direction.

d. d. A streete of fiftie foote broad leading from the middest of the **PRAETORIUM** to the gate **H** at the toppe of the page.

e. e. e. e. A streete directly opposite to the former, and of the same bredth, leading from the **PRAETORIUM** to the gate **K**, at the bottome of the page. Of the right hand of which streete was lodged one Legion with her Auxilia, and an other of the left. Now from the **PRAETORIUM** toward **K**, measuring out an hundredth and fifty foote employed to vses hereafter specified, we are there to begin the lodgings of the common souldiers.

Decem Turma equitum.) a rowe of lodgings for the horsemen of the first Legion divided into ten partitions, according to the number of **Turma** in Polybius Legion which consisted, as before is declared, of three hundredth horse and foure thousand two hundredth foote. The first **Turma** being quartered in the lodging nearest to the **PRAETORIUM**, and the rest in order toward the gate **K**. These lodgings lye in a length and open vpon the streete **e. e. e. e.** eche side being an hundredth foote: so that to one horseman they allowed a standing equall to a square somewhat more then eighteen foote euery way.

Decem ordines Triariorum.) Ten lodgings for the ten **ordines**, or **manipuli Triariorum prima legionis** with their Centurions and vnder officers, ioyning back to back with the lodgings of the **Equites**, & opening into the streete **e. e. e. e.** of fifty foote broad: **primus Pilus** being quartered next to the **PRAETORIUM**, and so in consequence towards the gate **K**, where all the **Decimi ordines** doe lodge. Euery one of these lodgings, in length an hundredth foote, in bredth fifty, lodgeth sixty **Triarii**, and a ratable part of the **Velites**, which, considering the proportion that one of the **Ordines Triariorum** beareth to one of the **Ordines Principum** and **Hastatorum**, and the number of **Velites** in Polybius Legion, falleth out to betwenty foure persons. according to which reckening to one footeman they allowed a standing equall to a square somewhat more then eight foote euery way.

Of the other side of the streete **e. e. e. e.** the lodgings of the **Decem ordines Principum prima Legionis**, and at their backes the lodging of the **Decem ordines Hastatorum** opening the one into the streete **e. e. e. e.** the other into the streete **f. f. f. f.** being also fifty foote broad. ech of these twenty lodgings is square, euery side containing an hundredth foote, and lodgeth an hundredth and twenty **sui ordinis**, and forty eight **Velites** beside: proportionably as in **tabernaculis Triariorum** we had for halfe so many men halfe so much ground.

Of the other side of the streete **f. f. f. f.** are the lodgings of the **Auxiliares equites in dextro cornu**, and at their backes the lodgings of the **Auxiliares pedes in dextro cornu**, the Horse opening into the streete **f. f. f. f.** the Foote into the voide place betweene the lodgings and the trenches, of which we shall haue occasion to speake anone. Now the **Equites auxiliares** of a legion (the extraordinary Band being deducted) amounting according to Polybius to foure hundredth horse, and allowing to three hundredth Legionary horse ten lodgings of a hundredth foote euery way, we are to allow to these, following the same proportion, ten lodgings ech a hundredth foote in length (for that way we may not increase them) and a hundredth fifty in bredth, to make the one as conueniently lodged as the other. And so Polybius expressly signifieth in these wordes; *διὰ καὶ τὸ βέλθον αὐξήσαντες τέτατος πρὸς λόγον, ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις χήμασι περιώνται καὶ τὸ μήκος ἐξίσουν τοῖς ὄντι Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδοις.* That is, In framing their campe, the lodgings of the Auxiliaire horse they make equall to the Legionary in length, increasing the bredth proportionably to the number. Likewise the footemen after the deduction of the extraordinary Bande being three thousand three hundredth sixty, that is three hundredth thirty six persons for euery lodging, seeing as the lodgings in length are but a hundredth foote, we must make them in bredth two hundredth, twise as broad as the lodgings of the **Principes** or **Hastati**, seeing they containe twise as many men. For so Polybius warranteth vs here also *αὐξέειν τὸ βέλθον πρὸς λόγον.* That is, To increase the bredth proportionably.

Vpon the left hand of the streete **e. e. e. e.** are the lodgings of the second Legion with her **Auxilia** in the same proportion and order in all points with the first. And so haue we the bredth of the campe from the vtmost Auxiliary footemen of the one Legion to the like of the other a thousand six hundredth fifty foote, or three hundredth thirty pace, accounting fife foote for a pace.

VIA QUINTANA: is a streete fifty foote broad, passing from side to side thorow the whole bredth of the lodgings, so named *Quintis ordinibus* which quarter all vpon it. In this streete, as being in the middle of the souldiers quarter, and therefore fittest for such a purpose, was holden a market, *forum rerum versutium*, saith Festus.

Now of the hundredth fifty foote, which as we noted were betweene the souldiers quarter and the **PRAETORIUM**, a hundredth foote was the bredth of **VIA PRINCIPALIS**, of which streete, saith Polybius, speciall care was had, that it should be sweete and handsome, because it was the vsuall place of resort for the souldiers in the day time. In the other fifty foote toward the **PRAETORIUM** was a rowe of lodgings opening vpon **VIA PRINCIPALIS**, ech lodging bearing euery way fifty foote, for the twelue **Tribuni** and twelue **Præfeti sociorum**, their traine, horses and cariage. **a. a. a. a. a.** are the lodgings of the six Tribunes of the first Legion, the first lodging answering directly to the Legionarie horsemens quarter, and the last to the streete **f. f. f. f.** with passages betweene of thirty foote. **b. b. b. b. b.** are the lodgings of the **Præfeti**, (whom as it seemes Polybius had forgotten to lodge) answering precisely to the bredth of the Auxiliary quarter, with a voide space of fifty foote betwene the third and fourth tent, and so of the other side for those of the other Legion, a voide space of fifty foote being left at o, to answer the streete **e. e. e. e.**

g. g. g. g. a crosse streete before the **PRAETORIUM** being a hundredth foote broad, where I suppose was settled the watch mentioned by Polybius, *μία δὲ ἐξ ἀπασὶν καὶ ἡμέραν σημαία ἀπὸ μέρους τῶν στρατηγῶν ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἥτις αἰεὶ ἢ ἀσφαλῆαν ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ βελόνης, αἰεὶ δὲ κομμεῖ τὸ πρὸς χεῖμα τῆς ἀρχῆς.* That is, Every day one Ensigne by course keepeth watch and warde as the Generals panilion both for the safety of his person, and maiestie of his place.

Extraordinarij Equites, and Extraordinarij Pedites.) a plot of a hundredth fifty foote in length (for so it will fall out if wee make the whole ground for the lodgings, as we must, perfectly a square) and foure hundredth and fifty in bredth, answering to the **QVAESTORIUM** and part of the **PRAETORIUM** for the Extraordinary bande of the

Auxilia

* The length of the campe I call according to Polybius, from the top of the page to the bottome, and from the left hand to the right the bredth: albeit the latter hee calleth as often *βελος*, as *μήκος*.
 * The Centurions according to Polybius quartering in the two corners toward the streete: καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν ὀμίλων τὰς κενταρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ἑξωτερικῶν καὶ τῶν εὐνοικῶν καὶ λαυκάκων.
 * ὅτι ἡ ἐξορμή ἐστὶν τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ.
 * Mathematical.

ly 133, but Polybius vseth not to mince it so nicely, neither were the Romans so great masters in that kind of learning, if we may beleue their owne poet extolled abt *ἰσχυρία mollum atq; c.*

* τὸ ἰσχυρὸν σημαία γίνεταί τῇ στρατοπέδου τῇ ἐξορμῇ ἰσχυρὰ ἐστίν.

in this case we are rather to beleue. Now that Prætoria was nearest to the enemy, and Decumana furthest off, it is evident by Cæsar lib. 3. de bell. cin. Pompeius, saith he; acie accessit, prosinusq; se in castra equo contulit, & iij. centurionibus quos in statione ad Prætoriam portam posuerat, clare insimul, inquit, castra. and immediately after, Pompeius cum intra vallum nostri versarentur, equum naclus Decumana porta se ex castris eiecit. That Prætoria was the foregate, and Decumana the backgate it appears by the place of Liuy aboue alleaged lib. 10. ab tergo castrorum Decumana porta impetu factus: and yet Polybius calleth the side where K. standeth perpetually τὴν πρὸς ὀρεῶν πύλιν, ἢ καὶ ἐξωθεν, That is, The foreside of the campe; and that other wherein H. standeth τὴν ὁπίσθεν πύλιν ἢ εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, That is, The backsides of the campe; as I thinke, onely by way of supposition and docendi causa, because in his description of the lodgings he beginneth at the PRÆTORIVM and proceedeth on forward toward Porta Decumana.

Thus haue we a description for two of Polybius ordinary Legions with their *Auxilia*, which was the ordinary armie of one Consul: a campe perfectly square, not as the Grecians (although if Frontinus say true, the Romans tooke this whole learning of Pyrrhus a Græcian) who framed their campe according to the ground, whereas the Romans framed the ground to their campe, and distinguished it with streetes and passages in so good an order, that a man might as readily finde his place there, as his owne house in the towne where he was borne. The whole perimetre within the trenches amounted to eight thousand two hundred foote, or one thousand sixe hundred fifty paces: euery side, according to the positions already layed, containing two thousand fifty foote. Now when the Legions were much fuller then ordinary, in lodging both horse and foote the partitions were made proportionably bigger as well in length as in bredth, and so the square figure still retained. But if the *Auxilia* doe exceede, first they continue the *QVAESTORIUM* and *FORVM* into one, and lodge them in the other: or if that doe not suffice, they make more rowes of lodgings vpon the right and left hand of the Auxiliary quarter, enlarging the figure in bredth by that meanes, and retaining the former length. And likewise if more then two Legions vnder one Generall were to be encamped together, the figure was, I suppose, a long square, enlarged onely in bredth with more rowes of lodgings on both sides the streete *e. c. c. c.* For Tacitus in a place aboue alleadged signifieth that by measuring the *Principia* we might finde out the number of the Legions, which presupposing, the enlargement in length could not by that meanes be so well discerned. But when fewer Legions vnder two Consuls were to be ioyned in one campe, if it pleased the Generals to keepe their standings apart it was likewise a long square, but doubled in length, in all other respects agreeing with this description: and the campe so doubled contained twice as much ground, perimetre halfe as much more with six gates, two *Decumane*, two *Sinistra Principales*, and two *Dextra* without any *Prætoria* at all. But when it pleased them to pitch together they placed the *FORVM*, *QVAESTORIUM* and *PRAETORIUM* in the middle betweene the two armies; the *Extraordinarij* and *Auxilia externa* quartering, as it may seeme, in this case, betweene the Tribunes and souldiers lodgings in the same quantity of ground as before, and with conuenient streetes on both sides.

The Generall officer over the Campe was called *Praefectus Castrorum*: ^a to whose charge appertained to stake out the Campe and see it kept sweete, to appoint and order the trenches and ditch, to quarter the souldiers with their baggage in their lodging, to provide diet and phisicke for the sicke, and pay the physician &c. ^b Particularly over the smithes, carpenters and other artificers with the engineers and such like the officer was called *Praefectus fabricum*. Both of them, as I thinke, lodged in *QVAESTORIO*, where it is likely the *Legati legionum* also were quartered, and in the free staire the *Legati consulares*.

Aslooke as euer the tents were pitched, and campe settled, all which followed the campe both bond and free receiued an othe called *sacramentum castrense*, which according to Polybius was, ΜΗΔΕΝ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΕΜΒΟΛΗΣ ΚΑΕΨΕΙΝ, ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑΝ ΕΤΡΗΤΙ ΤΙΣ ΤΟΤΤ' ΑΝΘΙΣΕΙΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΤΣ ΧΙΛΙΑΡΧΟΥΣ. *This is, That he should steale nothing out of the campe, but if any happened to finde ought he should cary it to the Tribunes, lib. 6.* and in another place he toucheth a matter of greater importance, concerning the iust representation of the spoile in the sacking of citties, a point most profitably induced, whether the spoile were to be referued to publicke vses, or els diuided among the soldiers, whereof the worst sort are commonly most nimble that way. But chiefly it staied the minds of those, who by the Generals commandement remained in armes in the Market place against all sodaine mischances of warre, being assured thereby of equall part with the rest in the pray which should be taken by others. *Anlus* ^d *Gellius* setteth the very forme of the othe downe in more particular termes out of *Cincius de re militari*; *In exercitu decemq; milia passuum prope furtum non facies dolo malo solus, neq; cum pluribus plaris numi argentei in dies singulos, extraq; hastam, hastile, ligna, pabulum, vitem, follem, faculam, si quid ibi inueneris quod plaris numi argentei erit, uti in ad Coss. sine ad quem eorum aliter inueris perferas, aut proficere in viduo proximo quicquid inueneris sustulerisue dolo malo, aut domino suo cuius id censebis esse reddes, uti quod recte factum esse uoles.*

In seruice the Legionary souldier had allowance of pay, corne and apparell: and at the ende of his seruice a consideration in money, or lande of inheritance, and sometimes both. For the pay Liuy writeth thus. *Anno urbis conditæ 349. decreuit Senatus vt stipendium miles de publico acciperet, cum anse id tempus de suo quisque functus es munere esset.* The quantitie Polybius limiteth in the sixt booke, at least as it was in his time, assigning to a footeman the third part of a *drachma*, or two *oboli* by the day, which Polybius in another place resolueth into fower *asses*, to a Centurion twise so much, to a horseman a *drachma*, or Roman *denarius* then currant for twelue *asses*. This pay continued, as I suppose, in this forme till Cæsars time, *qui legionibus stipendium in perpetuum duplicauit.* Suetonius Iulio. cap. 26. So that the footeman had by the day eight *asses*, the Centurion sixteene, the horse twenty fower. Augustus increased the footemens pay to *ten asses* a day, and as it seemeth shortly after it rose to a full *denarius*. Beside wages the souldiers receiued in later times *uestem de publico*, as it were some liuerie garment, not all his apparell, as I suppose. Plutarchus Gracchis, among the lawes which were established by C. Gracchus one was, saith he, *στρατιωτῶν, ἐὰν τὰ καθόλου δημοσὶα χρησιμεύουσι, καὶ μὴ ἐν ὅτῳ τῆς μισθοφορίας ὑφαιρέσθαι. That is, Militar, commanding a garment to be given the souldier by the officer without any deduction of wages therefore, for before, as it appeareth by Polybius, they receiued apparell, and other necessities of the Quæstor, but the price was set vp in their wages. Vegetius lib. 2. cap. 19. *Imperatoris miles, qui ueste & annonâ publicâ pascitur.* Thirdly they receiued *frumentum*. Vegetius in the place aboue alleadged, *Imperatoris miles qui annonâ publicâ pascitur.* And in the free state.*

Salzß.

ε οὐ μὲν ἀνόμε-
 λος αἱ τύχαι χα-
 ριστίζουσα λίζονται.
Isophron.
 ε Polyb. τὸ χ^τ λό-
 γον, καὶ τὰ μακρὰ
 καὶ τὰ βραχέα τῶν
 σκευῶν ὡς εἰς
 ἰσότητάς.

с : пре́дникъ.

■ Polyb. *Ἰνσὶς* δι
 ουσμῶν τις
 ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποστο-
 λῆς *ἡ* *ἑξῆς* *ἑξ*
 ἔστιν, for so it must
 be read, not *ἡ* *ἑξ*
ἑξῆς, and in
 the next line for
ἡ *ἑξῆς* we are
 contrarily to
 read *ἡ*.

^a *Vegen. l. 2. c. 10.*
^b *Vegen. l. 2. c. 11.*

• Μετὰ τὴν ἑξα-
ποπλίαν Polyb.
Lib. 6. & Lib. 10. ὁ-
ταν ἀθροισθῶσι
παραποσείσιν πα-
ρὰ μολὸν ἐξίταται
μύλλοις εἰς τὴν
πολίαν.

đ lib. 15. cấp 4.

• Lib. 4.
f The footman
alone: for three
yeers after Equi-
ti primum ceruus
numerus erit
aſſignatus. Lxxvi.
g Drachm is
the eight part of
an ounce, about
7 d. ob. English.
h Tac. l. i. Anna.

10

Sabini. Inguish. Miles frumentum publicè dation vendere, panes in diem mercari. In Polybius time the price was deducted out of their wages, and so it continued long afterward: for Nero was the first, which vnto the Prætorians (who were in all preferments the formost) *dedis sine pretio frumentum*, which before they had at some vnder price. Tacit. 15. Annal. The measure was to a footeman for a moneth two thirdes of an Athenian *Medimnus* of wheate: to a horseman two *Medimni* of wheate, and seuen of oates or barley: as hauing, as it may be supposed, a spare horse, and an attendant or two allowed. Polyb. lib. 6. Donat vpon Terence limiteth *dimensum serui* to be fower *modij* the moneth, precisely agreeing with the rate of Polybius footeman in this place. For a *medimnus* containeth iustly six *modij*, according to Tully *Frumentaria in Verrem*, Suidas, and others. Herodotus Polymnia vittayleth Xerxes people at a *chanix* (that is, the forty eighth part of a *medimnus*) a day, and that was indeede *ἡμερήσιος προσή*, That is, A daies allowance, Suidas & alij, among the Grecians, somewhat lesse then Polybius rate, who alloweth thirty two *chanices* the moneth. For the quantity of *medimnus* and *modius* thus we may gather it. Quadrantal is the measure of a cubicall ¹ Roman foote. Festus and others. Now quadrantal containeth *tres modios* according to Volusius Maetianus, which is halfe a *medimnus*. So that a measure of a square Roman foote in the bottome, and the third part of a foote high, is the Roman *modius*: and of two foote high with the same bottome, an Atticall *medimnus*. Of our vulgar measures *medimnus* being lesse then a bushell and an halfe, and *modius*, which our common learning construet for a bushell about a pinte lesse then a pecke. For consideration at the ende of their seruice the olde souldier had oftentimes an assignement in lande of inheritance, as after the second Tunicke warre the Senate ² awarded to them which had serued in Affricke *quod agri Samnitis & Appuli publicum populi Romani esset*, and at other times vpon like occasions. Sylla to the ³ Legions which had serued vnder him in the ciuill warres, *ἐπέμελλε πολλὴν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῆς ἰταλίας γῆν, τὴν μὲν ἐπ' ἑσταν ἀνέμεινεν, τὴν δὲ τὰς πέλεις ἀφαιρέμενος*. That is, Distributed much land in Italy: some which had lien in common before; and some taking it by force from the owners: not only as in recompence of their former seruice, but much more to haue so many good souldiers at hand, whose fortune could not be seuered from his, and whom he might raise in a moment the case so requiring. The like vpon like respects did Cæsar Iulius placing his *veteranas legiones* in colonies about him. Antonius and Augustus conspiring against the state named before hand eightene of the fairest and richest cities in Italie, as Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Nuceria, Beneuentum, Ariminum &c. which they promised to distribute and part among the souldiers after the warre, *αὐτοῖς ἐδίδουσι τὰς οἰκίας*: That is, Both lands and houses: voyding all the olde inhabitants, and accordingly for the most part performed it. vnder the Empire all ⁴ prouinces were replenished with such militar colonies. For consideration in money at the ende of their seruice before Augustus time I finde no stint set downe. At the triumph after some great warre the souldier had some little remembrance: at the triumph of ⁵ Africanus forty *asses* a piece, two shillings six pence English. At the triumph of ⁶ Paulus forty five *asses*, double the Centurion, triple the horse. At the triumph of ⁷ Pompey out of Asia ⁸ fiftene hundred drachmaes a common souldier, and the rest in proportion. so much was either wealth or ambition growen in so few yeares. At the triumph of ⁹ Cæsar after the ciuill warres the souldier ¹⁰ five thousand drachmaes, the Centurion ten thousand, the Tribune twenty thousand. Augustus reducing it to a certaintie vpon the Garde-souldier at the ende of sixteene yeares seruice ¹¹ bestowed five thousand drachmaes, vpon the Legionarie at the ende of twentie, three thousand. For the paie of the Auxilia, the allies in the free state had their paie and ¹² paymaster from home, as liuing in some equalitie of alliance, and yet recognizing a superiority. Some allowance in corne they had euen in Polybius dayes from the Romans. In Augustus time first and so in the Empire the Sociall Auxilia carrying armes more for the maintenance of the Princes estate, then for the interest of their owne libertie, receiued their paie and other commodities of the Prince as well as the Legions.

It remaineth now to consider the number of the Legions and men which the Romans commonly armed, or armed at the highest, or possibly could arme. Rome in hir infancie had onely one Legion, according to Dionysius and ¹³ Varro, consisting of three thousand footmen, and three hundred horse, as before it is shewed: notwithstanding the words before alleaged of ¹⁴ Plutarch, a man of baser alloy, seeme to import a multitude. After the Ceninenies, and Antennates were incorporated, the Romans had then, saith Dionysius, lib. 2. six thousand Legionarie footmen, that is according to the vsage of that time, two complete Legions. In his armie against the Sabins, Romulus armed of his owne people, and from his grandfather twenty thousand footmen, and eight hundred horse. Dionysius. Afterward the Sabins being receiued into the city, and the Camerini with others, at his death Romulus ¹⁵ left the Citie furnished of fortie six thousand footmen, and little lesse then ¹⁶ a thousand horse: a great and almost incredible increase in one mans raigne. In the time of Tullus Hostilius third king of the Romans by the ruines of Alba the Roman forces were ¹⁷ doubled. Dionysius lib. 3. Which if it be true in grammaticall vnderstanding, the state of Rome at that time was able to make welnie an hundred thousand men to the field: an excessiue number of souldiers, seeing the whole cense, which contained all men aboue seuentene yeeres, not ¹⁸ a bond nor mechanicall, in Seruius time amounted but to eighty thousand, or eighty fower thousand seauen hundred, as Liuy, and the same Dionysius do witness; although Fabius Pictor indeede maketh it the number of men able for seruice, something approaching to our number collected by consequence out of Dionysius words. In the free state, from the beginning in a maner without interruption, they commonly armed euery yeare fower Legions with their Auxilia, as ¹⁹ Polybius an ey-witnesse, and ²⁰ Liuy do testifie. which according to the lowest reckening of those times with the Auxilia make thirtie two thousand footmen, and fower and twenty hundred horse. And this was their ordinary yearely stint, obserued euen in peaceable times, and as it were to keepe their handes in: a point of great consideration and necessary vse in a warlike common-wealth. But how many they armed vpon occasions, or possibly could arme is another consideration. In the battell *ad lacum Regillum*, Anno *Vrbis condite* 257 the Romans ²¹ put in the fildes twenty fower thousand, that is six complete Legions, as the Legion was then, and three thousand horse, five hundred as it seemeth to a Legion, which exceedeth greatly the vie of that age. and the Latins, at that time enemies not Auxiliaries, fortie thousand footmen, and three thousand horse. In the cense two yeares before were ²² censed an hundred and fiftie thousand seauen hundred. of which, exempting those which were aboue militare age, we may reasonably presume the one halfe seuentie thousand at least to haue been seruiceable men for the fildes. Anno *vrbis condite* 245 the yeare after the kings were excluded, the cense was

¹ The Roman foote lesse then ours by halfe our inch.

² Liu. lib. 31.

³ Appian. 1. Ep. which were, saith he, thirty two. *Livius in epitoma* 89 forty seuen, as I thinke, by corruption of copy. ⁴ Seneca consol. Lat. ad Albinum c. 7. *Hic populus quos colonias in omnes prouincias misit ubique vicie Romanas habitas.*

⁵ Liu. lib. 30.

⁶ Liu. lib. 45.

⁷ Appian. Mithr. 946. lib. 3. 1. 9 d.

⁸ Appian. 2. Ep. 156. lib. 5. 1.

⁹ Dio. lib. 55.

¹⁰ Polyb. lib. 6.

¹¹ Liuy in Romulus time, and has

Romana legio

dicta, saith he,

in the singular

number: and in

the beginning of

Tullus Hostilius

Romanas legiones

iam spes deserue

rat in the plural.

¹² Romulo eis

συνέχματα

σεβασίονα δέει

αν. ικατοσι δέ

συνταγμα πέντε

περχαλιον ην, &c.

¹³ & καταλογοις

¹⁴ Dionys. lib. 2.

¹⁵ According to

Liv. lib. 1. 900.

horse in tribus

centuriis.

¹⁶ & ὅτι τὰς σαβίνας

ἔννε σκατοῖς ἐξά

χαις, ὃ τὸ ῥωμαῖον

ὁπλοισιν ὡς ἀν

καθοπλίους

ἀπλάσιαν ἔσαν

ἑξή τ' αὐτῶν

ἑξά τ' αὐτῶν

ἑξά τ' αὐτῶν

ἑξά τ' αὐτῶν

¹⁷ Dionys. lib. 9.

¹⁸ lib. 1.

¹⁹ lib. 3.

²⁰ Dionys. lib. 6.

²¹ Dionys. lib. 5.

in Dionys. lib. 5.

For of the heads at least halfe be women, and of the other halfe scarce an halfe seruiceable men, Dionysius lib. 9. maketh one of his censuses but a quarter of the heads.

For otherwise the state in his time kept more then threaso many in armes, or peraduenture it was but a slip of his pen.

lib. 2. *στρατιῶν πλῆθος ὅσον αὐτῶν τῶν ἰσχυρῶν καὶ τῶν ἀσθενῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐκείνης*

4. *Lib. 25.*

1. *lib. 26.*

1. *lib. 27.*

1. *Epit. lib. 47.*

1. *lib. 1.*

1. *Epit. lib. 98.*

1. *110. cohortes.*

that is, 5. 000. &

1. *1000. 7. cohortes in castris.*

3500. Summa

60500.

1. *App. 3. & 4. Epit.*

1. *Seneca Col. lib. 35.*

1. *Dio lib. 55.*

1. *Tacit. 4. Ann.*

1. *3. Hist.*

1. *Dio. Prolog. Geogr.*

1. *Dio in the place alledged*

and Ptolemy.

1. *3. Hist.*

1. *Dio.*

1. *3. Hist.*

1. *Dio.*

1. *3. Hist.*

1. *2. Hist. Dio.*

1. *1. Hist.*

1. *3. Hist.*

1. *1. Hist.*

1. *2. Hist. Plut.*

1. *Othone.*

1. *1. Hist.*

1. *3. Hist.*

1. *Which Tacitus*

1. *Hist. sec. meth to call*

1. *Hispana.*

1. *3. Hist.*

1. *3. Hist.*

1. *Dio.*

1. *2. Hist.*

1. *1. Hist.*

1. *Xiphil.*

1. *2. Hist.*

1. *3. Hist.*

1. *Dio.*

1. *Dio. Prolog. Geogr.*

1. *5. Hist.*

1. *1. Hist.*

1. *15. Ann.*

1. *Dio Spartianus*

1. *2. Hist.*

1. *Dio. Ptolemaeus*

1. *1. Hist.*

1. *Dio.*

an hundredth and thirty thousand *τὸν ἐν ἡβῇ ῥωμαίων. That is, Of those of seuenne yeeres and upward.* and the number of persons men and women about three hundredth thousand. Now halfe of the cense, or a quarter of the heads in common intendment being accounted men for the fildes, we may probably conclude, that the state of Rome in those daies was able to put seuentie thousand, or not much lesse in armes.

Anno urbis condita, 260. Quamvis nunquam ante exercitus, laethi Lib. 2. legiones decem effecit. Dionysius addeth *ἑξ ἑκατὼν τετρακισχίλων ἕκαστος. That is, Each of them consisting of 4000. men.* So that the Romans armed that yeere actually forty thousand men of themselves, without the *Auxilia* of the Latin nation, whom it was not thought convenient as yet *pari*

reddere arma. In the warre of the Decemviri contra Sabinos & Aequos ten Legions were leued *συνεστένετο δὲ αὐτοῖς λατίνων τε καὶ ἄλλων συμμάχων ὁπλιτευμένων ἐν ἑκάστῳ τὰ πολιτικὰ πλῆθης. That is, Accompanied with as many moe of the Latins, and other their allies, Dionysius lib. 11.* Summe eighty thousand.

Anno ab urbe condita, 406. vpon the reuolt of the Latin nation, the Romans armed fortie two thousand footemen, and three thousand horse. *Lib. 8. Undique non urbana tantum, sed etiam agresti iuventute, decem legiones scriptae dicuntur, quaternum millium & ducentorum peditum, equitumque trecentorum, quem nunc novum exercitum, si qua externa vis ingruas, haec vires P. R. quas vix*

terrarius capis orbis contrahere in unum hand facile efficiant; adeo in qua laboramus sola crenimus, diuitias luxuriamque. Betweene the first and second warre Punicke, at what time the cense of the cittizens pricked about three hundredth thousand, a full view being taken of the forces of them & their allies in Italie, there were found, as Polybius reporteth, about seuen hundredth thousand footemen able to beare armes, and seuentie thousand horse. an incredible number if we compare it with later ages: and produced by Diodorus Sic. 2. Bibliot. to confirme the admirable

populouines of ancient times. notwithstanding that Caesar, as Appian writeth *Κατὰ πλῆθος* in fewe yeeres fought in France with fower millions of men, a number comparable with Xerxes army, which dried vp with drinking the riuers, sailed the mountaines, bridged the sea, as stories & Panegyrickes make vs beleue. *Anno urbis cond. 938. &*

539 & 543. in the second Punicke war, the Roman state armed twentie three Legions, which according to the count of that time riseth to an hundredth and fiftene thousand Legionary footemen, and almost seuen thousand horse. After the thirde Punicke warre, in which time the cense was about fower hundredth thousand, in bello soci-

ali the Romans armed an hundredth thousand: the socij as many of the contrary side, beside sufficient garrison in their feuerall citties. Appian. *Εμ. 1.* In the ciuill warre of Sylla the Consuls had two hundredth Cohorts of fue hundredth a peece, *Εμ. 1.* and Sylla a twentie three Legions, which Appian resolueth into an hundredth and twentie thousand. on both sides two hundredth and twentie thousand. In the Ciuill warre betweene Pompey and Caesar, about which time the cense amounted to a fower hundredth and fiftie thousand, Pompey had a fixtie thousand

and fue hundredth men, Caesar eighty Cohorts, in which were but twenty two thousand, and two Cohorts *praesidio* *castris. lib. 3. de bello ciuili.* After Caesars death when the peace was made at Murina to trouble the state, *Octavius*

had twentie Legions: Antony twentie: Brutus eight: Cassius twelue: Lepidus three: Dolabella two; and at least one in Africke. Summe sixty six: all at one time: which following the rate set downe in Antonius oration,

5. *Εμ. (an hundredth and seuentie thousand souldiers in twentie eight Legions) in sixty six bringeth out better then fower hundredth thousand, the greatest reckening actually in armes that we reade of hitherto in the Roman state.*

After the ciuill warres ended, Augustus settling the state, and remouing armes out of Italy, established in the prouinces and limits of the Empire a twentie three Legions with their Auxilia, that is, according to the Positions already laied, two hundredth seuentie six thousand souldiers. Tiberius maintained a twenty fue Legions, that is three hundredth thousand souldiers, placing in the two Germanies eight Legions: in Spaine three: Africke two:

Egypt two: Syria fower: Illyricum six; to wit: two in Pannonia, two in Moesia, two in Dalmatia. Sum twenty fue. In Galbaes time the state maintained one and thirty Legions.

In Britannie a three

In Spaine two,

In Gallia Lugdunensi one,

In high Germany three,

In low Germany fower,

In Pannony two,

In Dalmatia two,

In Moesia three,

In Africa one, Tertia Augusta.

In Egypt two,

In Syria a fower,

Secunda Augusta.

Nona Hispaniensis.

Vicesima Victrix.

Sexta, Ferrata.

Decima Gemina.

Prima Italica.

Quarta Macedonica.

Decima octaua, sive Duo vicesima.

Vna vicesima Rapax.

Prima.

Quinta.

Decima quinta.

Decima sexta.

Septima Galbiana.

Tertiadecima Gemina.

Vndecima Claudiana.

Quartadecima Gemina.

Tertia Gallica.

Septima Claudiana.

Octaua Augusta.

Tertia Cyrenaica.

Duo vicesima Primigenia.

Quarta Scythica.

Sexta Victrix.

Duodecima Fulminatrix.

Vicesima, if the place be not corrupt in Dio, that there were two of that name continued from Augustus to his time.

In

In Jewry ⁶three,

At ^aRome one, Prima ^bAdiutrix ^bClassica.

{ Quinta^a Macedonica.
 { Decima^a Fretensis.
 { Quintadecima^a Apollinea.

1. Hist.
 5. Hist. Iof. 3.
 λαοσ. cap. 5.
 Dio.
 Ex lap. Capite.
 Uno.

In this catalogue Prima Italica of Gallia Lugdunenſis, Prima adiutrix at Rome, and Septima Galbiana of Pannonie were conſcribed by Nero and Galba: The ſeven legions of Germanie, Duoetviceſima of Egypt, and Nona of Britannie were eſtabliſhed by Tiberius Caius, or Claudius, or peradventure ſome of them in the later times of Auguſtus. All the other nineteene were vndoubtedly founded by Auguſtus, and in eſſe yeeres before Auguſtus death. for albeit two of them beare the name of Claudius, Vndecima Claudiana in this catalogue of Dalmatia, and Septima Claudiana of Moesia, it was not becauſe Claudius was their founder, but as Dio ſaith. *ἅτις αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καμίλλου ἐπαναστάσει καὶ αὐτὴν τεταράχθησαν.* The reſt of the countries either had no ſouldiers at all, or but onely ſome: Auxiliary garriſons of cohorts and wings, *quas perſequi*, ſaith Tacitus 4. Annal. *incertum eſt, cum ex ſui imperij huc illuc mearent, glifcerent numero & aliquando minuerentur.* yet may we reaſonably preſume out of Tacitus words, that the Auxilia annexed to the Legions ioyned to theſe locall, were in number not inferiour to the Legions conſidered alone. This number of Legions or thereabout we finde retained many yeeres in the Roman Empire. Fauorinus de Hadriano apud Spartianum, *Non reſe ſuadetis, familiares, qui non paſimini me illum omnibus doctiorem credere, qui habes triginta legiones.* In Alexander Seuerus time Dio reckoneth thirty two Legions, whereof two and twentie are the ſame that we haue found in Galbaes time, the nine remaining of the thirtieth one which we had vnder Galba, being miſcaried in the meane time, or ioyned to ſome other: to wit, Nona of the Brittiſh, all the ſeven Legions of Germany, and Viceſima ſecunda of Egypt, and for Quinta and Decimaquinta in lowe Germany we are aſſured by Tacitus of their ruine at Vetera. In ſteede of theſe nine thus decayed, we haue ten other named by Dio: Secunda Adiutrix, and Quarta Flauia enrolled by Veſpaſian: Prima Minerua by Domitian; Secunda Egyptia and Triceſima Germanica otherwiſe called Secunda Traiana and Triceſima Vlpia by Traian: Secunda Italica and Tertia Italica by Marcus: Prima Parthica, Secunda Parthica, Tertia Parthica by Seuerus. The catalogue of the Legions which at this day is extant in the court of the Capitoll, and is euidently more moderne then Dio, hath the ſame number with Dio, and nine and twenty of the ſame Legions, onely in the particular names in ſteede of Viceſima, Septima Galbiana, and Tertia Italica which are in Dio, it hath *Viceſima Secunda Primigenia, Sepsima Gemina, and Decima ſexta Flauia*, and of the Legions in Galbaes time that monument hath but onely twentie, lacking (beſide the ſame nine which are wanting in Dio) ſeptima Galbiana, and the Viceſima which we haue placed in Syria. Now thirtieth one Legions Imperiall, which in Galbaes time we doe finde, according to our ſuppoſitions conteine an hundreth eighty ſix thouſand footemen, and eightene thouſand ſix hundreth horſe. The Auxilia of the one kinde and of the other in number not much otherwiſe. So we haue in theſe times vſually maintained by the Empire, footemen three hundreth ſeuentie two thouſand, and horſe thirtieth ſeven thouſand two hundreth at the ſmalleſt reckening. Whoſe ordinary pay, beſide corne and ſome apparell, at one *denarius* or *drachma* a day for the footeman, and three for the horſe, beſide the increaſe of wages giuen to the officers, amounteth by the yeare to an hundreth ſeuenty ſix millions five hundreth fourteene thouſand *denarij*, in our money five millions five hundreth ſixteene thouſand ſixty two pounds and ten ſhillings: which is more then the great Turke at this day receiueth in two yeeres toward all charges. And yet they maintained beſide a garde of many thouſands for the Prince with double pay, another for the Prouoſt of the Cittie, with many Cohorts of Nightwatchers; and many armadaes with proper ſouldiers annexed, as ſhall be declared. Neither can we finde throughout all the Roman ſtorie for lacke of pay any diſorder or mutinee to haue growen among the ſouldiers, though otherwiſe very mutinouſly diſpoſed.

The service at home in the Citie was performed by three sorts of souldiers principally; *Prætoriani, Urbani and Vigiles*. *Prætorium, στρατήριον*, the Generals pavilion, be he Consul or Prætor, or els whatsoeuer: and *Prætoriana cohors* a bande of chosen men to the garde of his person, so named by Scipio Africanus, but induced before in Romulus time by the name of *Celeres*, selected *ex fortissimis & nobilissimis, & dei* (*non in bello solum sed etiam in pace*) *πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶχε τετακτοῦς οὐσίας ἀειβριῶν φυλακῆς ἐνεκα τῆς σῶματός κ' ὡς τὰ κατεπεσιγνῆτα τῷ ἔργῳ. That is, Whom alwaies he had about him being 300. in number, for the garde of his person and dispatch of urgentt affaires: Dionysius lib. 2. in the free common wealth not vsed, but ^h abroad in the warre, till Sylla and Cæsar vsurping the state retayned also at home as among enemies their vsuall garde. But Sylla ⁱ resigning the state and his garde both at once, howsoeuer he is charged by Cæsar *nescire literas*, may seem to haue followed a better grammar then Cæsar himself; who dismissing his garde and not his gouernment, committed a notable and dangerous solecisme in matter of state, and opened the way to his owne destruction. After the death of Cæsar the state being troubled, Antonius by permission of the Senate *φρουρὸν αὐτῷ παρέστησεν*, *That is, Put a garde about his person*, of six thousand chosen men. 3. *Ευφ.* And Octavius pretending enmitie against Antonius returned out of Campania *εἰς μίαν ἐσθλὴν αὐτῷ εἰς ἐς μὲν τὴν σῶματός φυλακὴν ὑφ' ἐνὶ σημείῳ. That is, Bringing with him 10000. men vnder one Ensigne for the gard of his person onely.* and a litle after Antonius marching from Brundisium to Rome *ἐκ πάντων στρατηγίδας ἀπέλεξε τὰς ἀρίστους ἀνδράς τῶν τε σῶματός κ' τὴν τεύχων ἀπέλεξε*. *That is, Selected out of his whole army a Prætorian cohort of the best and choicest men.* In *bello Philippensi* a Prætorian cohort of two thousand going towards Octavius was intercepted at sea by those of the contrarie part. 3. *Ευφ.* and after the warre Antonius and Octavius *ὁκτακισχιλίους στρατιώτας ληθόντας ἐπὶ στρατεύεσσι σείειν ὑποδεχόμενοι διείλοντο, κ' συμελόχουν εἰς στρατηγίδας τέξεις. That is, Received into service 8000. souldiers which desired to continue in pay, and distributed them into Prætorian cohorts.* *Ευφ.* 5. and after the battell at Actium Augustus eschewing his fathers fault, and thinking it expedient for the safetie of his person, maintenance of his state, and dispatch of affaires to haue in a readinesse a conuenient companie of souldiers in armes, established vnder the name of *Prætoriani* a garde of ten thousand men divided into ten Cohorts: saith Dio lib. 53. *Tactus* 4. *Annal.* mentioneth but nine in Tiberius time. In Vitellius time *prauisate vel ambitu confusus ordo militum, sedecim prætoria, quatuor urbanae cohortes scribebantur, quibus singula millia inessent.* 2. *Hist.* This garde of Prætorians consisted *è milibus Etruria fermè Umbriaque electis, aut vetere**

c As at this time
Mauresanie,
Rhaetia, Noricum,
Thracia, &c. Tac.
Hist. 2.
d Neq; muled se-
cuss in iys auxilijs
varium.
e lib. 55.

f Agathias lib. 3. p. 132. sets downe a proportion obserued in the latter Emperours times far greater of 645000. fighting men, which he complains to haue beene by Iustinian in his later time greatly diminished. *ὅσον γὰρ εἰς πέντε καὶ πενταεκαπλάσι καὶ ἑκατοστάς χιλιάδας μισθώμενοι ὄντων τῶν ἑλλήνων ἀνέβησαν δύναμις, μόλις ἢ τὰς πέντε εἰς πεντήκοντα χιλιάδας ἀνέβησαν.*
g Lilius.
h As in the battrell ad *Regillum* the Dictator had *colonna delectam circa se praeditam causa.* Lili. lib. 2.
i Appian. 1. c. 2. *Emo. Salust.* and other.

*Latio, & colonijs antiquis Romanis, differing in that point onely from the garde of Tyrannes in ancient times, which commonly consisted of mercenary strangers, and so the Emperours had also another garde of Germans, Tacitus 1. Annal. robora Germanorum qui sunt custodes imperatori aderant. 13. Annal. Germanos super eundem honorem custodes additos. Sueton. * Nerone. abductaque militem & Germanorum statione. Which garde Galba dissolued. Suet. cap. 12. Germanorum cohortem a Caesaribus olim ad custodiam corporis institutam multisque experimentis fidelissimam dissoluit, ac sine ullo commodo remisit in patriam. Dio lib. 55. maketh mention also of certaine horsemen of Batavia attending vpon the Prince. *Ἐν οὖν τῇ ἰππείᾳ ἐπιλεχτοὶ, οἷς τὸ πρὸς βαταύων ἀπὸ τῆς βαταύης τῆς ἐν τῷ ῥήνῳ ἦσαν ὀνόμα. καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀσπασίᾳ αὐτῶν ἀκρίβῃ εἶπεν δύναμαι. That is, Certaine choice horsemen strangers whom they call Batavi of Batavia anile in the Rhene; but the number of them I cannot precisely set downe. Of the Prætoriani some were horsemen: Tacit. 1. Annal. Additur magna pars prætoriani equitis. Sueton. Claudio. cap. 21. Africanas exhibuit Claudius consciente turma equitum prætorianorum, ducibus tribunis ipsosq. præfecto, most footemen, as Spiculatores, and other. Their proper office was *δορυφορεῖν* (and so they are called of the Greeke writers *δορυφοροί*, and *σώματα τοῦ λαοῦ*) to watch and warde at the Palace euery Cohort in their turne, or to accompany the Prince abroad in Forum, in Curiam, in conuiuium &c. Tac. 1. Hist. Consultantibus placuit sentari animum cohortis, quæ in palatio stationem agebat. and againe, Ann. 12. Egreditur Nero ad cohortem quæ morè militiæ excubijs adest. Sueton. 1. Othone: Obstitit respectus cohortis quæ tunc excubabat. Tacit. Annal. 1. Miles in forum, miles in curiam comitabatur. Dio lib. 60. ἐν τῇ συμποσίῳ πάντες τινὲς σπαρτάτας συνόντας εἶχε, καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἐξ ἐκείνης κατασκευασθῆναι καὶ δεῖναι ἀπὸ γίγνεται. That is, At banquets Claudius had alwaies some souldiers attending vpon him, which custome begun by him is continued euen to this day. And not onely the Prince himselfe, but his wife, mother and children had likewise some of these Prætoriani attending vpon them. Tacit. 13. Annal. Excubijs militares, quæ ut coningi imperatoris olim, tum & ut maiori seruabantur, digredi iubet. With Germanicus in Germany were duas prætorie cohortes, 2. Annal. whether of the body of the Roman Garde, or after the ancient vse of the word, I cannot determine. And 1. Annal. Tiberius sendeth with his sonne Drusus into Pannonia duas prætorias cohortes. At the plaies I finde that a cohort assisted to keepe good order. Tac. 13. Annal. Statio cohortis assidere ludis solita demouetur. Morcouer in accompanying Embassadors sent from the Prince, in doing executions and murders, and many other seruiceable points they were by the Princes employed. In the warre but seldome vpon vrgent occasions. Tacit. 1. Hist. Quod raro aliâ prætorianus, urbanusq. miles in aciem deducti. Of the Prætorian souldiers the principall officers were called *Præfecti prætorio*, Captaines of the garde we may terme them, chosen at the first out of militar men till vpon the danger discovered that way, how vnwise it was to put such strength into mens hands of that quality though of meane birth, wisdom in later times and skill in lawe was in that choice rather respected, as it appeareth by Papinian, Vlpian and other famous Lawyers preferred to that roome: by means of whom peraduenture the place became in the ende more iudiciall then militar; but at all times the greatest office in the state. Zosim. lib. 2. ἡ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἀρχὴ δὲ τῶν μετὰ τὰ σπῆτα νομιζομένη. That is, The office of the Præfectus prætorio is esteemed the next degree to the Prince. The number of them at the first institution was two. Mæcenat apud Dionem lib. 52. in his aduise to Augustus, *ἥ δὲ δὴ ἰππῶν δύο τὰς αἰεὶς τῆς αἰεὶ σε φρουρὰς ἀρξέιν ἐν αὐτῇ γένηται, τὸ δὲ ἐν ἀσπασίᾳ αὐτῶν διατρέποντι σφαλερὸν, τὸ πλεῖστον τὰς χάσεις οἷσι. δύο τε ἐν ἐπιστάν τοι ἐπαρχοὶ εἰσι, πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ ἐκείνος αὐτῶν ἐπαίδειται π τῷ σπῆματι, μήποτε καὶ ἐν αἰεὶς τὸ φυλάξοντός σε εἴησι. That is, I counsell you to appoint two of the most choice persons of the Equites for captaines of your gard, to commit it to one may breede danger, and to more confusion. wherefore let there be two Præfecti prætorio, that if one besicke, you may not want one to performe so necessarie a charge. Agrippina perswaded Claudius to reduce the whole gouernement to one. Tacit. 12. Annal. Distrahi cohortes ambobus duorum, & si ab uno reuerentur intensiorem fore disciplinam assensurante vxore, transfertur regimen cohortium ad Burrhum. Afranium egregie militaris fame. After whose death Nero againe duas prætorias cohortibus imposuit. Annal. 14. In Galbaes time Laco was onely without any fellow. Otho made two, Plotius Firmus, & Licinius Proculus, as appeareth by Tacit. Hist. & so consequently afterward, sometime one, sometime two, as it pleased the Prince. Now that which Mæcenat counselleth Augustus to chuse them ex equitibus Romanis & no higher (least their high birth should giue them courage per chance to attempt against their soueraignes) was obserued in a maner continually till the time of Alexander Mammææ, qui Præfectus Prætorij fuit, saith Lamprius, senatoriam addidit dignitatem, ut viri clarissimi & essent, & dicerentur: quod antea vel raro fuerat, vel omnino non fuerat: eoque ut si quis imperatorum successorem Præfect. Prætor. dare vellet, laticlavium eidem per libertum submitteret. Notwithstanding in Vespasians time Titus præfecturam quoque prætorij suscepit, nunquam ad id tempus nisi ab equite Romano administratam. Sueton. 1. Tito. which opinion of Suetonius I finde checked by Tacitus 4. Hist. where Aretinus Clemens before that time, quamquam senatorij ordinis, was made Præfectus Prætorio. Beside the two Captaines there was one Præfectus castrorum, Tribuni as many as Cohorts: and vnder the Tribunes Centuriones, and other pettie officers, as in the armies abroad. Their pay was in the free state *βισσικπλεξ*, *ἡμισον*, in the Empire double to that of the Legionary souldiers. The Senators, saith Dio lib. 53. *παρωπικα γὰρ τοῖς δορυφοροῦσιν αὐτῶν ἀπασιν τὸν μισθὸν τῶ τοῖς ἀλλοῖς σπῆταται διδόμεναι ὑποδίνου διεπαρῆσαν, ὅπως ἀκρίβῃ & φρεσὶν ἐν. That is, Immediately established a lawe, that those which should be of Augustus Garde should receive double pay to the rest of the souldiers, to the end they might be more diligent and watchfull in their charge. Tacitus 1. Annal. limiteth the summe, An Prætorias cohortes, quæ binos denarios acceperint, &c. that is in our money fifteen pence, which no doubt is ment of the simple footeman onely, for a Legionary horseman had more. These Prætorian bands in Augustus and part of Tiberius time, lying dispersed in the Cittie and colonies about, were by Seianus vnited and placed together in castris prope viuarium constructis, τειχος, παρεμβολή, or στρατήριον they called it in Greeke. Seianus, saith Tacitus 4. Annal. vim præfecturæ medicam antea intendit, dispersas per urbem cohortes una in castra conducendo, ut simul imperia acciperent numeroque & robore & visu inter se fiducia ipsi, in ceteros metus crearentur. pretendebat lasciuire militem diuictum, si quid subitum ingruat, maiori auxilio pariter subueniri, & seuerius acturos si vallum statuatur procul urbis illecebris. Suetonius 1. Tiberio. Rome castra constituit, quibus prætorianæ cohortes vage ante id tempus & per hospitia disperse continerentur. The ruines are vnder the walles of Rome, as it is now not farre from Saint Laurence gate. For afterwarde Constantine the great, perceiuing the order to haue more of the bad in it then of the good, τὸς τε ἀσπασίᾳς στρατιώτας ἐξέπειλε, καὶ τὰ ὀφεία τὰ τέτος ἐξορτα καθεῖλε, That is, Cased the Prætorian souldiers, and destroyed their campe, saith Zosimus lib. 2. retaining the name of Præfectus Prætorij still, but marring the office (saith the same Zosimus who seldome saith****

cap. 34.

cap. 6.

an Cui princeps
verum iudiciorū
summam commi-
sit: qui & vice
sacra iudicat, &
cunctarūq. pro-
uinciarū maxi-
mam potestatem
habet: præter
quem vel vicari-
um eius nullus
magistratus habet
plenissimam im-
perium merum.
Some other
Gracians call the
πρῶτος

cap. 6.

Festus.

1. Suet. Augusto.
e. 99. neque vn-
quam plures quā
tres cohortes in
urbem esse passus est
Augustus, easq. si-
ne castris, reliquas
in hiberna & as-
ti-ua circa finitima
oppida dimittere
assueuerat.
cap. 37.
lib. 2.

saith well of that Prince) by diuiding it into 4. foure, and weakening their authority. *Milites urbani* in Augustus time (if Dio be not deceiued, as I thinke hee ^a is) were in number six thousand, distributed into foure Cohorts, or companies. Dio lib. 55. *οι της πόλεως φρουρά ετακτοί τε οντες, κη τετραχί νεμεμιμένοι*, in Tiberius and Caus time into three only. 4. *Annalium. Tres urbanae cohortes*, and Iosephus *αλωπεως* ^b lib. 2. *τοις ταις συαμεναις* ^c *απο:ραις* ^d *επιπρελασα φυλάσσειν η πύλιν*, which, as it appeareth by Suetonius ^e Claudio, were the cohorts *urbane*. in Vitellius time *quatuor urbanae cohortes quibus singula millia inessenti*. Tacitus 2. Hist. Their gouernour was called *Præfectus urbis*, *πολίαρχος* taken *ex senatorio ordine*, whose office Dio describeth lib. 52. in Mæcenas oration; *πολίαρχος δὲ δὴ πρὸς ἐκ τῆς φρουρόντων, κη ἐκ τῆς πάντων τὰ καθήκοντα ἀποπεπολιτομένων, ἀποδεκνύτω, κη ἵνα ἀποδημησάντων πρὸς τῆς ἐκπαρχῶν (leg. ἀρχόντων. uel εἰσιαν ὑπαίων) ἀρχή, ἀλλ' ἵνα ταῦτε ἀλλὰ αἰεὶ τῆς πόλεως φρουρῇ, κη τὰς δίκας, τὰς τε ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, ὧν εἴπω, ἀρχόντων ἐρεσιμῆς τε κη ἀναπομπῆς, κη τὰς τῶ θανάτου τοῖς τε ἐν τῇ πόλει, πλὴν ὧν αὐτῶν εἴπω, κη τοῖς ἐξω αὐτῆς μέχρι πνυτήκοντα κη ἐξακοσίον σταδίων οἰκῶσι κείνῃ.* That is, *Let there be a Præfectus urbis one of the greatest countenance, and such as before hath passed all degrees of honour with commendation, not to gouerne in absence of other officers, but to undertake the government of the city both in other matters, and namely to iudge in cases of appeale from other magistrates, and in criminall not onely within the city but within 650. stadia rounde about.* His office dured for life, vnlesse it pleased the Prince otherwise vpon desert or displeasure to deprue him. Dio. lib. 52. *ἀρχετω δια βίῃ*. Tacit. 6. *Annal.* sheweth the occasion of the foundation of the office in the olde common wealth, and the vse of it in the new. *L. Piso Præfectus urbis recens continuam potestatem, & insolentia parendi grauiorem mirè temperauit. Namque antea prefectis domo regibus, ac mox magistratibus, ne urbs sine imperio foret, in tempus deligebatur qui ius redderet, ac subitis mederetur. Cæterum Augustus bellis civilibus Cilium Mæcenatem equestris ordinis cunctis apud Romam atque Italiam præposuit. Mox rerum potius, ob magnitudinem populi, ac tarda legum auxilia, sumptis consularibus, qui coereret seruitia, & quodaudacia turbidum, nisi vim metuat.* Notwithstanding this new office, the name and shadow of the olde remained still, when the Consuls going forth *ad instantandum sacrum in Albano monte* one or two of the young nobilitie were left for fashion sake, with title of *Præfectus urbis*, and autoritie of the Consuls. Tacit. 6. *Annal.* *Durata, adhuc simulacrum, quoties ob ferias Latinas præfictus qui consulare munus usurpet.* reade Suetonius Claudio cap. 4. Nerone cap. 7. Aulus Gellius lib. 14. cap. ultimo. but principally 1. Digest. tit. 12. and 1. cod. tit. 38. where the pointes of this office are set downe particularly. *Vigiles* were night walking souldiers appointed by Augustus *ad restringenda incendia, prohibenda* ^a *furta nocturna &c. ex libertinis* and after ward of others too, seuered into seuen companies, with one *Præfectus Vigilum*, a ^d Gentleman of Rome, Tribunes and other officers. Strabo lib. 5. *ἐπεμελήθη μὲν ἔν ὃ Σελεύς Καῖσαρ τῶ πλείων ἐλαττωμάτων τῆς πόλεως, πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἐμμενῶνταις σωταζαῖς στρατοποικόν ἐκ τῆς ἀπελευθέρων τὸ βελήσσειν.* That is, *Against the inconuenience of fire by night Augustus appointed bands of souldiers taken e libertini generis hominibus.* Dio lib. 55. *ἐπειδὴ τε ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τῶ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς ἐκδοθῆναι, ὁδὸν τε ἐξελευθέρους ἐπταχί πρὸς τὰς ὁπλικαῖς αὐτῆς κατελάτο, καὶ ἀρχετω ἱππεία αὐτοῖς προσεταξεν, ὥς κη δι' ὀλίγη σφας διαλύτων, ἔμειναι κη ἐπίνοισι τὰτ. καταμαδὼν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πείρας κη χροσιμωτάτῳ καὶ ἀναρχμοτάτῳ πῶ παρ' αὐτῶν βοήθειαν ἔσαν, ἐτήρουν αὐτῶς. κη εἰσι κη νῦν οἱ νυκτεφύλακες ἔδω ἱδον πῶ τῶν, ἐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἐπὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ κη ἐκ τῶν ἀλλων στρατὸ δύνῃ, κη τείχῃ τε ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔχουσι, κη μισθὸν ἐκ τῶς δημοσιῆς φέρει.* That is, *Because about that season many parts of the city were wasted by fire, Augustus to meete with such mischances chose out e libertinis seuen companies appointing an Eques for their gouernour, meaning it onely for a time. Howbeit by experience finding the vse and necessity of that institution he retained it still, and so they remaine euen to our daies, collected not onely e libertinis but of others also, & haue their camps in the city & pay of the state.*

The city of Rome though opportunely seated for sea matters, as being distant onely fifteene miles from *mare Tyrrhenum*, and hauing the riuier of Tiber passing thorow the city of conuenient breadth, and for depth able to cary small vessels, neuerthelesse many hundreth yeares neglected the seruice. Which thing peraduenture among others was not the least cause which maintained the state in integritie, and preserved it so long without corruptions, of which the trafficke, and seruice by sea, as these Politickes make vs beleue, is the principall mother and nurse. Notwithstanding a conquering state, and they which will liue *ἡγεμονικόν κη πολιτικόν βίον*, must necessarily haue *κη ταύτῳ πῶ δύναμιν πρὸς τὰς ἀρχαῖς σύμμετρον.* That is, *Either as Lords of others or in liberty themselves, must necessarily haue a competent power that way also.* Arist. 7. Politic. And generally no state may looke to stand without notable molestation, and danger of ruine, much lesse to enlarge, which in any kinde of seruice, on foote, or on horsebacke, or by sea is quite defectiue and vtterly disurnished, although perhaps it cannot in all attaine to that degree of perfection, which some of their neighbours haue attained vnto. Wherefore the Romans in the first Punicke warre hauing to deale with the Carthaginians, yndoubted lordes of the sea ἐκ *πέρηνων*, That is, *Of a long time euen from their ancestors,* and perceiuing the errour, in the yeare *ab urbe condita* 490. determined to apply themselves, and diligently to attende to that part of seruice: hauing before, as Polybius reporteth, not onely no *naues* ^a *seste*, but no *naues* ^b *longe* at all, no not so much as any *lembo* or passage boate, but onely vpon borrowing. As for the Quinquereme a principall ship of warre, their shipwrights knewe not any way what it ment, till such time as ^c one of the Carthaginians by great good chance was in the straite at Rhegium runne vpon ground, and so being taken by the Romans, the shipwrightes vsed it for a patterne. Againe the men which were mustered, hauing neuer serued at sea, were set vpon benches in the same order, and taught by practise vpon the dry lande to keepe their time & measure in strokes. And this was indeed the first time the ^d Romans attended to seruice by water; although some Roman ^e writers vpon a vanity and ambition haue reported, *anno urbis condite* 329. *classē ad Fidenas pugnam fuisse cum Veientibus.* which perhaps was some brawle betweene bargemen; as indeed the riuier is so strait at that place, that scarce two barges can passe one by another. And ^f Liuy not altogether free of the humour, in his former bookes maketh solempne mention of the nauie, of *Præfectus oræ maritimæ*, *Dimmiseri nauales*, *socij nauales* and so forth, which either were not at all, or not to any purpose of warre. For as concerning matter of merchandise, many yeares before, *Ancus Marcius* perceiuing that Tiber at the mouth yielded commodity of hauein, builded Ostia to lade and vnlade wares there, ἔ *μόνον ἡπειρώτων, ἀλλὰ κη θαλάσσιον παρασκευάζων πῶ ῥόμῳ γενέσθαι.* That is, *So that Rome was not onely serued of whatsoeuer the cuntry about did affoorde, but by that meanes provided also of sea commodities.* Dionysius lib. 3. And yet to say true, I see not how that opinion of Polybius can in rigour stand with the causes of the Tarentine warre some yeares before that time, alleadged by the common consen, of all the

Νῆα νῆα κα-

ταρζάντιν.

Lib. 4. com.

appointeth 80.

onerarias ad duas

legiones transpor-

tandas.

Lib. 3. Quas qua-

ter surgens ex-

truxit remigum or-

do Commomus-

describing the

Quadrimes.

Virgil. lib. 5. de-

scribing the Tri-

remis—triplici pu-

bes quam Darda-

na versus impel-

lunt, perno confur-

gunt ordine remi.

Meimnon in frag-

men. p. 86. in the

description of an

ochres: ἐπὶ ταύτῃ

βαίει ἡ ἐκείνη

μὲν αὐτὴν ἵστα-

ται στήριξ ἡρώων,

ὡς ἐκτακτοῦς ἐκ

βατήρις μίμης γέ-

νηται, ἐξ ἐκεί-

νων δὲ χάλις καὶ

ἐξαικτοῦς ἐκ δὲ

δύο τῶν κατὰ

περικύβητον κα-

ταρζάντιν χάλις

καὶ διακρίσις, καὶ

κατακρίσις δύο.

Lib. 4. 50.

τὴν δὲ φέρου-

σαν καὶ αὐτὴν ἵστα-

ται, καὶ ὡς ἐκ

βατήρις μίμης γέ-

νηται, ἐξ ἐκεί-

νων δὲ χάλις καὶ

ἐξαικτοῦς ἐκ δὲ

δύο τῶν κατὰ

περικύβητον κα-

ταρζάντιν χάλις

καὶ διακρίσις, καὶ

κατακρίσις δύο.

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Lib. 4. 50.

τὴν δὲ φέρου-

σαν καὶ αὐτὴν ἵστα-

ται, καὶ ὡς ἐκ

βατήρις μίμης γέ-

νηται, ἐξ ἐκεί-

Roman stories, but specified most particularly by Appian in his fragment *ὡς ἐκτακτοῦς ἐκ βατήρις μίμης γένηται*, and the Epitome of Liuy lib. 12. first that there was an ancient league with the Tarentines, *μὴ πλεῖν Ῥωμαῖοις πρὸς τὸν Λακινίον ἀγκυραῖς*: That is, That the Romans with their shippes should not passe the point called Lacinium. which sheweth that the Romans haunted the sea. Then that the Roman *Duumvir* went with ten-shaues *ἑκτὴ* to suruey the coastes of *Magna Gracia*, whereof foure were suncke, one taken, and the *Duumvir* slaine. But whether now first or otherwise, the Romans vpon the occasion before mentioned entring the sea brought thither from their seruice by land, saith Polybius, a kinde of violent proceeding, as though winde and weather notwithstanding, what once they had determined to do, that they must necessarily goe thorow withall. Which maner of contending and striuing or rather enforcing of Fortune, as it is by land comendable, & to the Romans hath bin cause of infinite good, so by sea against that wilde element it did them more harme, then their enemies the Carthaginians did; who although through their long experience by sea they excelled the Romans in shal & agility *τὸ τεχνικαὐτῶν*, yet *τὸ βιαιομαχεῖν*, καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς ὁπ-
κατῶν. As handy strokes in grappling, & valour of soldiers being inferiour, they were at the length interior in the whole.

Shippes, as farre as concerneth our purpose, were of three sortes: of warre, of burden, and of passage: the first rowed with oare, the second gouerned with saile, and the last often towed with cordes. Shippes of passage by sea, were either for transportation of men, *ὁλισταγωροὶ* called also *σπαυτιδες*, *πείρα*, *ὀπλοειδης*: or of horses, *ἵππαγωροὶ*, ἢ *ἵππῆροι*, *hippagines*. ouer a riuer, or some short cut peradventure by sea, *πορθμεία*, feriboates, if the number were fewe; and to passe whole armies with their cariage *καρῖα*, *γates*, planks or fagots tied together. Shippes of burden, *oneraria*, *πορπηροὶ*, *ὀλγαδες*, *Hulkes*, which worde our vulgar language also retaineth, were for cariage of vittaile and other prouision, sometime for *transporation* of souldiers also. Of shippes of warre the most principall and of greatest seruice were *naues longæ*, *μακρὰ πλοῖα*, so named of their forme most apt both to be weilded and to make way, whereas shippes of burden were commonly built bigge in the belly, and more round for capacitie. Now *Longæ* were sorted againe into their seuerall kindes, according to the number of *bankes* and oares placed one aboue another, as I take it, though peradventure not directly. some I knowe haue concluded otherwise; that in the *Trireme* for example, three men with three oares sat vpon one banke, and some other that three men pulled at one oare, directly against both the authority of ancient writers produced by themselves, and contrary to the ancient portraiture of *triremes* remaining yet to be seene: so incredible a thing it seemed to beleue that which in our galleies now adayes they neuer sawe: where as in truth Zosimus telleth vs, that very many yeares before his time they had discontinued to make any *triremes* at all: as indeede from the battell at Actium, till the battel between Constantine the great and Licinius at Hellepont, I do not remember by sea any action of moment. His words be lib. 5. *δοκῶ δὲ πῶς ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα τεχνικαὐτῶν εἶδαι πεντηκόντορον ἐκ ἵπ-
των, κατὰ πολὺ δὲ τῶν τεχνικῶν ἐλαττωμένα, πλείους ἐπεὶ τῆς τέχνης ἐκλιπύσης διμικρίας. εἰ καὶ πολὺς ὁ
συγγραφὴς ἐκτίθειται πῶς εἶδε τὴν ἐν τεχνικῶν πλοίων τὰ μέτρα, οἷς φανόνται πολλὰ καὶ κεχρησμένα ῥαμμαῖοι καὶ
καρῖα δύνιοι πολέμιοντες. πρὸς ἀλλήλους. That is, These shippes (speaking of the Liburnica) are as swift as sea as the
Galley of fifty oares, but nothing of the like seruice to the *trireme*, which kinde of shippe this many yeares hath not bene built,
although Polybius describeth the measures and proportions of the *Hexeres* an vsuall shippe in the warres betweene the Cartha-
ginians and Romans. But howsoeuer, some different circumstance in the maner of rowing produced the different
kindes of *Naues longæ*. For generally the shippes of warre, as before wee haue saied, although in the flight,
and otherwise for speede both oare and saile were vsed, in the *combat* were directed onely by oare, as being
athing very seruiceable in those calme seas, and more at commandement. The most vsuall kindes of *Naues
longæ* in the Roman warres, especially ancient, were these three, *Triremis*, *Quadriremis*, and *Quinqueremis*: *τεῖρης*,
τετάρτης, καὶ *πεντῆρης*, exceeding one another by one rancke of oares, and consequently rowed with more
strength and builded more hye. In the ninth yeare of the first Punicke warre the two Admirals were *Hexeres*,
Polybius lib. 1. And in the writers of Roman stories we haue mention also about this number, though seldome
vsed in the Roman warres; as of *Hepteres*, *Octeres*, *ἐννήρης*, *δεκάρης*, *ἐξιδεκάρης*, *δωδεκάρης*, *τετρακιδεκάρης*, *πενταε-
καδεκάρης*, *πεντεκαδεκάρης*. Philip of Macedonie father to Perseus had an *ἐκκαδεκάρης*. Polybius in fragment.
which place ° Liuy translateth thus: *Regiam vnam inhabitabilis prope magnitudinis, quam sexdecim p. versus remorum
agebant*. And yet the Egyptian Kings exceeded *usque ad viginti*, & *triginta versus remorum*, *εἰκοστήρης*
& *τριακόντηρης*: and Philopator, as ° Plutarch and ° Athenæus testifie, built one of forty rankes, *τετρακα-
κόντηρης*, more liket a castell or palace, then a shippe, being in length foure hundredth and twenty foote, and in
height seuentie two, contianing foure thousand rowers, other mariners foure hundredth, and almost three thou-
sand souldiers. On the other side vnder *Triremis* there were two perfect kindes, *Biremis* and *Moneres*, and two
vnperfect, *ἡμιολία* and *τεμνημιολία*. *Biremis*, in Greeke *διήρης*, and more vsuall *διήρης* consisted of two
rankes of oares; of which the fittest for seruice both for lightnesse and swiftnesse were called *Liburnica*, as
Appian saith of the *Liburni* a people in Dalmatia who were the inuentours of that fashion and building:
albeit in later times, as it may seeme by Vegetius and others, all ships, though of more or fewer rankes then two,
built after that maner were generally called *Liburnica*. ° *Moneres* mentioned by Liuy lib. 38. was a galley consisting
of one simple rancke, whereof I remember five kindes specially named: *εἰκοστήρης*, or *Ἀβυρῖα* *triginti remorum*, of
twenty oares, ° *τριακόντηρης* which had thirtie (named also by Polybius in fragment), as it seemeth to me *τετρακόν-
τηρης* *τετρακόντηρης* which had forty, *πεντηκόντηρης*, which had fiftie, as the galleyes now a daies common-
ly haue, and *ἑξακόντηρης* which had an hundredth. The Grecians vse *μονόηρης*, and more vsuall *κλίς*, which
Gellius translateth *celox* as equiualent to *Moneres*: and so that gradation in the sixth of Polybius seemeth to in-
duce; τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τεῖρης, καὶ διήρηται, καὶ κλίς. Of the vnperfect kindes *ἡμιολία* and *ἡμιόλος* seemeth to haue
beene a ship furnished with one rancke and a halfe onely, as it were betweene a *Moneres* and a *Biremis*: and *τεμνη-
μιολία*, betweene a *Biremis* and a *Triremis*, with two rowes and a halfe. These fower kindes vnder the *Trireme*,
although being built as I suppose, *ad formam longarum nauium*, yet are not so generally comprehended by the name,
but in the writings of approued authours stande oftentimes in opposition to *longæ*, and some of the kindes to *μα-
κροὶ* also. Liuius libro 21. seuereth *celoxes*, and lib 38. *τριακόντηρης*, from *longæ*. ° Thucydides in his proeme
seemeth not to allow the name of *μακρὸν πλοῖον* to *πεντηκόντηρης*, and yet to some other vnder the *Trireme*, wher-*

author ad finem *Aselani*. ° lib. 10. c. 25. ° *τεῖρης* μὲν ὀλίγαις χερσὶν, πεντηκόντης δὲ ἵπ, καὶ πλείους μακρὸς ἐκτετακται.

as Herodotus, Clío, expressly nameth it *μικρὰ ναυπηγία*, the same which in ^b another place setteth both *τεταχόντορες* and *πεντηκόντορες* in opposition to ships of warre: and so doth ^c Plutarch, Catone, by oversight *Liburnica*. and that some of the *Moneres* also were *μαχίμοι* it is cleere by Liuy libro. 38. *Nemo monerem habere ex belli causa*, which else were a vaine and needlesse addition. Beside these sorts diuersified, as we see, by the number of rowes, we haue in the stories particular mention of others, as *Myoparones*, *Prifles*, *Phaseli*, *Cercuri*, &c. differing per aduerture from those we haue reckened in the fashion and maner of building, as being in some part built like to the *Longe*, and in part to the hulkes, as Appian 5. *Εμφυλ.* witnesseth, namely ^d *Phaseli trieritici*. And these kindes of shipping we finde also to haue bene employed in seruice by sea, sometime principally, and sometime *ως ὑπηρετικά*, and as accessaries to others. And thus much of the different fashions of shippes of warre, which againe were diuided in *sestas* & *aperias*: *rostratas*, *intritas*, and such as were otherwise. *Tetla*, or *confratate*, *κατὰ φρακτά*, so called because they had *κατὰ φράματα*, hatches: *aperia*, *ἀδρακτά*, hauing none: although *Aphractum* in the neuter gender in some places of Tully, Diodore, Plutarch &c. seemeth to stand for some speciall kinde of shippe, and *κατὰ φρακτες* in Polybius for a Quinquereme. The greater shippes, as *Quadrantem* and vpward, had alwaies, as farre as I remember, hatches: the *Trieremes* and ^e *Biremes* sometimes otherwise: the rest that were vnder in a maner alwaies *aperia*. *κατὰ φράματα* were induced to the end that the shippe might be more capable of souldiers for her defence, *nam antea*, saith Pliny libro 7. *ex prope tantum & puppi pugnabatur*. and in the warre with Xerxes, the Athenian ships saith Thucydides, *ἔπεσεν ἐν τῇ πύρρῃ κατὰ φράματα*. *Rostrata*, *ερατα*, *χαλκίρεκ* ἢ *χαλκίμβολοι*, were such as had *ροστρά ex are*, *ἐμβόλους* ἢ *χαλκίαματα*. *Rostra* were common to all shippes of warre, greater or smaller, couered or open, to all such at the least, which were to encounter with the enimie: in *Speculatorijs*, and such like that were meere *ὑπηρετικά*, being not greatly materiall. For whereas in their maner of fight by sea there were three ordinarie waies to offende, either to breake the enimies shippe by running against it, to wipe away her oares, or to kill the souldiers which stood at defence vpon the hatches and so borde her, for performing the first it was meete that their owne should be surely and strongly headed for that encountre. *Τριήρης, πυρρὸς ὄρος*, which had *ad prorem & puppim sursum propugnacula*, *ut in mari quoues* saith Pliny, *pugnaretur velut à maris*. Pollux maketh mention of *πυρρῶν δέξιον & ἐξων μόν*, *Thas in*, The right and left turret, which were on the sides.

The officers in the nauie were *Præfectus classis*, Admirall of the whole Armada; *Dux maris* in the ancient storie, when as two were ioyned in the commission. *Trierarchus* gouernour of a particular shippe, then *Gubernator* the Master, *κελευστής*, and other vnder officers: the rest *socij navales* or *milites*, *πληρώματα*, ἢ *ἐπιβάται*. againe *socij navales* of two sortes, *ἐρέται*, *remiges* to handle the oare, or *ὑπρέται*, whom Cæsar calleth *nauitæ*, for the other seruices in the shippe. *Socij navales* in the free state were collected *ex vltimæ classis hominibus*, or *ἐκ τῶν ὑποτέτακτοις δρασμοῖς τετραμνηνίων*, as ^h Polybius speaketh; in later times *ex h Dalmatis, Pannonijs &c.* The souldiers, *ἐπιβάται*, most commonly Legionary, accommodated both to fight at sea, and vpon occasion to make their descent into the land: and in later times to euery Armada was annexed his proper Legion with the Legionary officers appertaining. In the first Punicke warre we haue example in ⁱ Polybius of three hundredth *remiges*, and an hundredth and twentie *ἐπιβάται* in ech of the shippes of warre: and likewise a diuision of the Armada into fower ranks: the first called ^j *prima legio*, and *prima classis*: and in consequence the second, and third; the fourth *τριήρης*: but I finde little mention of this diuision in the practise of later times. In the fift yeere of the first Punicke warre, and first of their seruice by sea against the Carthaginians, the Romans manned out an ^m hundredth Quinqueremes, and twentie *Trieremes*. Florus ⁿ libro 2. increaseth the number, *160. nauium classis intra sexagesimum diem quam casa sine fuerat, in ancoris stetit*: of so woonderfull a dispatch must they be, which will be lords of the world: and yet that of the elder Scipio was more marueilous, who ^p *die quadragésimo quinto quam ex siluis detracta materia erat, naues instructas armatasque in aquam deduxit*, & that being not assisted by the publick purse. In the ninth yeere of the said Punicke warre, 330. according to Polybius were manned. But Regulus the same yeere, saith Appian. *λίβυκῇ*, sayled into Africke with three hundredth and fiftie: *Æmilius* and *Fulsius* had three hundredth sixtie fower shippes of seruice in the same warre. which number can hardly be matched againe in the Roman state in many yeeres after. In the seconde Punicke an hundredth and sixtie, and two hundredth, or not much aboue. Against Antiochus they manned but eightie, and at other times the like in their more flourishing state. Which doubt Polybius also noteth in ^r his storie, but leaueth the solution to another place. For although the number of three hundredth sixtie fower seeme not so excessive, yet such and so great was the fleet, by reason of the qualitie of the shippes, that not onely the Grecian and Macedonian, but euen the Persian power, which couered the sea with twelue hundredth saile, could not by Polybius iudgement stande in comparison. After Polybius time Pompey in bello ^s *Piratico* had not aboue two hundredth and seuentie. But in the ciuill warre he had as ^t Appian witnesseth six hundredth *naues longas* *ἐντελές τῶν πλεωρώμασι*. And Augustus after he had driuen Sex. Pompeius out of Italy ^u six hundredth *longas naues* of his owne, beside seuentie which fled with Pompey, and the navy of Antony; who shortly after at the battel of Actium furnished fise hundredth shippes of warre (*μαχίμους ναῦς*) where Augustus had two hundredth and fiftie. Plutarch Antonio. And this was, as I take it, the greatest reckening in the Roman state. For whereas we reade of ^v sixteene hundredth with Sylla out of Asia; ^w a thousand with Germanicus in Germany, and such like; they are not to be otherwise intended but as vessels to transport, not for the warre.

After the ciuill wartes ended Augustus hauing as it were walled the state with Legions, and Aides by lande, as before we haue shewed, established also, to gard the Empire by sea, two ordinarie Armadaes in Italy, the one at *Misenum in mari infero* to protect & keep in obedience France, Spaine, Mauretania, Africke, Egypt, Sardinia & Sicily: another at *Rauenna in mari supero* to defend & bridle Epirus, Macedonia, Achaia, Asia, Creta, Cyprus, &c. & out of Italy one in ^x *Ponto Euxino* for defence of those countries consisting of forty ships at the beginning of Vespasians time. Egesippus lib. 2. Beside these Armadaes which remained ordinarie for defence of the Empire, *proximum Galie littus*, saith Tacitus, *rostratae naues præsidebant, quas Actiæ a victoriâ captas Augustus in oppidum Forouilense miseras valido cum remige*: and beside *apud idonea prouinciarum sociæ trieremes*. Claudius adioyning Britanny to the Empire adioined also the Britanny Armada. And not only by sea, but also vpon the riuers, which bordered the Empire, seuerall nauies were maintained, as *Germanica classis* vpon the Rhene, *Danubiana classis*, & *Euphratensis*. Tacitus & others.

^b Polyinnia.
^c ἵσταν δὲ πέντα-
κόντων μὲν καὶ ἱ-
σάπτες αἱ μαχί-
μοι, λίβυκῇ δὲ
πεντηκόντῃ.

^d ἱσάπτες ἐν τα-
κτικῇ ναὶ καὶ
μαχίμοι.

^e Liburnica com-
parata Plutarch.
Antonio. & con-
trarily the *διερε-
τα* in opposition
to *κατὰ φρακτά*.
Appianus Mithr.

^f lib. 32.

^g lib. 6.

^h 3. Hist.

ⁱ Reges lib. 4. c. 31

^k lib. 1.

^l ἀποδοῦναι τῷ γὰρ
ἐκαστῷ ἐξ ἐστῶ-
τος καὶ ἀποδοῦναι
ἐλάτος, καὶ τὰ λοι-
πὰ καὶ λόγον, ὅτι
δὲ τετρακόντων ἰσο-
μῆται ἢ πῶς ἐρε-
ταί.

^m Polyb. lib. 1.

ⁿ cap. 2.

^o Polybius p. 16.

maketh it an in-
credible thing in
three moneths:
but the number
of the ships was
greater then, to
wit 220. ἐκαστὴ
καὶ διακοσίων σκα-
φῶν τῶν συντί-
κων ἐν τοῖς μὲν
λαβόντων, καὶ ἰσά-
πτες αἱ ἐκαστῆς
πεντήκοντα ἰσάπτες.
Polyb. lib. 28.

^p ektrimo.

^q Polyb. lib. 1.

^r lib. 1 καὶ πῶς ὁ

πρὸς τὸ αἰπὸν

ἀποδοῦναι πρὸς αὐ-

τὴν κακῶς καὶ

ἐν τῇ ναυί, καὶ ποῦ

πλεονάζοντες

ὑπερβαίνοντες τὸν

ἀριθμὸν, ἐπὶ αὐ-

τῇ πλεονασίᾳ το-

σμήτους ναῦς, ἐπὶ

ἀναπλήσει τῆς

λαβόντος ἐλάτος

δυνάμεως.

^s Appian. Mithr.

^t Eup. 1.

^u Eup. 5.

^x Appian. Eup.

^y Tacit. Anna. 2.

^z Tac. 2. 3. Hist.

Appian. περὶ τοῦ

Πόντου Εὐξίνου,

^a 4. Annual.

THE EXPLICATION OF A PLACE IN POLYBIUS WITH A DEFENCE of the common copie against the opinion of certaine great learned men, wherein also the reason of the militar stipend is declared.



OLYBIUS lib. 2. discoursing of the excellent and miraculous fertilitye of Lombardie, maketh report that a man in his Inne might there be well and plentifully entertained for halfe an *assis* a meale, which is, saith he, the fourth part of an *obolus*. His words in our common printed bookes be these, *πορεύονται τὰς καταλύσεις οἱ διοδῶντες τὴν χώραν ἐν τοῖς πανδοχείοις, ὡς συμφωνήσαντες πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν κατὰ μέτρον ἐπιτηδεύων, ἀλλ' ἐρωτῶντες, πότεν τὸν ἀνδρα δέχονται. ὡς μὲν ἐν τῷ πολὺ περιένειται τὰς καταλύσεις οἱ πανδοχεῖς, ὡς ἴκανα πάντ' ἔχουσιν τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, ἡμαρτανεῖα. τοῦτο δ' ὅτι τέταρτον μέρος ὀβολῶν. σπασίως δὲ τὸ δ' ὑπερβαίνει. That is, They which travel that countrey, are entertained in their Innes, not bargaining by parcell, but demanding how much in grosse they must pay for a man. and for the most part the hostes give entertainment with allowance of all necessarie things for halfe an *assis*, that is, the fourth part of an *obolus*,*

seldome exceeding that rate. For the better declaration whereof we are to vnderstand, that *Drachma* was a Grecian silver coine weighing precisely the eight part of an ounce, and vually diuided into six *Oboli*: That *Drachma* and *Denarius*, according to the most testimonies in number and most pregnant in prooffe, against the fewer and more doubtful, of the ancient stories are interchangeably vsed, and so constituted in the one and the other toong, as precisely equiualent: That *Denarius* contained precisely and in all ages fower *Sesterij*; and at the first was currant for ten *Asses* onely, as the name also importeth: but afterward went at a hyer reckning, sometime for sixteene. So that of our silver, whereof fivie shillings sterling maketh the ounce, *Drachma* or *Denarius* weighed seven pence halfe-peny: and *Obolus* was in valew peny farthing: *Sesterius*, peny half-peny farthing ^b kue. *Assis* at the first institution, half-peny farthing: and when the *Denarius* went at sixteene *Asses*, of our money but farthing kue cee pricke. And if at any time *Denarius* was currant for twelue *Asses*, as Polybius seemeth to make it in this place, then one *Assis* was woorth half-peny kue of English money; and an halfe *Assis*, farthing cee, the price of a mans dinner in his Inne in Lombardie. This saying of Polybius seemeth to Budæe an impossibilitie, & to D. Hottoman, pag. 20. of his booke *de re nummaria*, a miracle. Which if Hottoman had saied, and saied no more, it had bene well saied: for as a miracle Polybius put it downe, and so it may seeme much more vnto vs, considering the prices of things in our age. But Hottoman not contenting himselfe to accept it as a miracle, nor with that most true and iustifiable consideration, as anone shall appeere, that money hath his valew by position and not by nature, by the helpe of that blessed arte of correcting olde copies proceedeth to amende the place, instead of *ἡμαρτανεῖα*, an Half-*assis*, reading *τεῖτα ἡμαρτανεῖα*, that is, two *Asses* and an halfe: and in steed of *τέταρτον μέρος ὀβολῶν*, the fourth part of an *Obolus*, *τέταρτον μέρος δραχμῶν*, the fourth part of a *Drachma*: the word *τεῖτα*, as he gesleth, being written not at large, but by note. ∞. which the next copyer not vnderstanding left out: and the note. ∞. signifying a *Drachma* easily slipping into ∞, which signifieth an *Obolus*. And to strengthen his correction he addeth further, that it is a thing neuer heard of, *ut drachma, siue denarius duodecim assibus estimaretur* (which must needs follow by Polybius words, as they are printed) *sed vel decem dumtaxat, vel sedecim*. And so by the ayde of that sacred arte of Criticks we haue the price of a mans dinner to be a *Sesterius*, or the fourth part of a *Drachma*, in our money peny half-peny farthing kue: a correction both more miraculous and impossible then the text as it standeth. For Polybius himselfe the best witness of the vse of his age, in his sixt booke setteth downe the Roman footemans pay to the supporting of all charges to be two *Oboli* a day. So that the souldier in three daies toward his diet and all other charges, which, as it shall appeere, were many and great, shall haue but a *Drachma*; and if a quarter of a *Drachma* be the price of a meale in a most plentifull countrey, in a most plentifull countrey in two daies his three daies wages are spent in bare meate alone, which me thinkes is a miracle as great as the other, vnlesse souldiers keepe more fasting daies then others, who, as Xenophon saith somewhere, are men which cannot commonly liue of the least. And lest a man might suppose, that Hottoman woulde haue laied a heauy hand vpon this other place also, if it had happened into his fingers, when this correcting humour was predominant in him, we haue, by good fortune, his owne wordes to approoue the common reading of the printed copy herein for good & autentical. His words be these, p. 164. of his booke *de re nummaria*. *Modum stipendij Polybius libro. 6. scribit suo tempore, hoc est sub initium belli Punici tertij* (for so he wrote, or so he should haue written not *secundi*) *fuisse in peditem duorum obolorum*. And surely to him which considereth how many things the souldier had to furnish himselfe out of his wages of two *Oboli* or eight half-*asses* a day beside his diet, as armour, apparell, tents and such like recorded by Tacitus and others, it cannot seeme strange that in a most fruitful and almost miraculously cheape countrey he might haue one meale for the eighth part of his daies wages, which in other ordinary places arose peradventure to as much more, and euen therewas not, as it appeareth by the very words of that text, alwaies so little. Now that so great cheapenesse of vitaille is neither impossible nor greatly miraculous, but onely to vs that iudge of that world by our owne, it had not bene hard to haue discerned by that which Polybius writeth not six lines before, where he affirmeth that in the same countrey two *Medimni* of barley, that is three of our bushels, were solde ordinarily for fower *Oboli*; that is sixteene Half-*asses*. and I thinke it no great inconuenience that sixteene persons might dine for the price of three bushels of barley, or surely much lesse, then that three persons could not dine vnder the price of three bushels of barley a pecke and a half-pecke, as it must follow by Hottomans account. *Atheniensis* in the beginning

^a *Denarius, quasi dena era.*

^b A kue I call the eighth part of our peny; a cee, the sixteenth, a pricke the two and thirtieth.

^c For if halfe an *Assis* be the quarter of an *obolus*, one *obolus* is equall to two *Asses*, and consequently six *Oboli*, that is the *Drachma* or *Denarius* to twelue *Asses*.

^d *Mibi tamen, saith Hottoman pag. 23. tantum miummi pretium cogitant venit in mentem suspicari duo seditissima in illo Polybij loco, menda subesse, &c.*

^e *Ann. Hinc* (talking of the souldiers ordinarie pay) *vestimenta, arma, tentoria: hinc seditissima centurionum & vacationes munitionum redimi.* & *annuus de quo non videretur.*

ginning of the eight booke produceth another testimony out of Polybius in the fower and thirtieth of his storie, that in Portugall a good fat kidde was vsually folde for an *Obolus*, the price of fower mens dinners in Lombardie. And Hottoman himselfe bringeth out of Gellius inough to haue withhelden him from laying violent handes vpon a poore innocent place, that *lege Acternia* a sheepe was prized at ten *asses*: for I holde it no absurditie that twenty persons might dine competently for the price of a sheepe. The money, I grant, is but little, farthing pee for a dinner; and so was two pence half-peny weight for a souldiers pay by the day, which weight in siluer now will not finde the least lackey in the campe his breakfast: and yet the Roman allowance in corne, a bushell of wheate by the moneth, will euen in our daies serue the tallest souldier that is. For money receiueeth valuation and price by the position of the Prince and state, or mutuall conuention of men, things most alterable vpon euery occasion. and therefore the Grecians terme it *νόμισμα*, bicause it consisteth *νόμος* not *οὐσεί*, as being nothing in deede and in nature, but wholly depending vpon the voluntary institution of men: whereas the other being a position of nature remaineth for euer the same. Now why a piece of siluer of the same weight and alloy shoulde then go so farre, and now do so little, no cause, I suppose, more generall can be assigned, then the great store of that mettall. For the excessiue abundance of *τὰ νόμισμα μόνον ὄντα*, things which consist onely vpon the institution of man, draweth necessarily *τὰ οὐσεί ὄντα*, those things which nature requireth, to a higher rate in the market. *Capitulum ab Augusto Alexandria*, saith Orosius, *Roma in tantum opibus eius crenit, ut duplo maiora quam antehac rerum venalium pretia statuerentur*. And here in Englande that which was folde about an hundreth yeeres agone for tenne groates, which then weighed an ounce, now since the discouery of the Indies can hardly be bought for tenne shillings of our currant money, or two ounces of the same goodnesse and weight. and if it should happen hereafter the whole treasures of those cuntries to be transported into our iland, the like plentie presupposed in the rest of the world adioyning, these present prices, which to vs seeme so excessiue, to them which should liue in that age would doublelesse seeme as miraculous as that of Polybius to vs. Polybius himselfe, as Strabo writeth in the fourth booke of his Geographie, reporteth that vpon the discouery of certaine gold mines in his time about Aquileia, the price of gold throughout all Italy fell a third part: which in other termes is all one to say, the prices of all things bought with gold rose a third part. As for that which D. Hottoman mayntaineth that *Denarius* was neuer currant at twelue *Asses*, but either at ten, or at sixteene, although it be not much materiall to our purpose, yet surely his negatiue is not receiueable against this positive place of Polybius inferring the contrary: then it is without all probabilitie, that it should goe at ten and sixteene and neuer at any middle rate; beside that other learned men

de re nummaria.

Lipius *Electarium*, and in his comment. vpon Tacitus 1. Annal.

maintaine directly the contrarie with greater reason as it seemes, and ground of good writers. So that D. Hottoman hath doublelesse done great wrong euery way to this place of Polybius. And

surely if men vpon priuate fancie do presume thus to alter publicke records, shortly we shall haue iust cause to prefer Winkin de Worde and Badius

Ascensius before the printes of our time, and generally to esteeme those copies most correct, which haue least bene corrected.

Translations of the marginall Greeke.

In the margin of Tacitus.

- P** Age 3. * *ἡ δὲ ἀνδρῶν καταστροφή*, destroyed. ^a For vertue, wealth or nobility was with him a publike crime against all men.
4. * Galba lost opinion of orderly proceeding and popularity, in putting to death certaine noble-men without forme of lawe, though peraduenture they had iustly deserved to die.
7. *δολοφονίαν*, to be slaine by treason.
8. ¹ He that is sent gouernour into Egypt susteineth the person and place of the King. * In extorsions and murders upon cruelty and anarice.
16. ^a He gave to the iudges of the Ludi Olympici a million of sesterces, which afterwards Galba demanded of them backe againe. ^b Galba sought out those who had bought or received in gift any thing of Neros favorites, and of them he exacted it.
21. ² Intending to make sacrifice to Iupiter, and be seene of the citizens. * He kissed his fingers and cast swardes enery on of them.
22. They rauened, robbed, and spoiled all things they could lay their hands on.
23. * Getting vp on the porches and high places about the Place of assembly, as it were to behold a play.
24. ^c With which the Centurions scourge them that deserue punishment. ^a Otho fearing to contradict them, answered that he would make the man away, but not so sodainly; for that he had matter of importance which he must first learne out of him.
25. Galbaes body Heluidius Priscus tooke up by Othoes permission, and Argius his freedman buried it by night.
26. This yeare Sulpicius Galba conquered the Chatti.
31. *πρὸς ἀλλήλους*, vniuersally one and other.
32. Missing of their desire in Verginius, they sought to fulfill it in some other.
41. Otho dispatched towards Tigellinus lying at Sinuessia. for there he sojourned, hauing ships attending in the roade, as though he would haue fled further, and first he attempted to corrupt him who was sent, offering him store of golde to let him escape: then not obtaining his purpose he gave him notwithstanding the gold, praying him that he would yet haue patience a little till his beard might be shauen, and himselfe taking the razor cut his owne throate.
47. ^a Least being in wine you fall to quarrelling amongst your selves, and wound one another, and so dishonor the banquet, for the sight of armes draweth men often to handling of them. Telemachus excuse why he remooued his fathers armour and weapons out of the place where the wooers vied to eate. ^b Two Centurions. ^c Eighty Senators. ^e Sending them out by a backe gate.
50. ^a And the common people accounted the rising of Tiber as an euill signe. ^b The riuer did most harme in the corne market, wherupon followed a great dearth for many daies.
54. To doe his reuerence to the Prince, and receiue commission from him concerning the affaires of Iewry.
55. ² Some say that the Island was called Cyprus, of Cyprus the sonne of Cinyrus. ¹ The said altar was placed in the open aire without any cover, as others also in Homer seeme to haue bene, on which those that trauailed by the way did offer. ^a It is reported and beleued amongst the Bargylitæ that the image of Diana named Kindyas though lying open to all weather is yet neither touched with snowe, nor raine at all.
74. Slaying all those of the vanguard.
76. One of the common souldiers stretching out his sword and crying, We are thus resolved for thee all O Cesar, slew himselfe.
78. ⁱ Supposing it madnesse to receiue the Empire at the conquered handes, hauing refused it before at the conquerours. and fearing to goe in Embassie to those of Germany whom he had forced to many things against their owne will.
90. Nothing amazed at the change determined to goe on his journey to Rome.
120. Small vessels strait and lights of some 25. men apeece; seldome and at the vntermost not above 30. the Grecians call them Camaræ.
131. ⁱ The temple of Iupiter, and Iuno and Minerva. ² At what time also the Capitol was burnt, which soules aft some imputed to Carbo, some to the Consuls, others saide it was done by Syllaes commandement. The certainty was not knowne, neither can I coniecture the cause why it was done. ¹ Appian. for his felicitie against his enemies his flatterers named him the Happy, which name proceeding first of flattery was afterward confirmed to him by common consents. Plut. Lastly upon these accidents he commanded himselfe to be called The happy: for so much doeth the word Felix signifie.
135. And fighting in three severall places in the city, they were all made an end of.
139. To haue twelve falces alwaies and in euery place borne before him, and to sit betweene the present Consuls in a chayre of estate.
150. An escape of memorie.
160. ^c Being brethren, and in a manner of the same yeares, and neuer doing any thing the one without the other, but being alwaies vnited, and communicating as in bloud, so in their counsels and wealth, they gouerned a great while the two Germanies togither, afterward being sent for by Nero into Greece as though he had stood in neede of their sufficiencie, they were according to the nature of those times accused, and both of them let themselves bloud to death.
164. *ἰπποτοξόται*, archers on horsebacke.
173. ^a He hid himselfe in a caue under ground, and there lay secret the space of nine yeares with his wife, on whom he begat two sonnes. ^a As it were by diuine providence.
182. ^a Dionysius in his periegesis speaking of Alexandria, where is, saith hee, the temple of the great god Iupiter Sinopita beautified with much golde, then the which there is no one temple in the world more goodly and glorious. ² For he brought not with him that name from Sinope, but after his comming to Alexandria the name of Sarapis was giuen him, which in the Egyptian language signifieth Pluto.
186. In these times the noblemen of Rome, such as bee desirous of good learning, in steede of trauailling to Athens goe to Massilia, and in another place he attributeth to them the commendation of warinesse in dispenche, and modesty.
188. Xiphil.

188. Xiphil. Agricola the first Roman that we have memory of discovered Britanny to bee an Ilande. Dio. In pro-
 192. cesses of time first under Agricola Proprator, & now under Seuerus the Emperer it was evidently knowne to be an Ilande.
 For as the proverbe saiesh, venture must be made in the Carian (that is the common mercenarie souldier) not in
 the Generals person.
 199. Making an expedition into Germany he returned not having so much as once seene the enemy. now it is needlesse to re-
 ports what great honors therefore were then bestowed upon him, & alwaies after upon other Emperors his matches, least that
 suspecting by the smallnesse of the honours their actions to be checked they should wreake their anger upon the Senators.
 & so speak of joy, worthy to be led in triumph, or triumphed over.

In the margin of the Annotations.

- P** Ag. 2. ^a Dio. Wherefore it becometh us not to mourne for him, but to magnifie alwaies his spirit as a god. ^p Afterward
 the Centurions with torches put fire to the pile, which was soone consumed, and out of it an eagle let loose flew up, as carying for-
 sooth his soule into heauen.
 29. Appian. To be sacred and not to be touched himselfe, and who soever els should fly unto him. Dio. The prerogatives
 granted to the Tribunes were conferred upon him, so that if any man should iniury him in worde or deede, he was to bee
 reputed a sacrilegious and detestable person.
 35. ^a Antony allowed souldiers to death, not those who had stirred mutinees, forsaken their place in watch, or standing in
 battell, upon which crimes onely the law of armes hath laied so rigorous and terrible a punishment, but &c. ^b Called
 then Lugudunum, now Lugdunum.
 98. ^a Northerly winde blowing yearly after the summer solstitium some twentie daies, about the rising of the Dogstarre.
^c Being mixed of the northerly and westerne winde.
 137. One day after Antonius entered the city, being the third of the moneth Apellæus.
 142. ^a Of the Roman wars he spared to triumphe, as being civil, and neither much besecming himselfe, and much misliked
 and abhorred of the people, yet did he notwithstanding carie in triumphe all the accidents of those wars in diuerse pictures,
 and the images of the capitaines and principall men, saving of Pompey, whom onely he eschewed to shew as being yet in all
 mens hearts greatly desired, and wished for. ^b The shewe in his triumph of the citizens slaine in Affricke did much
 grieve the people.
 205. Dionysius gloried much more in his poemes, then in the happy successe of his wars, and amongst other poets that liued in
 the Tyrans courts Philoxenus a maker of Dithyrambi, a man of great reputation and renowne in that kinde of poeme,
 the Tyrans verses being read in banquet which indeed were naught, was asked his opinion of them. Who speaking some-
 what freely his minde the Tyrane was offended with his answer; and crying out that upon enuy he had spoken ill of his
 poemes, commanded those that attended to cary him forthwith away into the quarrie pits. ^a This kinde of knaerie and
 enuious ingling and deceit, not by dispraising but by commending to ruine your neighbours, was first and principally found
 out by such as remaine in Princes courts, upon ielousie and ambition they haue one to out-grow another.
 207. ^a Euerie one of the Legions is of 4000. a piece. ^b Ten Legions were enrolled of 4000. a piece.
 208. ^c There followed him the horse belonging to the Legion, for euery Legio hath annexed to it an hundred & twentie horse.
 209. ^a For diuiding themselves into payres, of the fixe moneths they keepe the fildes each payre commandeth two moneths.
^b The law commandeth all the 60. centuries to obey, and do what is commanded by him.
 210. ^a After that Augustus was seited in the monarchie, he quit the Italians of the paines of seruice, and vnterly disarmed
 them. ^b The gentlemen on horsebacke must of necessity serue ten yeares, the footemen 16. before they be 46. yeares of
 age. ^c When they will take up any souldiers, they call the tribes one by one, as the lot falleth.
 211. ^c The same forme of gouernment the Præfecti also vse with the allies.
 212. ^a The first day of the yeare they both swaie themselves, and caused others to sweare, that they would accept for good al Cæ-
 sars acts. which thing is vsed euen at this day for the acts of the present Emperours, and for those of all their predecessours
 whose memorie is not disgraced.
 214. ^a The whole figure of the castrametation is a square of equall sides.
 216. ^a If the place chance to be vneuen, they make it plaine and euen. ^c When they are first gathered together into
 the campe, and readie to enter the enemies cuntry.
 217. ^b Romulus diuided his people into Legions, and euery Legion consisted of 3000. persons. ^c He resolved to make war
 against the Sabins arming all the Roman forces, which were double to that they were afore the taking of Alba.
 221. ^a The Promost of the city hauing but few souldiers vnder his gouernment. ^c Hauing neuer so much as imagined of
 sea seruice, then first they entred into conceits thereof.
 222. ^a For being without sailes, and prepared only for the fight, they did not followe in chace those which fled. ^c Liburni
 a people of Illyrium, who with light and swift ships rowed about the Mare Ionium, and islands there. Whereupon at this
 day the Romans call the lightest and swiftest of the Biremes Liburnicæ. ^a Triacontoros and Tessaracontoros
 and Pentecontoros haue their names of the number of their oares. Moneres and Biremis and so in consequence haue
 their names according to the number of ranches of oares one aboue another. ^c Vsing but fewe Tirimces but furnished
 with Pentecontori, and long ships.
 223. Ships of seruice there were some five hundred, and of Liburnicæ an infinite number. ^a A man may well doubt what
 the reason should be why the Romans being now lords of all, and in a far greater height then before, can neither man out
 so many ships; nor sayle with so great nauiies.

The rest which are not here translated are but either some few words, or els Greeke of that, the substance whereof is
 in the text.

F I N I S.



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